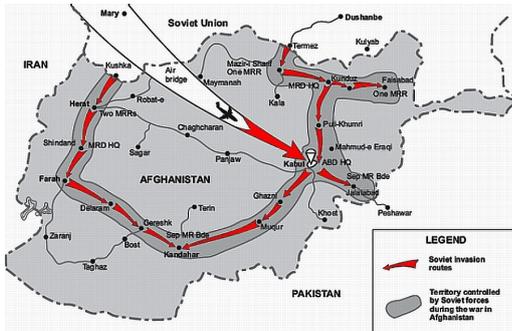


The Soviet War in Afghanistan 1979-1989

Local background

- ⇒ Important country strategically: trade routes.
- ⇒ Taraki takes power in 1978, establishes communist government and introduces reforms
- ⇒ Mujahidin, backed by Khomeini in Iran, form to fight back.



Why did Afghanistan become a Cold War confrontation?

- ⇒ USA also funding mujahidin via Pakistan—funds and arms
- ⇒ March 1979 Afghanistan appeal to Soviets for help. Originally they send advisers and equipment. Concerns about a pro-USA state means they send tanks by December 1979.
- ⇒ USA reacts furiously—seen as communist expansion. Abandon SALT II & tensions rise.

Why did the Soviets fail in Afghanistan?

- ⇒ Few major routes, rail links made it difficult to support a large army
- ⇒ No public support : local people hated idea of communism as it was atheist
- ⇒ Saudi , Pakistani and US support for mujahidin made them very powerful (Reagan: fiercely anti-communist)
- ⇒ USA refuse to back down or negotiate: it's clear they will do anything to defeat Soviets.

What were the consequences of the war in Afghanistan?

- ⇒ Gorbachev withdraws troops from 1987 →
- ⇒ Cost USSR \$20 billion and negatively affected Soviet economy and living conditions
- ⇒ 1 million Afghans killed and 5 million displaced
- ⇒ Humiliating defeat for the Soviets (like Vietnam for USA). Led people to question foreign policy.
- ⇒ Demonstrated strength of USA.

Al-Qaeda and 9/11

Background

- ⇒ American and Soviet involvement in the region sparked resentment
- ⇒ Osama Bin Laden, an affluent and influential figure founded the group out of mujahidin fighters.



The roots ☸ development of Al-Qaeda

Roots: The Afghan War

Funding of mujahidin by powerful countries → branch off into Al Qaeda

Roots: Bin Laden and Abdullah Azzam

Charismatic leaders, strong anti-Western beliefs which gained support.

Development due to:

- ⇒ Beliefs
- ⇒ Leaders
- ⇒ Money
- ⇒ Secure bases
- ⇒ Well trained fighters & technology

Actions of AL-Qaeda ☸ 9/11

- ⇒ **US Embassy attacks:**
 - Nairobi (Kenya)
 - Dar Es Salaam (Tanzania)
- ⇒ USS Cole attack in the Yemen
- ⇒ Difficult to combat because:
 - Other groups shared views and helped to finance (e.g. Taliban)
 - Hard-core militant organisation with deeply loyal fighters: rallying point for modern militant Islam
 - Financial support allows technological advancement of attacks.
- ⇒ 9/11 attack in NYC kills 2998 people: most significant Al-Qaeda attacks

US response and the War on Terror

- ⇒ Following 9/11 George W Bush demands the Taliban hand over bin Laden. They refuse.
- ⇒ US build a coalition of allied countries and launch an attack on Afghanistan in October 2001.
- ⇒ Land campaign begins in November 2001– Kabul falls within two weeks. Military defeat follows, but with no sign of bin-Laden.
- ⇒ Bin Laden is finally found and killed in 2011. Militant Islamic fundamentalism did not die with him; in 2014 the Islamic State group take control of large areas of Syria and Iraq.

The Cuban Missile Crisis 1962

Background

- ⇒ Cuba is 99 miles from the USA. Considered to be USA's 'backyard': ruled by US backed, corrupt dictator Batista.
- ⇒ Castro overthrows Batista in 1959 & imprisons/kills Batista's followers.
- ⇒ Exiled Cubans pressure US to oust Castro



Why did Cuba become a Cold War crisis?

- ⇒ **Khrushchev's support of Castro**
USSR send \$100 million in aid + military and technical advisers to Cuba
- ⇒ **The Bay of Pigs invasion**
In April 1961, 1400 Cuban exiles are backed by USA to invade: a humiliating disaster for new president JFK
- ⇒ **Khrushchev arms Castro**
May 1962: USSR publicly announce they are supplying Cuba with arms: tanks, radar, aircraft, 5000 technicians. Would they send nuclear weapons?
- ⇒ **The October crisis**
14th October 1962: US U2 spy plane flies over Cuba and takes photos showing missile sites being built.

What happened in the '13 Days'?

- ⇒ 16th - 28th October 1962
- ⇒ JFK forms a panel of advisers called the Ex Comm. (Hawks and Doves)
- ⇒ JFK decides to blockade Cuba
- ⇒ Khrushchev tells troops to expect and resist a US invasion
- ⇒ JFK receives a letter from Khrushchev saying Soviet ships would pass the blockade—blockade begins anyway.
- ⇒ JFK receives a letter claiming missiles on Cuba were purely defensive, and said they might be withdrawn if JFK promised not to invade Cuba.
- ⇒ Khrushchev sends a 2nd letter changing his proposals, which JFK ignores.
- ⇒ JFK accepts terms in 1st letter, saying if Cuba did not withdraw missiles, an attack would follow. Khrushchev agrees.

What was the impact of the Cuban Missile Crisis?

- ⇒ Khrushchev manages to keep Cuba communist (important to them)
- ⇒ USSR forced to back down about missiles—missile gap between them and USA never narrowed
- ⇒ Cuba stayed communist and highly armed.
- ⇒ Kennedy came out of the crisis well, but did not manage to oust Cuba. Removed US missiles from Turkey
- ⇒ **Hotline is created between Moscow and Washington.**
- ⇒ **Nuclear Test Ban Treaty signed in 1963.**

The Vietnam War 1954-75

Background

- ⇒ Before WWII, Vietnam (Indochina) was ruled by France. The Japanese ran it during the war, very harshly.
- ⇒ Strong anti-Japanese resistance movement— the Vietminh— emerged under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh.
- ⇒ After WWII, the Vietminh declare Vietnam as independent.
- ⇒ 9 years of fighting followed with the French claiming the south again.



Why did Vietnam become a Cold War conflict?

- ⇒ From 1949, Ho was supported by money, weapons and equipment from communist China.
- ⇒ Eisenhower poured \$500 million a year into supporting the French in the south. Despite this the French pulled out in 1954.
- ⇒ A peace conference in 1954 divides Vietnam into north and south (communist & capitalist).
- ⇒ USA help Diem take power in the south instead of Ho, They prop up regimes with \$1.6 billion dollars due to:
 - ✓ Containment and Domino Theory
 - ✓ Military-industrial complex
- ⇒ **USA enter the Vietnam War after the Gulf of Tonkin incident in 1964.**

What went wrong for the USA in Vietnam?

USA problems:

- Very unpopular tactics which killed over 1 million Vietnamese people:
 - ◇ Operation Rolling Thunder
 - ◇ Napalm and Agent Orange
 - ◇ Search and Destroy missions
- They were propping up a brutal, unpopular regime.

Vietcong advantages:

- Guerrilla warfare:
 - ◇ Booby traps
 - ◇ Supplies transported along the Ho Chi Minh trail
 - ◇ No uniforms—hard to detect
- Civilian support
- Commitment: fighters simply refused to give in.

Why did attitudes to the war change in the USA?

- ⇒ Tet Offensive January 1968: Vietcong took US by surprise during the Tet festival. The US destroyed Hue, an ancient city, and 116,000 civilians lost their homes. Americans started to question why \$29 billion dollars a year was being wasted.
- ⇒ The media coverage turned negative at this point, questioning the motives of the war
- ⇒ The My Lai massacre (March 1968— reported on in Life magazine in 1969) US forces had gunned down 400 civilians and had been praised. Americans no longer believed the war was 'fighting for a good cause'

What was the impact of the Vietnam War?

