

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

III B A HISTORY V SEMESTER

CORE – X : HISTORY OF USA 1776 TO 1974 A. D(18BHI52C)

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UNIT V

Cold War

The **Cold War** was a period of **geopolitical** tension between the **Soviet Union** and the **United States** and their respective allies, the **Eastern Bloc** and the **Western Bloc**, after **World War II**. Historians do not fully agree on the dates, but the period is generally considered to span the 1947 **Truman Doctrine** to the 1991 **dissolution of the Soviet Union**. The term "cold" is used because there was no large-scale fighting directly between the two **superpowers**, but they each supported major regional conflicts known as **proxy wars**. The conflict was based around the ideological and geopolitical struggle for global influence by the two powers, following their temporary **alliance** and **victory** against **Nazi Germany** in 1945.^[1] The doctrine of **mutually assured destruction** (MAD) discouraged a **pre-emptive attack** by either side. Aside from the **nuclear arsenal development** and conventional military deployment, the struggle for dominance was expressed via indirect means such as **psychological warfare**, propaganda

campaigns, [espionage](#), far-reaching [embargoes](#), rivalry at sports events and technological competitions such as the [Space Race](#).

Containment and the Truman Doctrine (1947–1953)

Main articles: [Cold War \(1947–1953\)](#), [Containment](#), and [Truman Doctrine](#)

Iron Curtain, Iran, Turkey, and Greece

In late February 1946, [George F. Kennan](#)'s "[Long Telegram](#)" from Moscow to Washington helped to articulate the US government's increasingly hard line against the Soviets, which would become the basis for US strategy toward the Soviet Union for the duration of the Cold War. The Truman Administration was receptive to the telegram due to broken promises by Stalin concerning Europe and Iran.^{[[citation needed](#)]} Following the WWII [Anglo-Soviet invasion of Iran](#), the country was occupied by the Red Army in the far north and the British in the south.^[70] Iran was used by the United States and British to supply the Soviet Union, and the Allies agreed to withdraw from Iran within six months after the cessation of hostilities.^[70] However, when this deadline came, the Soviets remained in Iran under the guise of the [People's Republic of Azerbaijan](#) and [Kurdish Republic of Mahabad](#).^[71] Shortly thereafter, on 5 March, former British prime minister Winston Churchill delivered his famous "[Iron Curtain](#)" speech in [Fulton, Missouri](#).^[72] The speech called for an Anglo-American alliance against the Soviets, whom he accused of establishing an "iron curtain" dividing Europe from "[Stettin](#) in the [Baltic](#) to [Trieste](#) in the [Adriatic](#)".^{[59][73]}

A week later, on 13 March, Stalin responded vigorously to the speech, saying that Churchill could be compared to [Hitler](#) insofar as he advocated the racial superiority of [English-speaking nations](#) so that they could satisfy their hunger for world domination, and that such a declaration

was "a call for war on the U.S.S.R." The Soviet leader also dismissed the accusation that the USSR was exerting increasing control over the countries lying in its sphere. He argued that there was nothing surprising in "the fact that the Soviet Union, anxious for its future safety, [was] trying to see to it that governments loyal in their attitude to the Soviet Union should exist in these countries".

European economic alliances

In September, the Soviet side produced the [Novikov](#) telegram, sent by the Soviet ambassador to the US but commissioned and "co-authored" by [Vyacheslav Molotov](#); it portrayed the US as being in the grip of monopoly capitalists who were building up military capability "to prepare the conditions for winning world supremacy in a new war".^[76] On 6 September 1946, [James F. Byrnes](#) delivered a [speech](#) in Germany repudiating the [Morgenthau Plan](#) (a proposal to partition and de-industrialize post-war Germany) and warning the Soviets that the US intended to maintain a military presence in Europe indefinitely.^[77] As Byrnes admitted a month later, "The nub of our program was to win the German people ... it was a battle between us and Russia over minds ..."^[78] In December, the Soviets agreed to withdraw from Iran after persistent US pressure, an early success of containment policy.

By 1947, US president [Harry S. Truman](#) was outraged by perceived resistance of the Soviet Union to American demands in Iran, Turkey, and Greece, as well as Soviet rejection of the [Baruch Plan](#) on nuclear weapons.^[79] In February 1947, the British government announced that it could no longer afford to finance the [Kingdom of Greece](#) in [its civil war](#) against Communist-led insurgents.^[80] The [US government](#) responded to this announcement by adopting a policy of [containment](#),^[81] with the goal of stopping the spread of [Communism](#). Truman delivered a speech calling for the allocation of \$400 million to intervene in the war and unveiled

the [Truman Doctrine](#), which framed the conflict as a contest between free peoples and totalitarian regimes.^[81] American policymakers accused the Soviet Union of conspiring against the Greek royalists in an effort to [expand Soviet influence](#) even though Stalin had told the Communist Party to cooperate with the British-backed government.^[82] (The insurgents were helped by [Josip Broz Tito's Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia](#) against Stalin's wishes.)^{[83][84]}

Enunciation of the Truman Doctrine marked the beginning of a US bipartisan defense and foreign policy consensus between [Republicans](#) and [Democrats](#) focused on containment and [deterrence](#) that weakened during and after the [Vietnam War](#), but ultimately persisted thereafter.^[85] Moderate and conservative parties in Europe, as well as social democrats, gave virtually unconditional support to the Western alliance,^[86] while [European](#) and [American Communists](#), financed by the [KGB](#) and involved in its intelligence operations,^[87] adhered to Moscow's line, although dissent began to appear after 1956. Other critiques of the consensus policy came from [anti-Vietnam War activists](#), the [Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament](#), and the [anti-nuclear movement](#).^[88]

Marshall Plan and Czechoslovak coup d'état

In early 1947, France, Britain and the United States unsuccessfully attempted to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union for a plan envisioning an economically self-sufficient Germany, including a detailed accounting of the industrial plants, goods and infrastructure already removed by the Soviets.^[89] In June 1947, in accordance with the [Truman Doctrine](#), the United States enacted the [Marshall Plan](#), a pledge of economic assistance for all European countries willing to participate, including the Soviet Union.^[89] Under the plan, which President Harry S. Truman signed on 3 April 1948, the US government gave to Western European

countries over \$13 billion (equivalent to \$189.39 billion in 2016) to rebuild the [economy of Europe](#). Later, the program led to the creation of the [Organization for European Economic Co-operation](#).

