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Discussion Notes	Reading Notes
Discussion Notes	The Nuclear Arms Race: Summary: The advent of nuclear weapons started an arms race between the superpowers that proliferated the Cold War, caused both sides to rethink their tactics, put huge economic strain on both countries (eventually leading the USSR to crumble). ICBM: Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles, SLBM: Submarine-Launch Ballistic Missiles, ABM: Anti-Ballistic Missiles, MIRV: Multiple Independently Targetable Reentry Vehicle. Atomic Bomb was the counter to the larger USSR forces and when the Soviets developed their own bomb, the Americans developed the Hydrogen Bomb (1000x Stronger). ICBMs also developed. In the 50s the US thought produced there was a missile gap because of Sputnik, but U-2 flight proved this wrong. However, the US continued to build up ICBMs. When Kennedy confirmed the Soviets were behind in missiles, the Soviets produced their own ABM. US a MIRV system which the USSR would later achieve. Tactics As Cold War tensions developed, each side wanted to be one step ahead and were afraid of falling behind (US) or felt the need to catch up (USSR). The introduction of these weapons meant tactics shifted from winning to preventing the war, as total warfare was no longer possible. Both sides wanted to avoid using nukes, but both developed strategies for them. Eisenhower introduced the idea of Massive Retaliation to any offence. Kennedy: With Kennedy's flexible response plans were drawn up to destroy the USSR's war capabilities, but not its cities, but this suffered from, the issue of successfully hitting a target accurately, hitting a target without hitting a city when so many were located near to cities, ensuring that the Soviets followed the 'no cities' rule, and a lack of public support. After the Cuban Missile Crisis the Kennedy administration changed focus to targeting cities, so that no one could survive the war. This Mutually Assured Destruction in theorem would prevent war. Both side accepted this but agreed there needed to be agreements (the Test-ban Treaty, Nuclear Non-Prolife

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Reagan: Largest increase in arms production, invented the stealth bomber and the neutron bomb, shipped the first Cruise Missiles to Europe. The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI / Star Wars) upset the USSR the most because they couldn't match it with their nigh failing economy. This initiative would produce a space based ABM system to shoot down missiles before they reached the US, which undermined Mutually Assured Destruction. On top of this, the US had first strike capability. This and the change in leadership to Mikhail Gorbachev in the USSR led to successful arms talks.
The impossibility of nuclear war meant that conventional forces were kept up, the Warsaw Pact having as many men as NATO and three times the tanks. Sino-Soviet Relations: Stalin Era:
China and Russia had always had a rocky relationship due to their large shared border. Tsarist Russia had taken advantage of the political upheaval of China and the switch to the Bolsheviks produced no change, taking Outer Mongolia and stealing machinery from Manchuria. Then there was the Chinese Civil War and its whole deal.

The main difference between the USSR and China was ideological, Stalin believing Communism focused on agricultural peasants over industrial workers wasn't genuine Marxism. However relations also suffered because Stalin feared Mao as a rival for leader of the Communist World, did not want the Cold War in Asia, the GMD would have recognized Soviet claims to territory, had thought the CCP would lose and urged them to join with the GMD right until the end. Mao thought Stalin wanted a weak and divided Asia so the USSR could be the main power and saw his policies as selfish rather than pro Communist Revolutionary.

Nevertheless a treaty was signed between the two (despite Stalin being reluctant), the Soviet media adored the PRC, and the treaty promised China Soviet expertise and low interest aid. The US saw this as Stalin making the Chinese his puppets. The Chinese were insulted by the way they were treated and it soon became clear the USSR wanted to exploit China through high interest loans. However, Soviet engineering and science helped to build up China (although their science was less effective than US) and the Chinese accepted military aid (necessary for as long as they lacked nuclear bombs). Mao later accused Stalin of prolonging the Korean war to drain resources from the PRC