- ⇒ **The USA had failed militarily (unable to prevent spread of communism), ideologically (chemical weapons and crusades against civilians damaged USA's moral reputation) and politically (Laos and Cambodia also became communist by 1975).**
- ⇒ Soon after, the USA attempted to improve relations with China.
- ⇒ Leads to new Cold War period of *détente*.

Interpretations of Appeasement

Popular Majority: 1937-1938

Key message: Chamberlain had done well, and avoided war with Germany.

Context: Memory of WWI meant no public appetite for war– this was short lived.

Historians: Popular view of the public.

Popular Political: 1939-1948

Key message: Appeasers caused war.

Context: During the war: appeasement had clearly failed by this stage.

Historians: Journalists CATO wrote *The Guilty Men* which directly blames 15 politicians and public figures.

Revisionist: 1960s-1990s

Key message: Chamberlain was in an impossible position and did the best job he could in the circumstances.

Context: Radical thinking: 1960s– traditional views were being questioned.

Vietnam War: USA's dislike of appeasement drew them into Vietnam; reevaluating merits of appeasement.

New British sources: Public Records Act 1958 gave more detail about problems and concerns Chamberlain faced.

Historians: Cameron Watt; Kennedy; Dilks; Taylor

Orthodox: 1948-1960s

Key message: Appeasement was a terrible misjudgement despite good motives.

Context: Churchill's self promotion: keen to be remembered as the one who spoke against a failed policy. The Cold War: Churchill wanted to suggest Britain should stand up to (not appease) Stalin

Historians: Churchill's message in *The Gathering Storm* became the accepted Orthodox view due to his status as a war leader.

Counter-revisionist: 1990s-2000s

Key message: Chamberlain's personality meant he couldn't deal with the situation properly.

Context: Historical debate: The nature of historical debate means historians challenge most recent work; many disagreed with revisionist view as it let Chamberlain off the hook.

New Soviet sources: German sources taken by the Soviets revealed more about the dealings between Hitler and Chamberlain

Historians: Parker; Cameron Watt (changes his mind to include Chamberlain's personality as a problem!)

Interpretations of the Cold War

Orthodox: Late 1940s-early 1960s

Key message:

The USSR were to blame.

Aggressive, expansionist actions by Stalin provoked USA to respond.

Context: The Red Scare and personal experience: many commentators in this period worked closely with the Truman government and were influenced by anti-Communist sentiment in the USA.

Lack of sources: Everything in public domain was influenced by propaganda

Historians: Bailey; Kennan

Revisionist: Mid 1960s-mid 1970s

Key message:

The USA were to blame.

US foreign policy e.g. Marshall Aid provoked Stalin into consolidating power in Eastern Europe.

Context: Aggressive anti-Communist tactics in Cuba & Vietnam War made historians re-consider America's Cold War foreign policy. Idea of USA being aggressive and attempting to build an empire.

Historians: William Appleman Williams; Joyce & Gabriel Kolko; Paterson.

Post-Revisionist: Early 1970s-1989

Key message:

Neither side understood the other: caused by each side's reactions based on mistrust.

Context:

Historical debate: A time of intense debate; Gaddis and others saw the orthodox and revisionist views as too simplistic.

Détente: 'thawing' of the Cold War allowed historians to stand back and consider from both perspectives.

Historians: John Lewis Gaddis

New Cold War historians: 1989->

Key message:

We still don't know: polarised views back to orthodox/revisionist.

Context:

New Soviet sources released after collapse of USSR offered historians more evidence for both orthodox and revisionist perspectives.

The Reagan factor: Reagan's fierce anti-communism encouraged those who agreed and disagreed with him to find evidence to support their claims.

Historians: Cox & Kennedy-Pipe; Gaddis changes his view towards orthodox view.