The plan's aim was to rebuild the democratic and economic systems of Europe and to counter perceived threats to [Europe's balance of power](#), such as communist parties seizing control through revolutions or elections.^[90] The plan also stated that European prosperity was contingent upon German economic recovery.^[91] One month later, Truman signed the [National Security Act of 1947](#), creating a unified [Department of Defense](#), the [Central Intelligence Agency](#) (CIA), and the [National Security Council](#) (NSC). These would become the main bureaucracies for US defense policy in the Cold War.^[92]

Stalin believed that economic integration with the West would allow [Eastern Bloc](#) countries to escape Soviet control, and that the US was trying to buy a pro-US re-alignment of Europe.^[93] Stalin therefore prevented Eastern Bloc nations from receiving Marshall Plan aid.^[93] The Soviet Union's alternative to the Marshall Plan, which was purported to involve Soviet subsidies and trade with central and eastern Europe, became known as the [Molotov Plan](#) (later institutionalized in January 1949 as the [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance](#)).^[83] Stalin was also fearful of a reconstituted Germany; his vision of a post-war Germany did not include the ability to rearm or pose any kind of threat to the Soviet Union.^[94]

In early 1948, following reports of strengthening "reactionary elements", Soviet operatives executed a [coup d'état](#) in [Czechoslovakia](#), the only Eastern Bloc state that the Soviets had permitted to retain democratic structures.^[95] The public brutality of the coup shocked Western powers more than any event up to that point, set in motion a brief scare that war would occur and swept away the last vestiges of opposition to the Marshall Plan in the United States Congress.^[96]

The twin policies of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan led to billions in economic and military aid for Western Europe, Greece, and Turkey. With the US assistance, the Greek military won its civil war.^[92] Under the leadership of Alcide De Gasperi the Italian Christian Democrats defeated the powerful Communist–Socialist alliance in the elections of 1948.^[97]

Espionage

All major powers engaged in espionage, using a great variety of spies, double agents, and new technologies such as the tapping of telephone cables.^[98] The most famous and active organizations were the American CIA,^[99] the Soviet KGB,^[100] and the British MI6. The East German Stasi, unlike the others, was primarily concerned with internal security, but its Main Directorate for Reconnaissance operated espionage activities around the world.^[101] The CIA secretly subsidized and promoted anti-communist cultural activities and organizations.^[102] The CIA was also involved in European politics, especially in Italy.^[103] Espionage took place all over the world, but Berlin was the most important battleground for spying activity.^[104]

So much top secret archival information has been released so that historian Raymond L. Garthoff concludes there probably was parity in the quantity and quality of secret information obtained by each side. However, the Soviets probably had an advantage in terms of HUMINT (espionage) and "sometimes in its reach into high policy circles." In terms of decisive impact, however, he concludes:^[105]

We also can now have high confidence in the judgment that there were no successful "moles" at the political decision-making level on either side. Similarly, there is no evidence, on either side, of any major political or military decision that was prematurely discovered through espionage and thwarted by the other side. There also is no evidence

of any major political or military decision that was crucially influenced (much less generated) by an agent of the other side.

In addition to usual espionage, the Western agencies paid special attention to debriefing [Eastern Bloc defectors](#).^[106]*[citation not found]*

Cominform and the Tito–Stalin Split

In September 1947, the Soviets created [Cominform](#), the purpose of which was to enforce orthodoxy within the international communist movement and tighten political control over Soviet [satellites](#) through coordination of communist parties in the [Eastern Bloc](#).^[93] Cominform faced an embarrassing setback the following June, when the [Tito–Stalin Split](#) obliged its members to expel Yugoslavia, which remained communist but adopted a [non-aligned](#) position.^[107]

Berlin Blockade and Airlift

The United States and Britain merged their western German occupation zones into "[Bizonia](#)" (1 January 1947, later "Trizonia" with the addition of France's zone, April 1949).^[108] As part of the economic rebuilding of Germany, in early 1948, representatives of a number of Western European governments and the United States announced an agreement for a merger of western German areas into a federal governmental system.^[109] In addition, in accordance with the [Marshall Plan](#), they began to re-industrialize and rebuild the west German economy, including the introduction of a new [Deutsche Mark](#) currency to replace the old [Reichsmark](#) currency that the Soviets had debased.^[110] The US had secretly decided that a unified and neutral Germany was undesirable, with [Walter Bedell Smith](#) telling General Eisenhower "in spite of our announced position, we really do not want nor intend to

accept German unification on any terms that the Russians might agree to, even though they seem to meet most of our requirements."^[111]

Shortly thereafter, Stalin instituted the [Berlin Blockade](#) (24 June 1948 – 12 May 1949), one of the first major crises of the Cold War, preventing food, materials and supplies from arriving in [West Berlin](#).^[112] The United States, Britain, France, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and several other countries began the massive "Berlin airlift", supplying West Berlin with food and other provisions.^[113]

The Soviets mounted a public relations campaign against the policy change. Once again the East Berlin communists attempted to disrupt the [Berlin municipal elections](#) (as they had done in the 1946 elections),^[108] which were held on 5 December 1948 and produced a turnout of 86.3% and an overwhelming victory for the non-communist parties.^[114] The results effectively divided the city into East and West versions of its former self. 300,000 Berliners demonstrated and urged the international airlift to continue,^[115] and US Air Force pilot [Gail Halvorsen](#) created "[Operation Vittles](#)", which supplied candy to German children.^[116] In May 1949, Stalin backed down and lifted the blockade.^{[66][117]}

In 1952, Stalin repeatedly [proposed a plan](#) to unify East and West Germany under a single government chosen in elections supervised by the United Nations, if the new Germany were to stay out of Western military alliances, but this proposal was turned down by the Western powers. Some sources dispute the sincerity of the proposal.^[118]

Beginnings of NATO and Radio Free Europe

Britain, France, the United States, Canada and other eight western European countries signed the [North Atlantic Treaty](#) of April 1949, establishing the [North Atlantic Treaty](#)

Organization (NATO).^[66] That August, the first Soviet atomic device was detonated in Semipalatinsk, Kazakh SSR.^[83] Following Soviet refusals to participate in a German rebuilding effort set forth by western European countries in 1948,^{[109][119]} the US, Britain and France spearheaded the establishment of West Germany from the three Western zones of occupation in April 1949.^[120] The Soviet Union proclaimed its zone of occupation in Germany the German Democratic Republic that October.^[43]

Media in the Eastern Bloc was an organ of the state, completely reliant on and subservient to the communist party. Radio and television organizations were state-owned, while print media was usually owned by political organizations, mostly by the local communist party.^[121] Soviet radio broadcasts used Marxist rhetoric to attack capitalism, emphasizing themes of labor exploitation, imperialism and war-mongering.^[122]

Along with the broadcasts of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Voice of America to Central and Eastern Europe,^[123] a major propaganda effort begun in 1949 was Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, dedicated to bringing about the peaceful demise of the communist system in the Eastern Bloc.^[124] Radio Free Europe attempted to achieve these goals by serving as a surrogate home radio station, an alternative to the controlled and party-dominated domestic press.^[124] Radio Free Europe was a product of some of the most prominent architects of America's early Cold War strategy, especially those who believed that the Cold War would eventually be fought by political rather than military means, such as George F. Kennan.^[125]

American policymakers, including Kennan and John Foster Dulles, acknowledged that the Cold War was in its essence a war of ideas.^[125] The United States, acting through the CIA, funded a long list of projects to counter the communist appeal among intellectuals in Europe

and the developing world.^[126] The CIA also covertly sponsored a domestic propaganda campaign called Crusade for Freedom.^[127]

In the early 1950s, the US worked for the rearmament of West Germany and, in 1955, secured its full membership of NATO.^[43] In May 1953, Beria, by then in a government post, had made an unsuccessful proposal to allow the reunification of a neutral Germany to prevent West Germany's incorporation into NATO.^[128]

Chinese Civil War, SEATO, and NSC-68

In 1949, Mao Zedong's People's Liberation Army defeated Chiang Kai-shek's United States-backed Kuomintang (KMT) Nationalist Government in China, and the Soviet Union promptly created an alliance with the newly formed People's Republic of China.^[129] According to Norwegian historian Odd Arne Westad, the communists won the Civil War because they made fewer military mistakes than Chiang Kai-Shek made, and because in his search for a powerful centralized government, Chiang antagonized too many interest groups in China. Moreover, his party was weakened during the war against Japan. Meanwhile, the communists told different groups, such as the peasants, exactly what they wanted to hear, and they cloaked themselves under the cover of Chinese nationalism.^[130] Chiang and his KMT government retreated to the island of Taiwan.

Confronted with the communist revolution in China and the end of the American atomic monopoly in 1949, the Truman administration quickly moved to escalate and expand its containment doctrine.^[83] In NSC 68, a secret 1950 document, the National Security Council instituted a Machiavellian policy^[131] while proposing to reinforce pro-Western alliance systems and quadruple spending on defense.^[83] Truman, under the influence of

advisor [Paul Nitze](#), saw containment as implying complete [rollback](#) of Soviet influence in all its forms.^[132]

United States officials moved to expand this version of containment into [Asia](#), [Africa](#), and [Latin America](#), in order to counter revolutionary nationalist movements, often led by communist parties financed by the USSR, fighting against the restoration of Europe's colonial empires in South-East Asia and elsewhere.^[133] In this way, this US would exercise "[preponderant power](#)," oppose neutrality, and [establish global hegemony](#).^[132] In the early 1950s (a period sometimes known as the "[Pactomania](#)"), the US formalized a series of alliances with [Japan](#), [Australia](#), [New Zealand](#), [Thailand](#) and the [Philippines](#) (notably [ANZUS](#) in 1951 and [SEATO](#) in 1954), thereby guaranteeing the United States a number of long-term military bases.^[43]

Korean War

One of the more significant examples of the implementation of containment was US intervention in the [Korean War](#). In June 1950, after years of mutual hostilities,^{[F][134][135]} [Kim Il-sung's North Korean People's Army](#) invaded [South Korea](#) at the [38th parallel](#). Stalin had been reluctant to support the invasion^[G] but ultimately sent advisers.^[136] To Stalin's surprise,^[83] the [United Nations Security Council Resolution 82](#) and [83](#) backed the defense of South Korea, although the Soviets were then boycotting meetings in protest of the fact that [Taiwan](#), not the [People's Republic of China](#), held a permanent seat on the council.^[137] A [UN force](#) of sixteen countries faced North Korea,^[138] although 40 percent of troops were South Korean, and about 50 percent were from the United States.^[139]

The US initially seemed to follow containment when it first entered the war. This directed the US's action to only push back North Korea across the 38th Parallel and restore South Korea's

sovereignty while allowing North Korea's survival as a state. However, the success of the [Inchon landing](#) inspired the US/UN forces to pursue a [rollback](#) strategy instead and to overthrow communist North Korea, thereby allowing nationwide elections under U.N. auspices.^[140] General [Douglas MacArthur](#) then advanced across the [38th Parallel](#) into North Korea. The Chinese, fearful of a possible US invasion, sent in a large army and defeated the U.N. forces, pushing them back below the 38th parallel. Truman publicly hinted that he might use his "ace in the hole" of the atomic bomb, but Mao was unmoved.^[141] The episode was used to support the wisdom of the containment doctrine as opposed to rollback. The Communists were later pushed to roughly around the original border, with minimal changes. Among other effects, the Korean War galvanised [NATO](#) to develop a military structure.^[142] Public opinion in countries involved, such as Great Britain, was divided for and against the war.^[143]

After the [Armistice](#) was approved in July 1953, Korean leader Kim Il Sung created a highly centralized, [totalitarian](#) dictatorship that accorded his family unlimited power while generating a pervasive [cult of personality](#).^{[144][145]} In the South, the American-backed [dictator Syngman Rhee](#) ran a [violently anticommunist](#) and authoritarian regime.^[146] While Rhee was overthrown in 1960, South Korea continued to be ruled by a military government of former Japanese collaborators until the re-establishment of a multi-party system in the late 1980s.^[147]

Crisis and escalation (1953–1962)

In 1953, changes in political leadership on both sides shifted the dynamic of the Cold War.^[92] [Dwight D. Eisenhower](#) was inaugurated president that January. During the last 18 months of the Truman administration, the American defense budget had quadrupled, and

Eisenhower moved to reduce military spending by a third while continuing to fight the Cold War effectively.^[83]

After the death of [Joseph Stalin](#), [Georgy Malenkov](#) initially succeeded him as leader of the Soviet Union only to be quickly removed and replaced by [Nikita Khrushchev](#). On 25 February 1956, Khrushchev shocked delegates to the [20th Congress](#) of the [Soviet Communist Party](#) by [cataloguing and denouncing Stalin's crimes](#).^[148] As part of a new campaign of [de-Stalinization](#), he declared that the only way to reform and move away from Stalin's policies would be to acknowledge errors made in the past.^[92]

On 18 November 1956, while addressing Western dignitaries at a reception in Moscow's Polish embassy, Khrushchev infamously declared, "Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. [We will bury you](#)", shocking everyone present.^[H] He would later say he had not been referring to nuclear war, but the historically fated victory of communism over capitalism.^[149] In 1961, Khrushchev boasted that, even if the Soviet Union was currently behind the West, its housing shortage would disappear within ten years, consumer goods would be made abundant, and the "construction of a communist society" would be completed "in the main" within no more than two decades.^[150]

Eisenhower's secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, initiated a "[New Look](#)" for the [containment](#) strategy, calling for a greater reliance on nuclear weapons against US enemies in wartime.^[92] Dulles also enunciated the doctrine of "[massive retaliation](#)", threatening a severe US response to any Soviet aggression. Possessing nuclear superiority, for example, allowed Eisenhower to face down Soviet threats to intervene in the Middle East during the 1956 [Suez Crisis](#).^[83] US plans for nuclear war in the late 1950s included the "systematic destruction" of 1,200 major urban centers in the Eastern Bloc and China,

including Moscow, East Berlin and Beijing, with their civilian populations among the primary targets.^{[151][11]}

In spite of these threats, there were substantial hopes for detente when [an upswing in diplomacy took place in 1959](#), including a two-week visit by Khrushchev to the US, and plans for a two-power summit for May 1960. The latter was disturbed by the [U-2 spy plane scandal](#), however, in which Eisenhower was caught lying to the world about the intrusion of American surveillance aircraft into Soviet territory.^{[152][153]}

Warsaw Pact and Hungarian Revolution

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956

While [Stalin's](#) death in 1953 slightly relaxed tensions, the situation in Europe remained an uneasy armed truce.^[154] The Soviets, who had already created a network of mutual assistance treaties in the [Eastern Bloc](#) by 1949, established a formal alliance therein, the [Warsaw Pact](#), in 1955. It stood opposed to NATO.^[43]

The [Hungarian Revolution of 1956](#) occurred shortly after Khrushchev arranged the removal of Hungary's Stalinist leader [Mátyás Rákosi](#).^[155] In response to a popular uprising,^[1] the new regime formally disbanded the [secret police](#), declared its intention to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact and pledged to re-establish free elections. The [Soviet Army](#) invaded.^[156] Thousands of Hungarians were arrested, imprisoned and deported to the Soviet Union,^[157] and approximately 200,000 Hungarians fled Hungary in the chaos.^[158] Hungarian leader [Imre Nagy](#) and others were executed following secret trials.^[K1]

From 1957 through 1961, Khrushchev openly and repeatedly threatened the West with nuclear annihilation. He claimed that Soviet missile capabilities were far superior to those of

the United States, capable of wiping out any American or European city. According to [John Lewis Gaddis](#), Khrushchev rejected Stalin's "belief in the inevitability of war," however. The new leader declared his ultimate goal was "[peaceful coexistence](#)".^[159] In Khrushchev's formulation, peace would allow capitalism to collapse on its own,^[160] as well as giving the Soviets time to boost their military capabilities,^[161] which remained for decades until Gorbachev's later "new thinking" envisioning peaceful coexistence as an end in itself rather than a form of class struggle.^[162]

The events in Hungary produced ideological fractures within the communist parties of the world, particularly in Western Europe, with great decline in membership as many in both western and socialist countries felt disillusioned by the brutal Soviet response.^[163] The communist parties in the West would never recover from the effect the Hungarian Revolution had on their membership, a fact that was immediately recognized by some, such as the Yugoslavian politician [Milovan Đilas](#) who shortly after the revolution was crushed said that "The wound which the Hungarian Revolution inflicted on communism can never be completely healed".^[163]

Berlin ultimatum

During November 1958, Khrushchev made an unsuccessful attempt to turn all of Berlin into an independent, demilitarized "free city". He gave the United States, Great Britain, and France a six-month ultimatum to withdraw their troops from the sectors they still occupied in West Berlin, or he would transfer control of Western access rights to the East Germans. Khrushchev earlier explained to [Mao Zedong](#) that "Berlin is the testicles of the West. Every time I want to make the West scream, I squeeze on Berlin."^[164] NATO formally rejected the

ultimatum in mid-December and Khrushchev withdrew it in return for a Geneva conference on the German question.^[165]

American military buildup

Main article: [Flexible response](#)

Kennedy's foreign policy was dominated by American confrontations with the Soviet Union, manifested by proxy contests. Like Truman and Eisenhower, Kennedy supported containment to stop the spread of Communism. President Eisenhower's [New Look](#) policy had emphasized the use of less expensive nuclear weapons to [deter](#) Soviet aggression by threatening massive nuclear attacks all of the Soviet Union. Nuclear weapons were much cheaper than maintaining a large standing army, so Eisenhower cut conventional forces to save money. Kennedy implemented a new strategy known as [flexible response](#). This strategy relied on conventional arms to achieve limited goals. As part of this policy, Kennedy expanded the [United States special operations forces](#), elite military units that could fight unconventionally in various conflicts. Kennedy hoped that the flexible response strategy would allow the US to counter Soviet influence without resorting to nuclear war.^[166]

To support his new strategy Kennedy ordered a massive increase in defense spending. He sought, and Congress provided, a rapid build-up of the nuclear arsenal to restore the lost superiority over the Soviet Union—he claimed in 1960 that Eisenhower had lost it because of excessive concern with budget deficits. In his inaugural address Kennedy promised "to bear any burden" in the defense of liberty, and he repeatedly asked for increases in military spending and authorization of new weapon systems. From 1961 to 1964 the number of nuclear weapons increased by 50 percent, as did the number of B-52 bombers to deliver them. The new ICBM force grew from 63 intercontinental ballistic missiles to 424. He

authorized 23 new Polaris submarines, each of which carried 16 nuclear missiles. He called on cities to prepare fallout shelters for nuclear war. In contrast to Eisenhower's warning about the perils of the [military-industrial complex](#), Kennedy focused on rearmament.

Nationalist movements in some countries and regions, notably [Guatemala](#), Indonesia and [Indochina](#), were often allied with communist groups or otherwise perceived to be unfriendly to Western interests.^[192] In this context, the United States and the Soviet Union increasingly competed for influence by proxy in the Third World as [decolonization](#) gained momentum in the 1950s and early 1960s.^[168] Both sides were selling armaments to gain influence.^[169] The Kremlin saw continuing territorial losses by imperial powers as presaging the eventual victory of their ideology.^[170]

The United States used the [Central Intelligence Agency](#) (CIA) to undermine neutral or hostile Third World governments and to support allied ones.^[171] In 1953, President Eisenhower implemented [Operation Ajax](#), a covert coup operation to overthrow the Iranian prime minister, [Mohammad Mosaddegh](#). The popularly elected Mosaddegh had been a Middle Eastern nemesis of Britain since nationalizing the British-owned [Anglo-Iranian Oil Company](#) in 1951. [Winston Churchill](#) told the United States that Mosaddegh was "increasingly turning towards Communist influence." The pro-Western [shah](#), [Mohammad Reza Pahlavi](#), assumed control as an [autocratic](#) monarch.^[175] The shah's policies included banning the communist [Tudeh Party of Iran](#), and general suppression of political dissent by [SAVAK](#), the shah's domestic security and intelligence agency.

In Guatemala, a [banana republic](#), the [1954 Guatemalan coup d'état](#) ousted the left-wing President [Jacobo Árbenz](#) with material CIA support.^[176] The post-Arbenz government—a [military junta](#) headed by [Carlos Castillo Armas](#)—repealed a [progressive land reform law](#),

returned nationalized property belonging to the [United Fruit Company](#), set up a [National Committee of Defense Against Communism](#), and decreed a [Preventive Penal Law Against Communism](#) at the request of the United States.^[177]

The non-aligned Indonesian government of [Sukarno](#) was faced with a major threat to its legitimacy beginning in 1956, when several regional commanders began to demand autonomy from [Jakarta](#). After mediation failed, Sukarno took action to remove the dissident commanders. In February 1958, dissident military commanders in Central Sumatera (Colonel Ahmad Hussein) and North Sulawesi (Colonel Ventje Sumual) declared the [Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia-Permesta](#) Movement aimed at overthrowing the Sukarno regime. They were joined by many civilian politicians from the [Masyumi Party](#), such as [Sjafruddin Prawiranegara](#), who were opposed to the growing influence of the communist [Partai Komunis Indonesia](#) party. Due to their anti-communist rhetoric, the rebels received arms, funding, and other covert aid from the CIA until [Allen Lawrence Pope](#), an American pilot, was shot down after a bombing raid on government-held [Ambon](#) in April 1958. The central government responded by launching airborne and seaborne military invasions of rebel strongholds [Padang](#) and [Manado](#). By the end of 1958, the rebels were militarily defeated, and the last remaining rebel guerilla bands surrendered by August 1961. In the [Republic of the Congo](#), newly independent from [Belgium](#) since June 1960, the CIA-cultivated President [Joseph Kasa-Vubu](#) ordered the dismissal of the democratically elected Prime Minister [Patrice Lumumba](#) and the Lumumba cabinet in September.^[179] In the ensuing [Congo Crisis](#), the CIA-backed Colonel [Mobutu Sese Seko](#) quickly mobilized his forces to seize power through a military coup d'état,^[179] and worked with Western intelligence agencies to assassinate Lumumba.^{[180][181]}

In [British Guiana](#), the leftist [People's Progressive Party](#) (PPP) candidate [Cheddi Jagan](#) won the position of chief minister in a colonially administered election in 1953, but was quickly forced to resign from power after Britain's suspension of the still-dependent nation's constitution.^[182] Embarrassed by the landslide electoral victory of Jagan's allegedly Marxist party, the British imprisoned the PPP's leadership and maneuvered the organization into a divisive rupture in 1955, engineering a split between Jagan and his PPP colleagues.^[183] Jagan again won the colonial elections in 1957 and 1961; despite Britain's shift to a reconsideration of its view of the left-wing Jagan as a Soviet-style communist at this time, the United States pressured the British to withhold [Guyana](#)'s independence until an alternative to Jagan could be identified, supported, and brought into office.^[184]

Worn down by the [communist guerrilla war for Vietnamese independence](#) and handed a watershed defeat by communist [Viet Minh](#) rebels at the 1954 [Battle of Dien Bien Phu](#), the French accepted a negotiated abandonment of their colonial stake in [Vietnam](#). In the [Geneva Conference](#), peace accords were signed, leaving Vietnam divided between a pro-Soviet administration in [North Vietnam](#) and a pro-Western administration in [South Vietnam](#) at the [17th parallel north](#). Between 1954 and 1961, Eisenhower's United States sent economic aid and military advisers to strengthen South Vietnam's pro-Western regime against communist efforts to destabilize it.^[83]

Many emerging nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America rejected the pressure to choose sides in the East–West competition. In 1955, at the [Bandung Conference](#) in Indonesia, dozens of Third World governments resolved to stay out of the Cold War.^[185] The consensus reached at Bandung culminated with the creation of the [Belgrade](#)-headquartered [Non-Aligned Movement](#) in 1961.^[92] Meanwhile, Khrushchev broadened Moscow's policy to

establish ties with [India](#) and other key neutral states. Independence movements in the Third World transformed the post-war order into a more pluralistic world of decolonized African and Middle Eastern nations and of rising nationalism in Asia and Latin America.^[183]

Sino-Soviet split

After 1956, the Sino-Soviet alliance began to break down. Mao had defended Stalin when Khrushchev criticized him in 1956, and treated the new Soviet leader as a superficial upstart, accusing him of having lost his revolutionary edge.^[186] For his part, Khrushchev, disturbed by Mao's glib attitude toward nuclear war, referred to the Chinese leader as a "lunatic on a throne".^[187]

After this, Khrushchev made many desperate attempts to reconstitute the Sino-Soviet alliance, but Mao considered it useless and denied any proposal.^[186] The Chinese-Soviet animosity spilled out in an intra-communist propaganda war.^[188] Further on, the Soviets focused on a bitter rivalry with Mao's China for leadership of the global communist movement.^[189] Historian Lorenz M. Lüthi argues:

The Sino-Soviet split was one of the key events of the Cold War, equal in importance to the construction of the Berlin Wall, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Second Vietnam War, and [Sino-American rapprochement](#). The split helped to determine the framework of the Second Cold War in general, and influenced the course of the Second Vietnam War in particular.^[190]

Space Race On the [nuclear weapons](#) front, the United States and the USSR pursued nuclear rearmament and developed long-range weapons with which they could strike the territory of the other.^[43] In August 1957, the Soviets successfully launched the world's first [intercontinental ballistic missile](#) (ICBM),^[191] and in October they launched the first Earth satellite, [Sputnik 1](#).^[192] The launch of Sputnik inaugurated the [Space Race](#). This led to the [Apollo Moon landings](#) by the United States, which astronaut [Frank Borman](#) later described as "just a battle in the Cold War."^[193]

Cuban Revolution and the Bay of Pigs Invasion

In [Cuba](#), the [26th of July Movement](#), led by young revolutionaries [Fidel Castro](#) and [Che Guevara](#), seized power in the [Cuban Revolution](#) on 1 January 1959, toppling President [Fulgencio Batista](#), whose unpopular regime had been denied arms by the Eisenhower administration.^[194]

[Diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States](#) continued for some time after Batista's fall, but President Eisenhower deliberately left the capital to avoid meeting Castro during the latter's trip to [Washington, DC](#) in April, leaving Vice President [Richard Nixon](#) to conduct the meeting in his place.^[195] Cuba began negotiating for arms purchases from the Eastern Bloc in March 1960.^[196] In March of that year Eisenhower gave approval to [CIA](#) plans and funding to overthrow Castro.^[197]

In January 1961, just prior to leaving office, Eisenhower formally severed relations with the Cuban government. That April, the administration of newly elected American President [John F. Kennedy](#) mounted the unsuccessful CIA-organized [ship-borne invasion](#) of the island at Playa Girón and Playa Larga in [Santa Clara Province](#)—a failure that publicly humiliated the United States.^[198] Castro responded by publicly

embracing [Marxism–Leninism](#), and the Soviet Union pledged to [provide further support](#).^[198] In December, the U.S. government [began a campaign of terrorist attacks](#) against the Cuban people and covert operations against the administration, in an attempt to bring down the Cuban government.^[205]

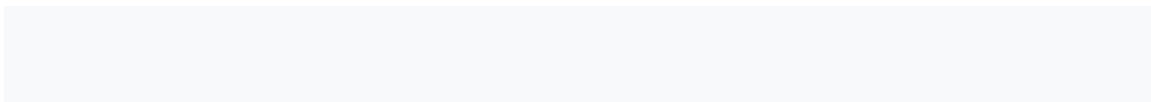
Berlin Crisis of 1961

The [Berlin Crisis of 1961](#) was the last major incident in the Cold War regarding the status of Berlin and [post–World War II Germany](#). By the early 1950s, the [Soviet approach to restricting emigration movement](#) was emulated by most of the rest of the [Eastern Bloc](#).^[206] However, hundreds of thousands of [East Germans](#) annually emigrated to [West Germany](#) through a "loophole" in the system that existed between [East Berlin](#) and [West Berlin](#), where the four occupying World War II powers governed movement.^[207]

The emigration resulted in a massive "[brain drain](#)" from East Germany to West Germany of younger educated professionals, such that nearly 20% of East Germany's population had migrated to West Germany by 1961.^[208] That June, the [Soviet Union](#) issued a new [ultimatum](#) demanding the withdrawal of [Allied forces](#) from West Berlin.^[209] The request was rebuffed, and on 13 August, East Germany erected a barbed-wire barrier that would eventually be expanded through construction into the [Berlin Wall](#), effectively closing the loophole.^[210]

Cuban Missile Crisis and Khrushchev's ousting

Main articles: [Cuban Project](#) and [Cuban Missile Crisis](#)



The Kennedy administration continued seeking ways to oust Castro following the Bay of Pigs Invasion, experimenting with various ways of covertly facilitating the overthrow of the Cuban government. Significant hopes were pinned on the program of terrorist attacks and other destabilisation operations known as [Operation Mongoose](#), devised under the Kennedy administration in 1961. Khrushchev learned of the project in February 1962,^[211] and preparations to install Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba were undertaken in response.^[211]

Alarmed, Kennedy considered various reactions. He ultimately responded to the installation of nuclear missiles in Cuba with a naval blockade, and he presented an ultimatum to the Soviets. Khrushchev backed down from a confrontation, and the Soviet Union removed the missiles in return for a public American pledge not to invade Cuba again as well as a covert deal to remove US missiles from Turkey.^[212] Castro later admitted that "I would have agreed to the use of nuclear weapons. ... we took it for granted that it would become a nuclear war anyway, and that we were going to disappear."^[213]

The [Cuban Missile Crisis](#) (October–November 1962) brought the world closer to [nuclear war](#) than ever before.^[214] The aftermath of the crisis led to the first efforts in the [nuclear arms race](#) at nuclear disarmament and improving relations,^[citation needed] although the Cold War's first arms control agreement, the [Antarctic Treaty](#), had come into force in 1961.^[L]

In 1964, Khrushchev's Kremlin colleagues managed to [oust](#) him, but allowed him a peaceful retirement.^[215] Accused of rudeness and incompetence, John Lewis Gaddis argues that Khrushchev was also credited with ruining Soviet agriculture, bringing the

world to the brink of nuclear war^[216] and that Khrushchev had become an 'international embarrassment' when he authorized construction of the Berlin Wall.^[216]

From confrontation to détente (1962–1979)

In the course of the 1960s and 1970s, Cold War participants struggled to adjust to a new, more complicated pattern of international relations in which the world was no longer divided into two clearly opposed blocs.^[92] From the beginning of the post-war period, Western Europe and Japan rapidly recovered from the destruction of World War II and sustained strong economic growth through the 1950s and 1960s, with per capita GDPs approaching those of the United States, while [Eastern Bloc economies stagnated](#).^{[92][217]}

The [Vietnam War](#) descended into a quagmire for the United States, leading to a decline in international prestige and economic stability, derailing arms agreements, and provoking domestic unrest. America's withdrawal from the war led it to embrace a policy of [detente](#) with both China and the Soviet Union.^[218]

In the [1973 oil crisis](#), Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries ([OPEC](#)) cut their petroleum output. This raised oil prices and hurt Western economies, but helped the Soviet Union by generating a huge flow of money from its oil sales.^[219]

As a result of the oil crisis, combined with the growing influence of Third World alignments such as OPEC and the [Non-Aligned Movement](#), less powerful countries had more room to assert their independence and often showed themselves resistant to pressure from either superpower.^[133] Meanwhile, Moscow was forced to turn its attention inward to deal with the Soviet Union's deep-seated domestic economic

problems.^[92] During this period, Soviet leaders such as [Leonid Brezhnev](#) and [Alexei Kosygin](#) embraced the notion of [détente](#).^[92]

Vietnam War

Under President [John F. Kennedy](#), US troop levels in Vietnam grew under the [Military Assistance Advisory Group](#) program from just under a thousand in 1959 to 16,000 in 1963.^[M1N] South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem's heavy-handed [crackdown on Buddhist monks](#) in 1963 led the US to endorse a deadly [military coup against Diem](#).^[220] The war escalated further in 1964 following the controversial [Gulf of Tonkin incident](#), in which a U.S. destroyer was alleged to have clashed with North Vietnamese fast attack craft. The [Gulf of Tonkin Resolution](#) gave President [Lyndon B. Johnson](#) broad authorization to increase U.S. military presence, deploying ground [combat units](#) for the first time and increasing troop levels to 184,000.^[221] Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev responded by reversing Khrushchev's policy of disengagement and increasing aid to the North Vietnamese, hoping to entice the North from its pro-Chinese position. The USSR discouraged further escalation of the war, however, providing just enough military assistance to tie up American forces.^[222] From this point, the [People's Army of Vietnam](#) (PAVN), also known as the North Vietnamese Army (NVA) engaged in more [conventional warfare](#) with US and South Vietnamese forces.^[223]

The [Tet Offensive](#) of 1968 proved to be the turning point of the war. Despite years of American tutelage and aid the South Vietnamese forces were unable to withstand the communist offensive and the task fell to US forces instead. Tet showed that the end of US involvement was not in sight, increasing domestic skepticism of the war and giving

rise to what was referred to as the [Vietnam Syndrome](#), a public aversion to American overseas military involvements. Nonetheless operations continued to cross international boundaries: bordering areas of Laos and Cambodia were used by North Vietnam as [supply routes](#), and were heavily [bombed by U.S. forces](#).^[224]

At the same time, 1963–65, American domestic politics saw the triumph of [liberalism](#).

According to historian Joseph Crespino:

It has become a staple of twentieth-century historiography that Cold War concerns were at the root of a number of progressive political accomplishments in the postwar period: a high progressive marginal tax rate that helped fund the arms race and contributed to broad income equality; bipartisan support for far-reaching civil rights legislation that transformed politics and society in the American South, which had long given the lie to America's egalitarian ethos; bipartisan support for overturning an explicitly racist immigration system that had been in place since the 1920s; and free health care for the elderly and the poor, a partial fulfillment of one of the unaccomplished goals of the New Deal era. The list could go on.^[225]

The unity of NATO was breached early in its history, with a crisis occurring during [Charles de Gaulle](#)'s presidency of France. De Gaulle protested at the strong role of the United States in the organization and what he perceived as a [special relationship](#) between the United States and the United Kingdom. In a memorandum sent to President [Dwight D. Eisenhower](#) and Prime Minister [Harold Macmillan](#) on 17 September 1958, he argued for the creation of a tripartite directorate that would put France on an equal footing with the United States and the United Kingdom, and also for the expansion of NATO's coverage to include geographical areas of interest to France, most notably [French Algeria](#), where France was waging a counter-insurgency

and sought NATO assistance.^[226] De Gaulle considered the response he received to be unsatisfactory, and began the development of an [independent French nuclear deterrent](#). In 1966 he withdrew France from NATO's military structures and expelled NATO troops from French soil.^[227]

In 1968, a period of political liberalization took place in [Czechoslovakia](#) called the [Prague Spring](#). An "[Action Program](#)" of reforms included increasing [freedom of the press](#), [freedom of speech](#) and [freedom of movement](#), along with an economic emphasis on [consumer goods](#), the possibility of a multiparty government, limitations on the power of the secret police,^[228] and potential withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact.^[229]

In answer to the Prague Spring, on 20 August 1968, the [Soviet Army](#), together with most of their Warsaw Pact allies, [invaded Czechoslovakia](#).^[230] The invasion was followed by a wave of emigration, including an estimated 70,000 Czechs and Slovaks initially fleeing, with the total eventually reaching 300,000.^[231] The invasion sparked intense protests from Yugoslavia, Romania, China, and from Western European communist parties.^[232]

Brezhnev Doctrine

In September 1968, during a speech at the Fifth Congress of the [Polish United Workers' Party](#) one month after the [invasion of Czechoslovakia](#), Brezhnev outlined the [Brezhnev Doctrine](#), in which he claimed the right to violate the sovereignty of any country attempting to replace Marxism–Leninism with capitalism. During the speech, Brezhnev stated:^[229]

When forces that are hostile to socialism try to turn the development of some socialist country towards capitalism, it becomes not only a problem of the country concerned, but a common problem and concern of all socialist countries.

The doctrine found its origins in the failures of Marxism–Leninism in states like Poland, Hungary and East Germany, which were facing a declining standard of living contrasting with the prosperity of West Germany and the rest of Western Europe.^[233]

Third World escalations

1964 Brazilian coup d'état, Dominican Civil War, Indonesian mass killings of 1965–66, Vietnam War, 1973 Chilean coup d'état, 1973 Uruguayan coup d'état, 1976 Argentine coup d'état, Operation Condor, Six-Day War, Task Force 74, War of Attrition, Yom Kippur War, Ogaden War, Angolan Civil War, South African Border War, Indonesian invasion of East Timor, Re-education camp (Vietnam), Vietnamese boat people, and Stability–instability paradox

Under the Lyndon B. Johnson Administration, which gained power after the assassination of John F. Kennedy, the US took a more hardline stance on Latin America—sometimes called the "Mann Doctrine".^[234] In 1964, the Brazilian military overthrew the government of president João Goulart with US backing.^[234] In late April 1965, the US sent some 22,000 troops to the Dominican Republic for a one-year occupation in an invasion codenamed Operation Power Pack, citing the threat of the emergence of a Cuban-style revolution in Latin America.^[83] Héctor García-Godoy acted as provisional president, until conservative former president Joaquín Balaguer won the 1966 presidential election against non-campaigning former President Juan Bosch.^[235] Activists for Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party were violently harassed by the Dominican police and armed forces.^[235]

In Indonesia, the hardline anti-communist General Suharto wrested control of the state from his predecessor Sukarno in an attempt to establish a "New Order". From 1965 to 1966, with the aid of the United States and other Western governments, the military led the mass killing of more than 500,000 members and sympathizers of the Indonesian Communist Party and other leftist

organizations, and detained hundreds of thousands more in prison camps around the country under extremely inhumane conditions.^{[241][242]} A top-secret CIA report stated that the massacres "rank as one of the worst mass murders of the 20th century, along with the Soviet purges of the 1930s, the Nazi mass murders during the Second World War, and the Maoist bloodbath of the early 1950s."^[242] These killings served US strategic interests and constitute a major turning point in the Cold War as the balance of power shifted in Southeast Asia.^{[240][243]}

Escalating the scale of American intervention in the ongoing conflict between Ngô Đình Diệm's South Vietnamese government and the communist National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NLF) insurgents opposing it, Johnson deployed some 575,000 troops in Southeast Asia to defeat the NLF and their North Vietnamese allies in the Vietnam War, but his costly policy weakened the US economy and, by 1975, it ultimately culminated in what most of the world saw as a humiliating defeat of the world's most powerful superpower at the hands of one of the world's poorest nations.

The Middle East remained a source of contention. Egypt, which received the bulk of its arms and economic assistance from the USSR, was a troublesome client, with a reluctant Soviet Union feeling obliged to assist in both the 1967 Six-Day War (with advisers and technicians) and the War of Attrition (with pilots and aircraft) against pro-Western Israel.^[244] Despite the beginning of an Egyptian shift from a pro-Soviet to a pro-American orientation in 1972 (under Egypt's new leader Anwar Sadat),^[245] rumors of imminent Soviet intervention on the Egyptians' behalf during the 1973 Yom Kippur War brought about a massive American mobilization that threatened to wreck détente.^[citation needed] Although pre-Sadat Egypt had been the largest recipient of Soviet aid in the Middle East, the Soviets were also successful in establishing close relations with communist South Yemen, as well as the nationalist governments

of [Algeria](#) and [Iraq](#).^[245] Iraq signed a 15-year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union in 1972. According to historian [Charles R.H. Tripp](#), the treaty upset "the US-sponsored security system established as part of the [Cold War in the Middle East](#). It appeared that any enemy of the Baghdad regime was a potential ally of the United States."^[246] In response, the US covertly financed Kurdish rebels led by [Mustafa Barzani](#) during the [Second Iraqi–Kurdish War](#); the Kurds were defeated in 1975, leading to the forcible relocation of hundreds of thousands of Kurdish civilians.^[246] Indirect Soviet assistance to the Palestinian side of the [Israeli–Palestinian conflict](#) included support for [Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization](#) (PLO).^[247]

In East Africa, a territorial dispute between [Somalia](#) and [Ethiopia](#) over the [Ogaden](#) region resulted in the [Ogaden War](#). Around June 1977, Somali troops occupied the Ogaden and began advancing inland towards Ethiopian positions in the [Ahmar Mountains](#). Both countries were client states of the [Soviet Union](#); Somalia was led by self-proclaimed Marxist military leader [Siad Barre](#), and Ethiopia was controlled by the [Derg](#), a cabal of military generals loyal to the pro-Soviet [Mengistu Haile Mariam](#), who had declared the [Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia](#) in 1975.^[248] The Soviets initially attempted to exert a moderating influence on both states, but in November 1977 Barre broke off relations with Moscow and expelled his Soviet military advisers.^[249] He then turned to the China and [Safari Club](#)—a group of pro-American intelligence agencies including those of Iran, Egypt, Saudi Arabia—for support and weapons. While declining to take a direct part in hostilities, the Soviet Union did provide the impetus for a successful Ethiopian counteroffensive to expel Somalia from the Ogaden. The counteroffensive was planned at the command level by Soviet advisers attached to the Ethiopian general staff, and bolstered by the delivery of millions of dollars' of sophisticated Soviet

arms.^[249] About 11,000 Cuban troops spearheaded the primary effort, after receiving a hasty training on some of the newly delivered Soviet weapons systems by East German instructors.^[249]

In [Chile](#), the [Socialist Party](#) candidate [Salvador Allende](#) won the [presidential election of 1970](#), thereby becoming the first democratically elected [Marxist](#) to become president of a country in the Americas.^[252] The CIA targeted Allende for removal and operated to undermine his support domestically, which contributed to a period of unrest culminating in General [Augusto Pinochet's coup d'état](#) on 11 September 1973. Pinochet consolidated power as a military dictator, Allende's reforms of the economy were rolled back, and leftist opponents were killed or detained in internment camps under the [Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional](#) (DINA). The Socialist states—with the exception of China and [Romania](#)—broke off relations with Chile.^[253] The Pinochet regime would go on to be one of the leading participants in [Operation Condor](#), an international campaign of political assassination and [state terrorism](#) organized by right-wing military dictatorships in the [Southern Cone](#) of South America that was covertly supported by the US government.^s

On 24 April 1974, the [Carnation Revolution](#) succeeded in ousting [Marcelo Caetano](#) and Portugal's right-wing [Estado Novo](#) government, sounding the death knell for the Portuguese Empire.^[257] Independence was hastily granted to a number of Portuguese colonies, including [Angola](#), where the disintegration of colonial rule was followed by a violent civil war.^[258] There were three rival militant factions competing for power in Angola, the [People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola](#) (MPLA), the [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola](#) (UNITA), and the [National Liberation Front of Angola](#) (FNLA).^[259] While all three had socialist leanings, the MPLA was the only party with close ties to the Soviet Union.^[259] Its

adherence to the concept of a one-party state alienated it from the FNLA and UNITA, which began portraying themselves as anti-communist and pro-Western in orientation.^[259] When the Soviets began supplying the MPLA with arms, the CIA and China offered substantial covert aid to the FNLA and UNITA. The MPLA eventually requested direct military support from Moscow in the form of ground troops, but the Soviets declined, offering to send advisers but no combat personnel.^[260] Cuba was more forthcoming and began amassing troops in Angola to assist the MPLA.^[260] By November 1975 there were over a thousand Cuban soldiers in the country.^[260] The persistent buildup of Cuban troops and Soviet weapons allowed the MPLA to secure victory and blunt an abortive intervention by Zairean and [South African](#) troops, which had deployed in a belated attempt to assist the FNLA and UNITA..

During the Vietnam War, North Vietnam [used border areas of Cambodia as military bases](#), which Cambodian head of state [Norodom Sihanouk](#) tolerated in an attempt to preserve Cambodia's neutrality. Following [Sihanouk's March 1970 deposition](#) by pro-American general [Lon Nol](#), who ordered the North Vietnamese to leave Cambodia, North Vietnam attempted to overrun all of Cambodia following negotiations with [Nuon Chea](#), the second-in-command of the Cambodian communists (dubbed the [Khmer Rouge](#)) fighting to overthrow the Cambodian government.^[264] Sihanouk fled to China with the establishment of the [GRUNK](#) in Beijing.^[265] American and South Vietnamese forces responded to these actions with a [bombing campaign](#) and a brief [ground incursion](#), which contributed to the violence of the [civil war](#) that soon enveloped all of Cambodia.^[266] US carpet bombing [lasted until 1973](#), and while it prevented the Khmer Rouge from seizing the capital, it also accelerated the collapse of rural society, increased social polarization,^[267] and killed tens of thousands of civilians.^[268]

After taking power and distancing himself from the Vietnamese,^[269] pro-China Khmer Rouge leader [Pol Pot](#) killed 1.5 to 2 million Cambodians in the [killing fields](#), roughly a quarter of the Cambodian population (an event commonly labelled the [Cambodian genocide](#)). [Martin Shaw](#) described these atrocities as "the purest genocide of the Cold War era."^[274] Backed by the [Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation](#), an organization of Khmer pro-Soviet Communists and Khmer Rouge defectors led by [Heng Samrin](#), Vietnam invaded Cambodia on 22 December 1978. The [invasion succeeded](#) in deposing Pol Pot, but the new state would struggle to gain international recognition beyond the Soviet Bloc sphere, despite the previous international outcry at the Pol Pot regime's gross human rights violations, representatives of Khmer Rouge were allowed to be seated in the [UN General Assembly](#), with strong support from China and Western powers, the member countries of [ASEAN](#), and it would become bogged down in a guerrilla war led from refugee camps located on the border with [Thailand](#). Following the destruction of Khmer Rouge, the national reconstruction of Cambodia would be severely hampered, and Vietnam would suffer a punitive [Chinese attack](#).^[275]

Sino-American rapprochement

As a result of the [Sino-Soviet split](#), tensions along the Chinese–Soviet border [reached their peak](#) in 1969, and United States President [Richard Nixon](#) decided to use the conflict to shift the balance of power towards the West in the Cold War.^[276] The Chinese had sought improved relations with the Americans in order to gain advantage over the Soviets as well.

In February 1972, Nixon achieved a stunning rapprochement with China,^[277] traveling to Beijing and meeting with [Mao Zedong](#) and [Zhou Enlai](#). At this time, the USSR achieved rough nuclear parity with the United States;

meanwhile, the [Vietnam War](#) both weakened America's influence in the Third World and cooled relations with Western Europe.^[citation needed]

Although indirect conflict between Cold War powers continued through the late 1960s and early 1970s, tensions were beginning to ease.^[citation needed]

Nixon, Brezhnev, and détente

Following his visit to China, Nixon met with Soviet leaders, including Brezhnev in Moscow.^[278] These [Strategic Arms Limitation Talks](#) resulted in two landmark arms control treaties: [SALT I](#), the first comprehensive limitation pact signed by the two superpowers, and the [Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty](#), which banned the development of systems designed to intercept incoming missiles. These aimed to limit the development of costly anti-ballistic missiles and nuclear missiles.^[92]

Nixon and Brezhnev proclaimed a new era of "peaceful coexistence" and established the groundbreaking new policy of *détente* (or cooperation) between the two superpowers. Meanwhile, Brezhnev attempted to revive the Soviet economy, which was declining in part because of heavy military expenditures. Between 1972 and 1974, the two sides also agreed to strengthen their economic ties,^[83] including agreements for increased trade. As a result of their meetings, *détente* would replace the hostility of the Cold War and the two countries would live mutually.^[279]

These developments coincided with [Bonn](#)'s "[Ostpolitik](#)" policy formulated by the West German Chancellor [Willy Brandt](#),^[232] an effort to normalize relations between West Germany and Eastern Europe. Other agreements were concluded to stabilize

the situation in Europe, culminating in the [Helsinki Accords](#) signed at the [Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe](#) in 1975.

Kissinger and Nixon were "realists" who deemphasized idealistic goals like anti-communism or promotion of democracy worldwide, because those goals were too expensive in terms of America's economic capabilities. Instead of a Cold War they wanted peace, trade and cultural exchanges. They realized that Americans were no longer willing to tax themselves for idealistic foreign policy goals, especially for containment policies that never seemed to produce positive results. Instead Nixon and Kissinger sought to downsize America's global commitments in proportion to its reduced economic, moral and political power. They rejected "idealism" as impractical and too expensive, and neither man showed much sensitivity to the plight of people living under Communism. Kissinger's realism fell out of fashion as idealism returned to American foreign policy with Carter's moralism emphasizing human rights, and Reagan's rollback strategy aimed at destroying Communism.

Late 1970s deterioration of relations

In the 1970s, the KGB, led by [Yuri Andropov](#), continued to persecute distinguished Soviet personalities such as [Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn](#) and [Andrei Sakharov](#), who were criticising the Soviet leadership in harsh terms.^[283] Indirect conflict between the superpowers continued through this period of détente in the Third World, particularly during political crises in the Middle East, Chile, Ethiopia, and Angola.^[284]

Although President [Jimmy Carter](#) tried to place another limit on the arms race with a [SALT II](#) agreement in 1979,^[285] his efforts were undermined by the other events

that year, including the [Iranian Revolution](#) and the [Nicaraguan Revolution](#), which both ousted pro-US regimes, and his retaliation against Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in December.

New Cold War (1979–1985)

The term *new Cold War* refers to the period of intensive reawakening of Cold War tensions and conflicts in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Tensions greatly increased between the major powers with both sides becoming more militant.^[286] [Diggins](#) says, "Reagan went all out to fight the second cold war, by supporting counterinsurgencies in the third world."¹ [Cox](#) says, "The intensity of this 'second' Cold War was as great as its duration was short."

Soviet War in Afghanistan

In April 1978, the communist [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan](#) (PDPA) seized power in [Afghanistan](#) in the [Saur Revolution](#). Within months, opponents of the communist government launched an uprising in eastern Afghanistan that quickly expanded into a [civil war](#) waged by guerrilla [mujahideen](#) against government forces countrywide. The [Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen](#) insurgents received military training and weapons in neighboring [Pakistan](#) and [China](#) while the Soviet Union sent thousands of military advisers to support the PDPA government.^[289] Meanwhile, increasing friction between the competing factions of the PDPA—the dominant [Khalq](#) and the more moderate [Parcham](#)—resulted in the dismissal of Parchami cabinet members and the arrest of Parchami military officers

under the pretext of a Parchami coup. By mid-1979, the United States had started a covert program to assist the mujahideen.

In September 1979, Khalqist President [Nur Muhammad Taraki](#) was assassinated in a coup within the PDPA orchestrated by fellow Khalq member [Hafizullah Amin](#), who assumed the presidency. Distrusted by the Soviets, Amin was assassinated by Soviet special forces in December 1979. A Soviet-organized government, led by Parcham's [Babrak Karmal](#) but inclusive of both factions, filled the vacuum. Soviet troops were deployed to stabilize Afghanistan under Karmal in more substantial numbers, although the Soviet government did not expect to do most of the fighting in Afghanistan. As a result, however, the Soviets were now directly involved in what had been a domestic war in Afghanistan.

Carter responded to the Soviet intervention by withdrawing the [SALT II](#) treaty from ratification, imposing embargoes on grain and technology shipments to the USSR, and demanding a significant increase in military spending, and further announced that the United States would [boycott](#) the [1980 Summer Olympics](#) in Moscow. He described the Soviet incursion as "the most serious threat to the peace since the Second World War".

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