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Discussion Notes	Reading Notes Relations with Khrushchev: The change in leadership brought a chance at improved relations as they appeared willing to give more technology, supply more loans, have more equal treaties, and facilitate credit to the PRC. However, relations broke down because of three things. Khrushchev's secret speech criticized Stalin's crimes against the party and his cult of leadership, which Mao took offense to. The crushing of the uprisings in Hungary were seen by Mao as a failure to deal with reactionary forces. Finally, Khrushchev leaning towards Peaceful Coexistence and revolution without violence was seen as heresy by Mao. These convinced Mao that the USSR had moved away from Marxist Doctrine and were revisionists (those who strayed from Communism). Mao attended the 1957 Conference of Communist Parties and urged the USSR to abandon its revisionism, declaring that those working alongside 'class enemies' (capitalists) could not support an international revolution. He also said that Dente with the West was a move to isolate China. Chinese spokesperson out-argued the leading Soviet theorist, Mikhail Suslov, on the merits of the Chinese worldview. This was the PRC's first chance to present themselves as the real leaders of Communism. Khrushchev tried to ease tensions by visiting Beijing, but things didn't go well and Mao intentionally made his stay uncomfortable. Talks were unproductive and China used the occasion to attack Soviet leadership again along with accusing them of sending spies posing as engineers. Taiwan One of Mao's main goals was the final defeat of the GMD in Taiwan, as he would not tolerate them having an independent state and was furious that they received US support. Mao bombarded Taiwan in the early 1950s but was deterred from further action by the US. He tried so again in 1958 by making it seem like he was preparing to invade but abandoned it as the US was then preparing to retaliate and the PRC lacked Soviet support. Khrushchev said he was unwilling to go to war to test the Soviet sys
	advisors and canceled commercial contracts.
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	Great Leap Forward: Started in 1958, the idea was to rapidly develop agriculture and industry simultaneously. He thought that with China's large population he would be able to increase grain and steel production to eliminate the reliance on the Soviet Union and create his own proletariat class. To produce steel Mao encouraged peasants to produce their own steel from scrap metal, but this was low quality and the time they spent on metal led the crops to rot unpicked. Public works plans failed because of deliberate lack of expertise and experience. Some 'revolutionary' planting techniques were implemented (close cropping placing seed together but they competed against each other and leaving a section of the field fallow to improve fertility) but these were misguided. In 1959 China saw great famines, but those who spoke out were dismissed. Despite the starvation Mao continued to export food to save face. There were also horrible weather conditions with droughts and floods. Millions died. In 1961 the plan was called off, China stopped exporting grain, and imported grain from Canada and Australia. This was an economic disaster and 14 to 30 million died. Mao stepped down from the State Chairman position of the PRC, knowing he would take the blame, but he stayed on as Chairman of the CCP. The Soviets openly renounced the project, saying it was foolish in conception and worse in practice. Mao was extremely mad, more so because there were rumors his chief of staff gave the Soviets information, and the Soviet media labeled the plan unorthodox and denounced Mao. Break-Off of Relations: Out of spite for the PRC's reduced image China would now support any Moscow decenting state. This happened first in Albania. Moscow withdrew their aid from Albania and criticized the government as Stalinistic. China took it as a dual attack on themselves and extended financial and technological aid towards Albania. This was the nail in the coffin of Sino-Soviet Relations. In 1962 fighting broke out between China and India on the Tibetan

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	Mao openly attacked Khrushchev for his handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis and said it proved the USSR was not revolutionary. He criticized the placement of detectable missiles, the capiculation (backing down), and the negative impact it'd have on the fight against the Capitalist Imperialism of the US. He basically called him a fool and a coward, even though it could be argue he acted as a great statesman. Khrushchev had won a victory for Peaceful Coexistence but to Mao that was against the Revolution. The Cultural Revolution: Launched in 1966, the aim was to start 'a revolution of Chinese culture', eliminate traces of returning liberal and bourgeois thought, restart the 'dying' revolutionary spirit, and, as historians agree, relaunch himself after the failure of the Great Leap Forward. This was driven by the young encouraged to denounce their authority figures and send them for reeducation. This was carried out by the Red Guards with Mao's Little Red Book. All those who carried the culture of old China were discouraged and there were national and local struggles. As many as half a million died when this 'change' got 'out of hand'. Moreover this allowed Mao to get rid of critics and reassert himself as leader. While this fever was still riding high in 1969 Mao declared the revolution over, and those who refused to return to peace were sent to "learn from the peasants". Although Khrushchev left office in 1964, there were no improvement in relations and the Soviets denounced the Cultural Revolution as fanaticism and anarchy. While it was in turmoil, the Soviets also accused China of illegally trading with Apartheid South Africa, receiving aid from West Germany for nuclear research, developing the worldwide opium trade, and supplying US force in Vietnam. Mao denied these accusations and encouraged states to abandon the USSR and follow China. Nuclear China: China wanted to use nuclear brinkmanship to undermine the US and was unafraid of nuclear war, Mao now seeing as necessary to the International Revolution.

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When China created its own bomb they boasted that they didn't need the Soviets, that them leaving allowed China to focus, and that they were now on their way to becoming the Communist leader. This was supported by them launching their own satellite, as the Soviets now feared they could produce ICBMs.

<u>Leonid Brezhnev Era:</u>

The new Soviet leader pursued a 'Stalinist' foreign policy and so there were no improved relations. In the Brezhnev Doctrine stated that in order for there to be peace in Eastern Europe, those states needed to accept Soviet leadership. When Czechoslovakia tried to assert some independence with a liberal movement the USSR sent tanks to crush it, but this did hurt Soviet standing and efforts to isolate China. Mao denounced the use of force because it wasn't socialist of him but also because he was scared he'd be next.

The PRC denounced the Soviets as imperialists, as they had failed to return the land they had taken, and border disputes broke out in 1962. In 1969 the Sino-Soviet Border War broke out. There was a chance of full escalation to a war with full military might and nuclear weapons, in fact, both sides realigned their missiles to face each other. Mao even ordered tunnels dug with supplies in them. Fighting continued on and off for the year.

<u>Vietnam and Indochina:</u>

China had investment in Vietnam, with Indochina in its southern border, but the US didn't want them there. China wasn't directly involved but gave moral and diplomatic support to the North. There begin a battle of sorts to bring Vietnam to their side vs. that of the Soviets. China said that the USSR was in league with the US in Vietnam and refused to allow them to use their airports for airdrops to the North. The USSR eventually won this contest with a treaty through the steady support and aid it gave throughout the war. The Chinese then focused on Cambodia, which had become communist under Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge Party. His government was Maoist, but he killed his people on a proportional scale that far exceeded the Cultural Revolution. Forming a military alliance with the USSR, Vietnam invaded Cambodia (trying to institute a regime change) and expelled all Chinese from occupied territory. Pol Pot appealed to the UN, but it was China who came to his defence, claiming the Vietnamese invasion was Soviet expansion. China invaded Vietnam hoping to draw troops from Cambodia. Vietnam and the Soviets made an appeal to the UN that China was the aggressor and what they were doing was for humanitarian reasons. This war dragged on for a month, but China was forced out of the country. Although Mao claimed victory, this was a set back to PRC propaganda and claim to leadership.

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	Rapprochement and the Present:
	Andropov and Chernenko Eras:
	Relations improved because Mao died, the anti -Soviet Gang of Four was overthrown, Leonid Brezhnev died, and the new leader
	(Deng Xiaoping) was more tolerant of the USSR and the West. During the brief tenures of Andropov and Chernenko respectively,
	there were attempts to amended relations, such as diplomatic relations being restored, but the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan,
	Soviet troops being at the Chinese border, and Soviet support of Vietnam occupying Cambodia kept the Soviets and the Chinese
	divided. Ultimately nothing came of this period, particularly because of "Soviet Expansionism" in Afghanistan.
	Gorbachev Era:
	Gorbachev made it a primary goal to improve Sino-Soviet Relations. In 1986 new trade agreements and full diplomatic relations were drawn up. Deng refused Gorbachev a visit because Vietnam still occupied Cambodia but the two did sign a cultural exchange.
	Gorbachev was eventually invited to beijing once the Soviets begin pulling out of Afghanistan in 1989.
	dorbachev was eventually invited to beiging once the soviets begin paining out of Alghanistan in 1903.
	In 1989 China brutally crushed the pro-democratic movement in Tiananmen Square . Gorbachev had begun widespread reforms to
	dismantle Stalin's legacy through Perestroika (Economic Restructuring) and Glasnost (Opening the Soviet Archives, encouraging
	political freedom, and de-censorizing the Media). Deng conversely had done some economic restructuring but no such openness,
	believing restructuring was only possible under the CCP. Before gorbachev's visit, thousands of students met in Tiananmen Square
	in Beijing to peacefully protest in favor of democracy and against bureaucracy. Between April 21st and 22nd up to 100,000 people
	protested. The media condemned them as a small group of troublemakers and a counter-revolutionary rebellion. On the 13th of
	May 3,000 students begin a hunger strike. This was particularly bad because Gorbachev was to arrive in two days and he was
	praised as a hero of reform by the protestors. On May 19th a million people took to the streets to support the hunger strikers and Martial Law was declared. Unwilling to compromise, troops under the direct orders of Deng were sent to disperse the group. The
	students responded with shouts and some rocks and the troops opened fire. Thousands died and thousands more went into hiding
	only to be hunted down and arrested. The government reported only a hundred dead and a hundred more wounded. Though
	internationally condemned, no action was taken against the People's Republic of China.
	Gorbachev's reforms brought on his downfall, and Deng felt confirmed in his decision. The political reforms led to the collapse of
	Communism in Eastern Europe in 1989 and 91. The Communist Party disbanded in the Soviet Union in 1990. In 1991, the Soviet
	Union dissolved. Unopposed for the position of Communist Leader it had so coveted for decades, China instead turned away from
	Revolutionary Communism and instead focused on modernizing its economy and growing it position as a world power.

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Historian and School	Viewpoint
Montefiore	Using Nuclear weapons would mean worldwide doom.
	What Had appeared to be 'rational' behaviour in Moscow had come across as dangerously 'irrational' behaviour in Washington, and vice versa. If a common rationality could be so elusive in peacetime, what prospects would there be for it in the chaos of a nuclear war? McNamara himself recalls wondering* as he watched the sun set on the most crucial day of the crisis, whether he would survive to see it do so again. He did survive, but his conviction that there could be a limited, controlled rational nuclear war did not. John lewis Gaddis in The Cold War (OUP, 2005) p.80
	By a curious logic, vulnerability, the nightmare prospect envisaged by the Eisenhower administration, had come to be seen as the guarantor of national security, However fragile it might be. IR. Crockatt.
	This insurance that there would not be destruction meant the war would be long in duration. John Lewis Gaddis
	The introduction of ABMs destabilized MAD, the balance of terror. We were both so afraid of nuclear armaments. We knew that you wouldn't strike and we wouldn't strike. But now if one side could counter the other's ability to respond then they had the advantage. Anatoly Dobrynin
	From the infancy of Chinese Communism, Mao's contact with Moscow was neither pleasant nor gratifying. His unorthodox method of revolution based on peasant mobilization in the countryside, was tolerated by Moscow as legitimate only because all other types of Communist insurrection in China had failed. Mao's approach was never endorsed by Stalin as proper for revolutionizing China. Immanuel Hsu,
	Immanuel Hsu claims that 'Mao considered Khrushchev a coward' over his handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis.