



A PEOPLE and A NATION

Chapter 28, 29, and 31:

# The Cold War

A composite image representing the Vietnam War. In the upper left, a helicopter is shown in flight. In the upper right, another helicopter is visible. The center features a large, intense fire or explosion. In the lower right, a tank is positioned on a grassy field. The foreground shows the backs of several soldiers in green uniforms, looking towards the central action.

# The Vietnam War

1954 - 1975



# The Vietnam War: 1954-75





# Origins of the War

- Vietnam War rooted in containment policy:
  - Truman Doctrine: “it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.”
  - JFK called VN “the cornerstone of the free world in SE Asia...”



# Origins of the War

- VN a long history both as an independent nation and as controlled by others.
- Once controlled by China.
  - Mid-1800s, became a colony of France.
  - Fell under control of Japan during WWII.
    - Vietminh- under leadership of Ho Chi Minh- fought Japan during WWII.
    - Appealed to Truman after WWII for independence. Appeals not answered. Supported French in efforts to reassume control.

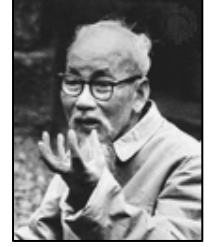


# Origins of the War

Truman and Eisenhower aided French in trying to reassert colonial control after WWII.

- Ho Chi Minh communist and didn't want him to take control.
- Paid as much as 80% of France's costs in the fighting.

# Origins of the War



1953, Vietminh defeat France at Dien Bien Phu.

- France leaves.
- Geneva Conference to settle post war VN.
  - Split along 17th parallel until 1956, when would be reunited after election.
  - Ho Chi Minh takes charge in N. Ngo Dinh Diem in S.
- Diem refuses elections in '56, and Eisenhower administration supports. Fears that H.C.M will win elections (by fraud or popularity).
  - By 1956, SVN second largest recipient of US military aid (after S. Korea).



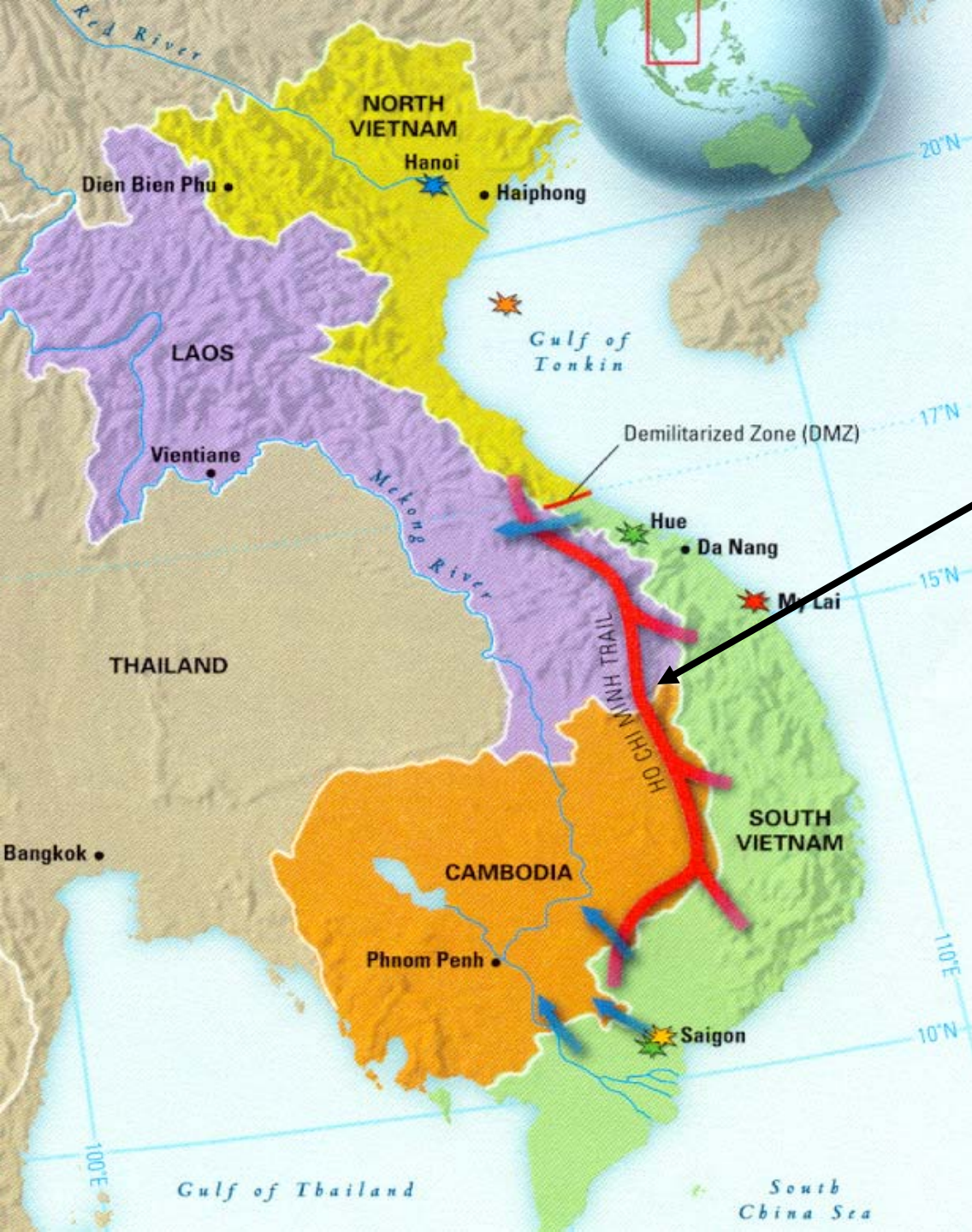


# Origins of the War

## Civil war begins:

- H.C.M. supporters in SVN formed National Liberation Front.
  - Received aid from NVN.
  - Known to Americans as Vietcong (VC)
- By 1961, VC destabilizing Diem's govt. Killing over 4,000 govt officials/year.





Ho  
Chi  
Minh  
Trail



# US Military Involvement Begins

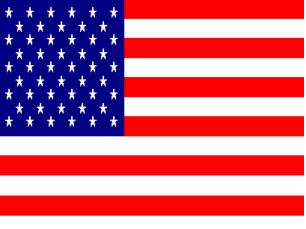
- Repressive dictatorial rule by Diem
  - Diem's family holds all power
  - Wealth is hoarded by the elite
  - Buddhist majority persecuted
    - Some monks set selves on fire in protest. Diem's sister-in-law called these "Buddhist barbeques."
  - Torture, lack of political freedom prevail



# Early Protests of Diem's Government



Self-Immolation by a Buddhist Monk

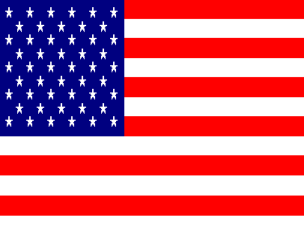


# US Military Involvement



- Kennedy elected 1960
- Increases military “advisors” to 16,000
- 1963: JFK supports a Vietnamese military *coup d’etat* – Diem and his brother are murdered (Nov. 2)
- Kennedy was assassinated just weeks later (Nov. 22)





# Johnson's War

- Remembers Truman's "loss" of China → Domino Theory revived



*I'm not going to be the president who saw Southeast Asia go the way China went.*





# Johnson's War

It was LBJ that made the decision to commit US to a major war in VN.

- Wanted to avoid political price that Truman paid for “losing” China.
- Political pressures greater in Cold War atmosphere to increase involvement than those to limit it when LBJ takes power.
- LBJ believed that VN a test of American will to stand up to communists.



# Johnson's War

- Advised to take on the communists by Secretary of State, Robert S. McNamara
- 1964: Saigon on the verge of collapse
- Johnson's initial response
  - Refused to send American combat forces at this point
  - Provide
    - Economic aid
    - Military advisers
    - Covert actions
- August 1964: Gulf of Tonkin Resolution gives Johnson authority to escalate in Vietnam



# Johnson's War

## Gulf of Tonkin:

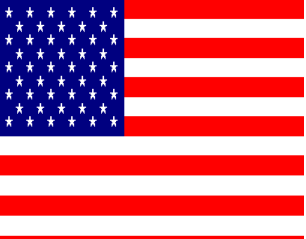
- Johnson Admin. reported attacks on US destroyers. Second attack (on USS Maddox) most likely never occurred. McNamara reported as if certainty.
  - Johnson and McNamara said attack “unprovoked”, but US had been supporting SVN attacks against two NVN islands- attacks planned by US advisers.





# Johnson's War

- Congress passed **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution**. Gave President authority to take “all necessary steps” to defend US armed forces and protect SE Asia “against aggression or subversion.” Passed unanimously in House, and 2 “no” votes in Senate.
  - Resolution was secretly drafted 6 weeks before the incident.
  - “The Blank Check”
- Johnson used the incident to justify increased bombing. Bombing failed to slow communists.
  - President had to choose- escalate or allow communist victory.



# Johnson's War

- Feb, 1965- After VC attack on US Marine base at Pleiku (8 killed, >100 wounded), LBJ expanded bombing.
  - Operation Rolling Thunder- a campaign of intensifying air attacks. Sustained attacks.
    - Hoped to demonstrate to NVN and to world US resolve.
      - Intelligence reports indicated little impact.



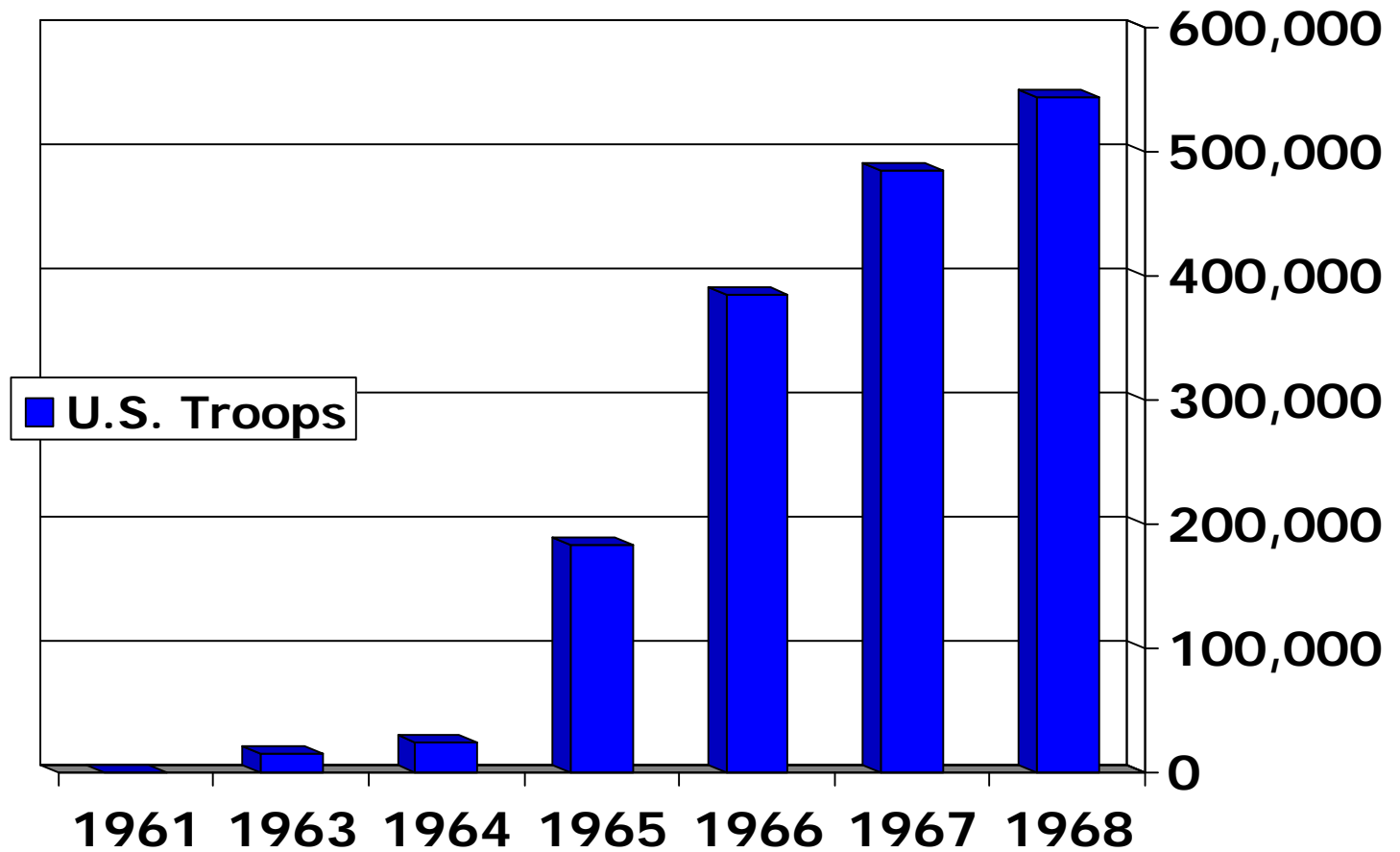
# Johnson's War

Escalation (increasing troops and activities):

- A few thousand advisors in VN before Gulf of Tonkin.
- Numbers increase to 180,000 by end of 1965.
- By mid-1966, 431,000.
- By end of over 500,000.
- Gen. Westmoreland in charge of troops.



# US Troop Deployments in Vietnam





# Quagmire?

War of attrition strategy: belief that continued bombing and killing of VC troops would exhaust NVN and VC resources and their will to fight. NVN and VC will was greater than Americans understood.

- VC and NV willing to commit many more soldiers than the US understood and was willing to commit itself.
- “Body Count Strategy”



# Quagmire?

“Hearts and Minds”: goal of driving VC out of an area, then winning over the people. Didn’t work. Never had relationship with people that VC did, and American military was so destructive.



# Quagmire?

Search and Destroy missions wreaked havoc in SVN. As many as 4 million SVN civilians refugees at any one time as their homes, villages, and farmlands destroyed.

- By late 1968, US had dropped more than 3 million tons of bombs on VN, both N and S. 3x what was dropped by Allies on all fronts in WWII.
- Also dropped 17.6 million gallons of Agent Orange.
- But did not 'control' territory.



# Quagmire?

Reliance on bombing not effective

- Idea: bomb strategic targets to reduce ability of NVN and VC to make war.
- Problem: VN pre-industrial and not many good targets. VC and NVA moved underground. Also got more aid from China and USSR.

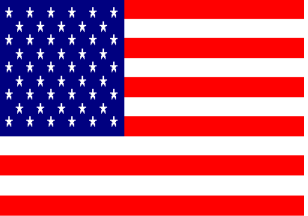




# Difficulties faced in the Vietnam War

## Tactical

- Difficulties of fighting against guerrilla fighters.
- Requires 10 to 1 advantage in numbers of soldiers. US may have had slight advantage, but 10/1 may have required millions of soldiers.
- Enemy mix with civilians.
- Enemy hard to find.
- Enemy strength often unknown
- Terrain was difficult. LBJ asked, “Can Westerners fight in Asian jungles?”



# Difficulties faced in the Vietnam War

## Tactical (continued)

- Always fighting in enemy territory.
- Fight in an area, “win” a battle, then leave the area. No concrete gains; no territory really controlled. Left some soldiers confused as to purpose.
- US may have underestimated the abilities, strength, and will of the NVA/VC.
- “Body Count” strategy not successful- NVA/VC willing to sacrifice more than US, so killing more of them than the US lost did not really mean victory.



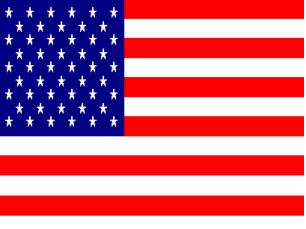


# Difficulties faced in the Vietnam War

## War Policy

What were the goals? Even presidential advisers disagreed. For example, regarding strategic bombing, advisers believed the US goal was:

- to kill VC/NVA
- to show American resolve/commitment (to VC, NVA, Russians, Chinese, American public, hawks in Congress, etc.) [Appropriate for men to die for this?]
- convince NVA to call off insurgency, support for VC
- achieve independence for S. Vietnam
- uphold SEATO treaty
- boost morale of S. Vietnam
- show that US will not be defeated by “force of arms” [Different from fighting to win.]



# Difficulties faced in the Vietnam War

## War Policy (continued)



- Strategic bombing did not work
  - targets not good because Vietnam pre-industrial, made targets hard to find and strike
  - many targets close to population so policy makers would not strike
  - many targets were in S. Vietnam, among people fighting for, so policy makers would not strike
  - LBJ and Sec. of St. McNamara would not broaden strikes as JCS wanted
  - strikes did not- and intelligence estimates said would not- weaken will/resolve of NVA/VC to fight
  - goals of bombing unclear (see above)





# Difficulties faced in the Vietnam War

## Political

- 
- LBJ said on various occasions that he would not be the first President to lose a war. This pushed him towards escalation.
  - Presidential politics in 1964 and 1968 appeared to drive policy.
  - LBJ may have made war policy decisions based upon a desire to forward his Great Society initiatives.
    - did not want to distract congressional attention from his domestic agenda.
    - did not want to alienate members of Congress, so he refused to ask for too much from them in terms of money or personnel.
      - Be just tough enough in Vietnam to get the support of conservatives, but not act so aggressively as to alienate liberals he needed for Great Society legislation.
- 



# Difficulties faced in the Vietnam War

Political (continued)

Dishonesty from policy leaders

- Lies about Gulf of Tonkin
- Lies about escalation and activities of the troops:
  - “Seek no wider role” - but increase troops
  - “Seeking peace” - but begin bombing in Cambodia
- Lies about outcomes- made to sound more successful than were: “Victory just around the corner.”
- May have even deceived themselves when making decisions

Key Questions: Can we get away with this in a democracy- long term?



# Difficulties faced in the Vietnam War

## Political (continued)

- Gulf of Tonkin resolution- blank check to the President, but no real declaration of war. Allowed Congress to be critical of President later (have cake and eat it too), but left them somewhat handcuffed because they had given authorization.



# Difficulties faced in the Vietnam War

## Political (continued)

- The American public- were they willing to support the war, and should a war be fought if they won't?
  - Influence of TV
    - death in their living room
    - constant updates on death toll and how war was going
    - protests
  - Vital interests of US at stake?
  - So many “baby boomers” all fighting age and college age and protest age





# Credibility Gap

LBJ and his advisors gave optimistic reports, but media reports showed that not all was going well.

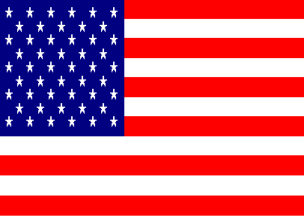
- Aug, 1965- govt report of attack on fortified VC bunkers at Cam Ne. CBS showed soldiers burning huts that people lived in. LBJ called CBS to complain.
  - Role of press is changing.
- NY Times challenged govt claims that bombings precisely targeted military objectives. Claimed that US bombed population centers, including Hanoi, and ravaged villages in SVN.
- Late 60's cost of war- \$21B/yr.
  - Return on the investment? Cost attracting attention.



# The Air War

- 1966-68: Ongoing bombing of Hanoi nonstop for 3 years.
  - Additional targeting of the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Not effective
- More bombs dropped on Vietnam than dropped by all sides during WWII.
- Downed Pilots: P.O.W.s
- Carpet Bombing
  - Napalm





# Napalm





# Who's the Enemy?

- Vietcong:
  - Farmers by day; guerillas at night.
  - Very patient people willing to accept many casualties.
  - The US grossly underestimated their resolve and their resourcefulness.

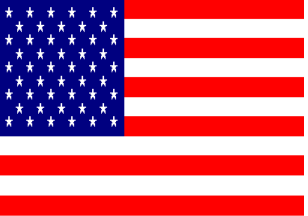
*The guerilla wins if he does not lose.  
The conventional army loses if it does not win.*

**-- Mao Zedong**



# Who's the Enemy?





# The Ground War: Late 1965-8

## General Westmoreland, late 1967



*We can see the  
“light at the end of the tunnel.”*





# January 31, 1968- Tet Offensive

Simultaneous attacks by VC across SVN.

- Attacks in urban areas- as opposed to in the countryside.
- Major defeat in the field for VC- more than 40,000 killed.
- US 1,000 dead, 8,000 wounded.
- Hundreds of thousands of civilian casualties



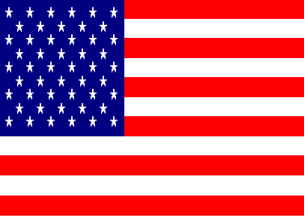
# January 31, 1968- Tet Offensive

Major political blow to LBJ. Shattered credibility of officials who claimed that NVN and VC virtually defeated.

- Americans shocked by images saw on TV.
  - Saw a SVN officer shoot a handcuffed prisoner in the head on a SVN street.



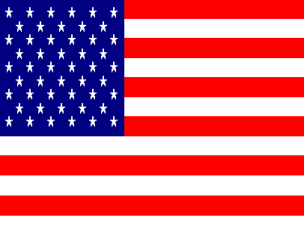




# January 31, 1968- Tet Offensive

- McNamara's claim that "victory was just around the corner."
- Especially hard for Americans to see VC in US embassy.
- After Tet- first time polls show strong opposition to war: 49% say whole operation in VN a mistake.
- Congress rejected request of Westmoreland for more troops.
- LBJ dropped out of presidential race. His support down to 35%.





# The Tet Offensive



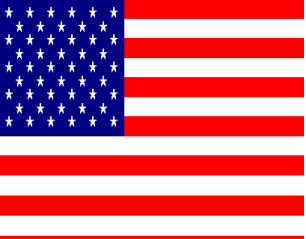


# Impact of Tet

Johnson announces (March, 1968):



*...I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as your President.*



# AN EASTERN THEATRE PRODUCTION

**SEE...** A CAST OF THOUSANDS!  
**SEE...** MODERN ATROCITIES IN FULL COLOR!  
**SEE...** THE ACCOUNTS OF A NATION DESTINED TO  
 SAVE THE WORLD IN SPITE OF ITSELF!

GRIPPING... MOVING... A FILM THE WHOLE  
 FAMILY IS SURE TO ENJOY



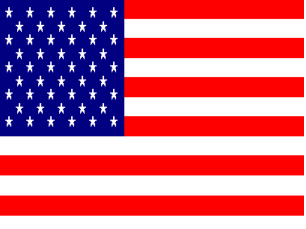
FILMED WITH THE COURTESY  
 AND COOPERATION OF THE  
 ENTIRE MILITARY FORCES  
 OF THE WORLD'S MIGHTIEST  
 AND MOST BENEVOLENT NATION

"A TRULY REMARKABLE  
 PORTRAYAL OF AMERICAN  
 FOREIGN POLICY"

"BEAUTIFUL, POIGNANT"

FILMED IN REAL BLOOD 'N GUTS COLOR

PRICE OF ADMISSION: YOUR SON PLUS TAXES



Johnson's popularity dropped in 1968 from 48% to 35%.





# 1968: Year of Protest, Violence, and Loss

- Escalation of war in Vietnam begins to undermine popular faith in leaders, especially Johnson
- TET weakens US confidence more
- Johnson withdraws from campaign because of popular frustration with Vietnam
- Race riots explode after King assassination
- Assassination of Robert Kennedy removes another opponent of Vietnam War

# Election of 1968

Electoral Vote by State

Popular Vote

**REPUBLICAN** 301 ●

Richard M. Nixon

31,770,237

**DEMOCRATIC** 191 ●

Hubert H. Humphrey

31,270,533

**AMERICAN INDEPENDENT** 46 ●

George C. Wallace

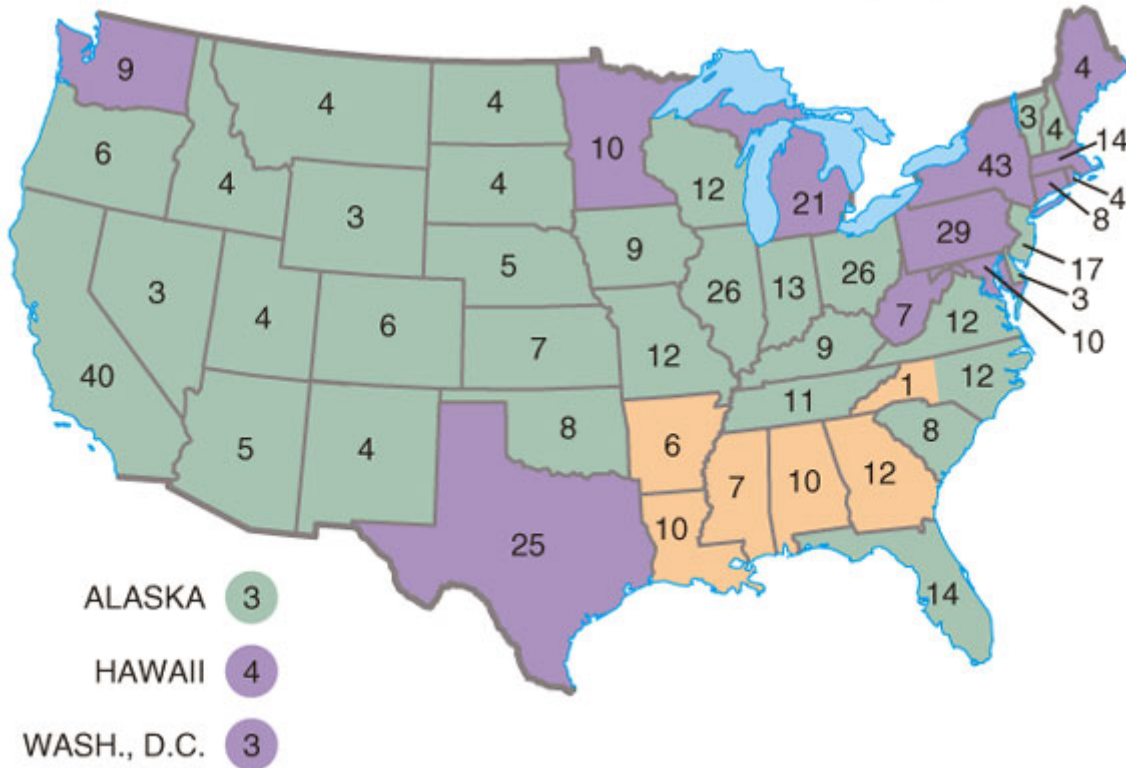
9,906,141

**MINOR PARTIES** —

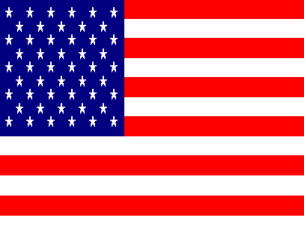
239,908

538

73,186,819



# 1968 Presidential Election

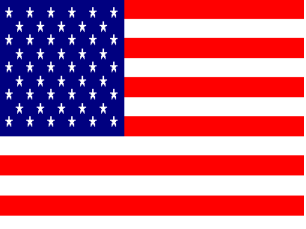


# Election of 1968

- “Police riot” at Democratic convention in Chicago
- Nixon (Republican) wins, but is a minority president with 43% of popular vote; Democrats win 42%
- Wallace wins almost 14%; so conservative vote is 57%; Nixon and Wallace demand law and order (less action on civil rights/poverty)
- New Deal coalition collapses as whites in South and North abandon Democrats







# Nixon Wins Election of '68



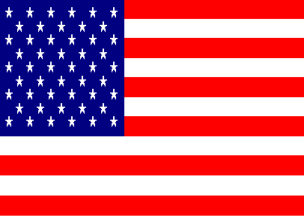
- Undermined efforts by LBJ to negotiate peace settlement to help ensure election.
  - Anna Chennault
- Had a “Secret Plan” to end the war.
- Promised “Peace with Honor” - vague set of principles.



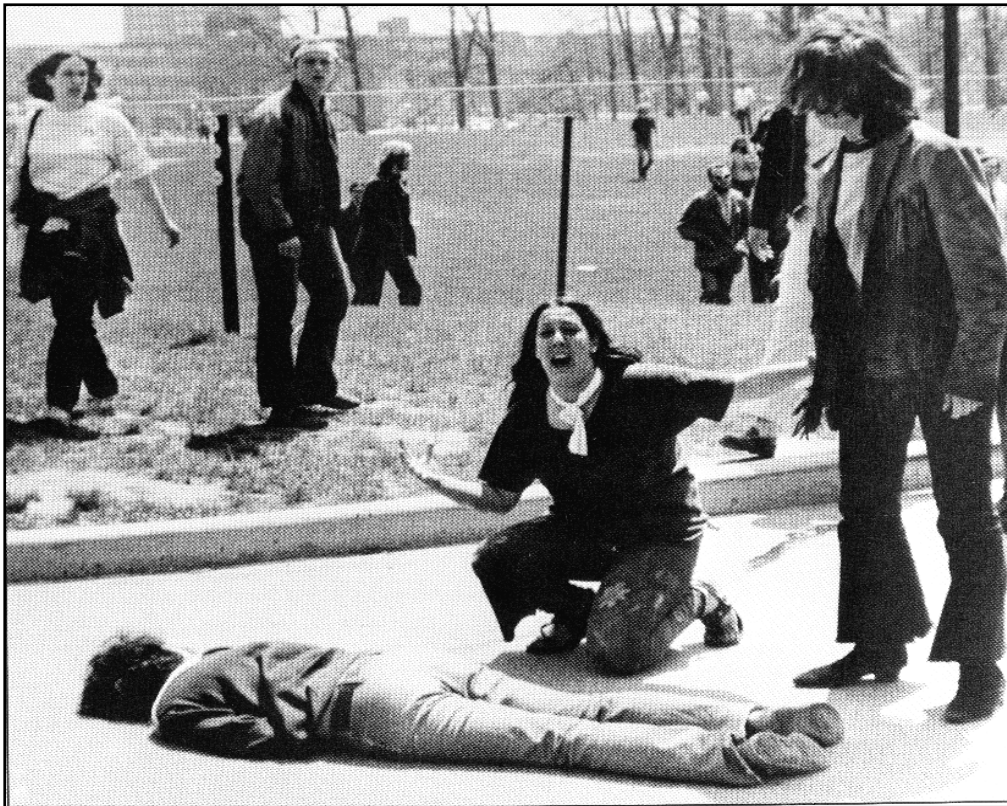


# Nixon & the Divided Nation

- Turmoil grows on campuses, especially in reaction to Nixon's invasion of Cambodia (1970)
- National Guard/police kill students at Kent State Univ. (OH) and Jackson State Univ. (MS)
- Many also fear increasing street crime
- Nixon uses FBI, CIA, IRS, and other bodies against his opponents as well as politics of divisiveness (claims Democrats = radicals)



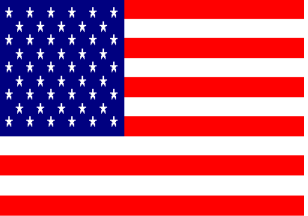
# Anti-War Demonstrations



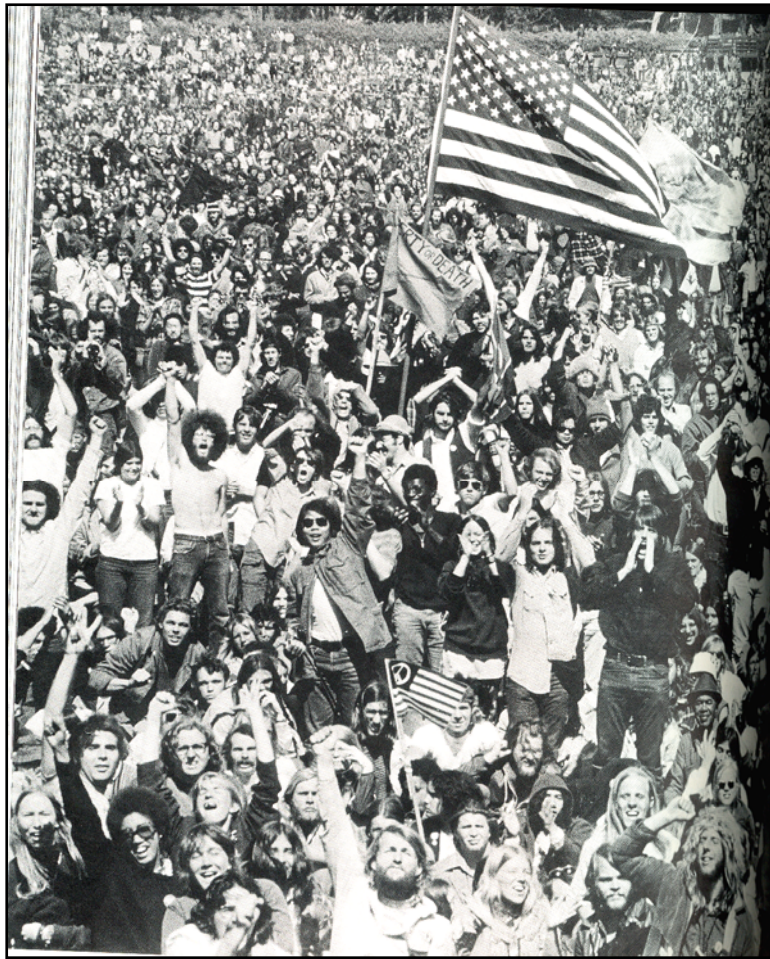
## Kent State University

- **May 4, 1970**
  - **4 students shot dead.**
  - **11 students wounded**
- 
- **Jackson State University**
  - **May 10, 1970**
  - **2 dead; 12 wounded**

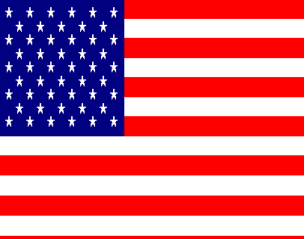




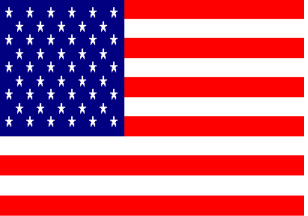
# Anti-war Demonstrations



**Columbia University  
1967**

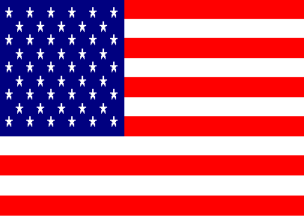






# *Hell no, we won't go!*





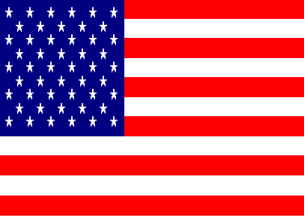
# Hanoi Jane



Jane Fonda: Traitor?







# Anti-war Demonstrations



**Student Protestors  
at Univ. of CA  
in Berkeley, 1968**



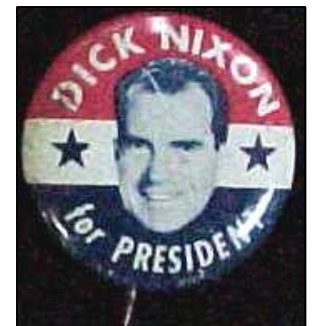
**Democratic Convention  
in Chicago, 1968**

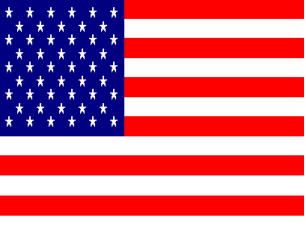




# Nixon on Vietnam

- Nixon's 1968 Campaign promised an end to the war: *Peace with Honor*
- Appealed to the great "Silent Majority"
- Nixon's plan
  - Gradual reduction of American troops and their replacement with trained South Vietnamese forces (Vietnamization)
  - Intensify American bombing
    - Expansion of the conflict → The "Secret War"
      - Cambodia
      - Laos
  - Hard line at the peace talks

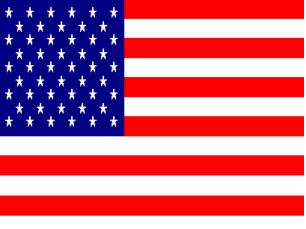




# Vietnamization

- Train and equip SVN military to assume burden of combat.
- In fall of 1969, Nixon announced reduction of US forces by 60,000. Continued reductions for 3 years. Fell from peak of 540,000 in 1969 to about 60,000 in 1972.
- Reduction in forces did not help bring about peace settlement.





# Pentagon Papers, 1971

- Former defense analyst Daniel Ellsberg leaked govt. docs. regarding war efforts during Johnson's administration to the *New York Times*.
- Docs. indicate that govt. misled Congress & Amer. people regarding its intentions in Vietnam during mid-1960s.
  - Primary reason for fighting not to eliminate communism, but *to avoid humiliating defeat*.
  - *New York Times v. United States* (1971)





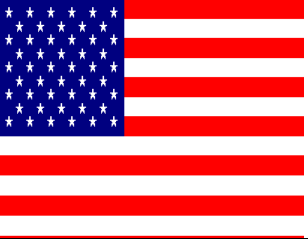
# Escalation

- Nixon decided to destroy bases in Cambodia from which NVA and VC got support. Nixon ordered bombing raids. Kept secret at first, but eventually announced.
- This escalation started a new round of war protests.
  - Kent State killing (4 killed, 11 wounded) came out of this.
- Congress repealed Tonkin Gulf Resolution, but Nixon ignored this.
- Nixon further expanded bombing into Laos

# My Lai Massacre

- Lt. William Calley (Charlie Company, 1st Battalion, 20th Infantry) tried and convicted in 1971 of overseeing a massacre of more than 300 unarmed civilians.



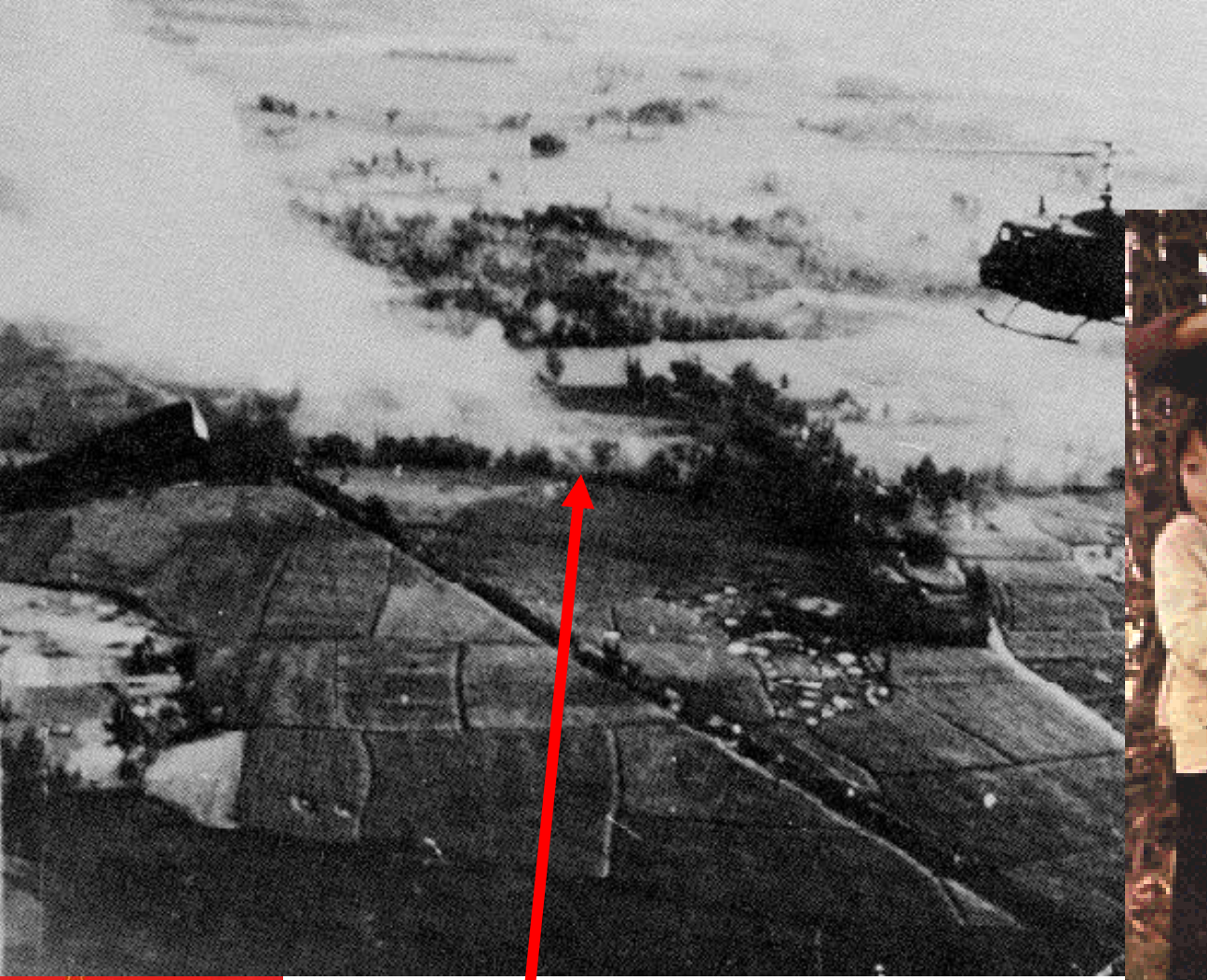


# My Lai Massacre





# My Lai Massacre



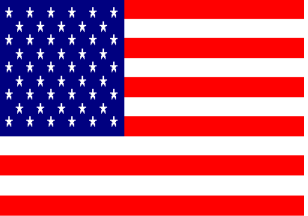
Village of My Lai on fire





# Escalation

- Easter Offensive- 1972
  - NVA launched major offensive.
  - Held back, but clear that SVN could not succeed without US
- Negotiations continued as election of 1972 neared.
  - Kissinger announced that “peace is at hand.”
  - Negotiations break down after election.
- Nixon again expanded bombing-targeting NVN.



# Peace Negotiations



January 27, 1973 peace agreement signed.

- Immediate cease fire
- American POWs would be released.
- SVN regime would remain, for the moment.
- NVN troops in SVN could stay
- An undetermined committee would work out a permanent settlement later.
- May 29, 1973, last US troops left VN
- *“Peace with honor,”* President Nixon





# The Ceasefire, 1973

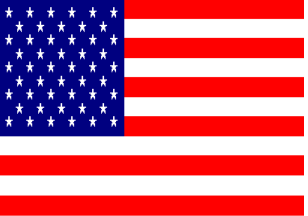
- Conditions:
    1. U.S. to remove all troops
    2. North Vietnam could leave troops already in S.V.
    3. North Vietnam would resume war
    4. No provision for POWs or MIAs
  - Last American troops left South Vietnam on March 29, 1973
  - 1975: North Vietnam defeats South Vietnam
  - Saigon renamed Ho Chi Minh City
- 
- 



# The End

As soon as US troops left, agreement collapsed.

- SVN asked for help. Congress refused.
- Peace w/ honor: According to one CIA official, it meant only a decent interval.
- First year of cease-fire VN armies suffered greater battle losses than US suffered in 10 years.
- March, 1975, NVN launched major invasion.
  - Took Saigon and US abandoned embassy.

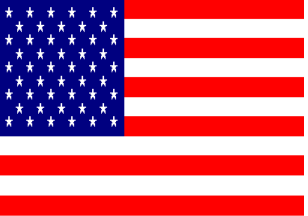


# Fall of Saigon



**South Vietnamese  
Attempt to Flee the Country**

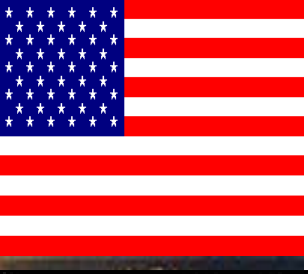




# Fall of Saigon



**North Vietnamese  
at the Presidential Palace**



# The Fall of Saigon



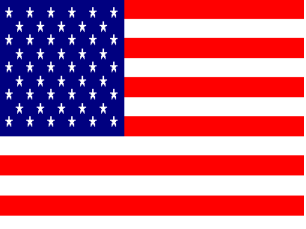
**America Abandons Its  
Embassy**



# A United Vietnam







# Cost of War

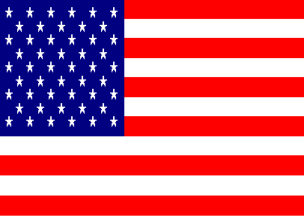
- 1.2 million VN soldiers dead; unknown # of civilians.
- 55,000-60,000 US dead; 300,000 wounded; 2,500 declared missing (POW/MIA).
- War cost US \$150B
  - \$659B in 2005 currency
    - Current spending in Iraq: approx. \$430B
  - Spent \$322,000 for every communist killed, but poverty programs at home (“Great Society” programs that LBJ wanted received only \$53 per person.)





# Cost of War

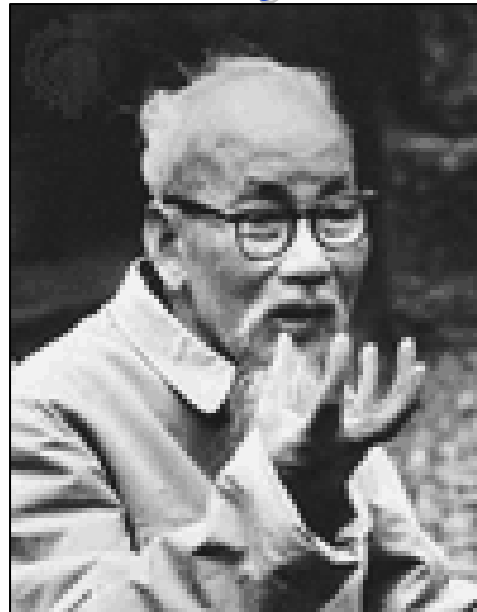
- Psychological damage to the nation
  - Lost faith in govt
  - Eroded respect for military
  - Created concerns of the “next Vietnam
- War Powers Act, 1973
  - President must notify Congress within 48 hours of deploying military force
  - President must withdraw forces unless he gains Congressional approval within 90 days



And in the end...

**Ho Chi Minh:**

*If we have to fight, we will fight.  
You will kill ten of our men and we  
will kill one of yours, and in the  
end it will be you who tires of it.*





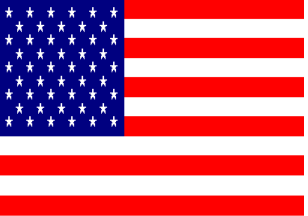
# Legacy of Vietnam

- Distrust of Government
  - Questions about US foreign policy
  - Cracks in the containment consensus
  - Fear of “another Vietnam”
  - Questions about vital interests
  - Recognition that US not infallible/invincible
- Morality of War
  - Tactics of fighting
    - Agent Orange, etc.
    - My Lai
  - War in general
  - Foreign war not in “vital interest”

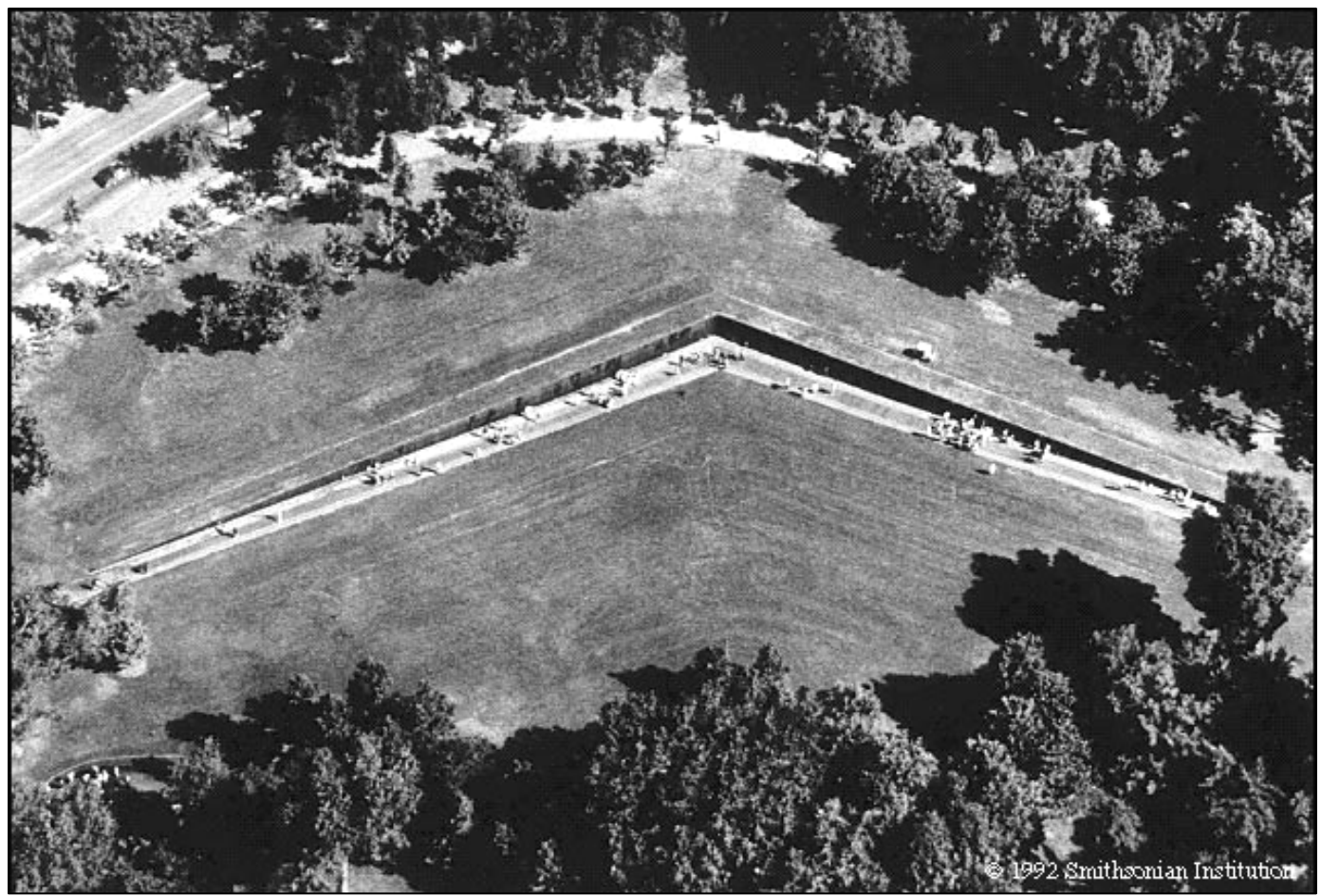


# Legacy of Vietnam

- Status of Vets
- Health of Vets
  - Physical- wounds; results of chemicals used
  - Mental
- POW-MIA- lingers in minds of many
- Protests
  - Legitimate or “traitors”?
  - Draft evasion



# The Vietnam War Memorial





58,000

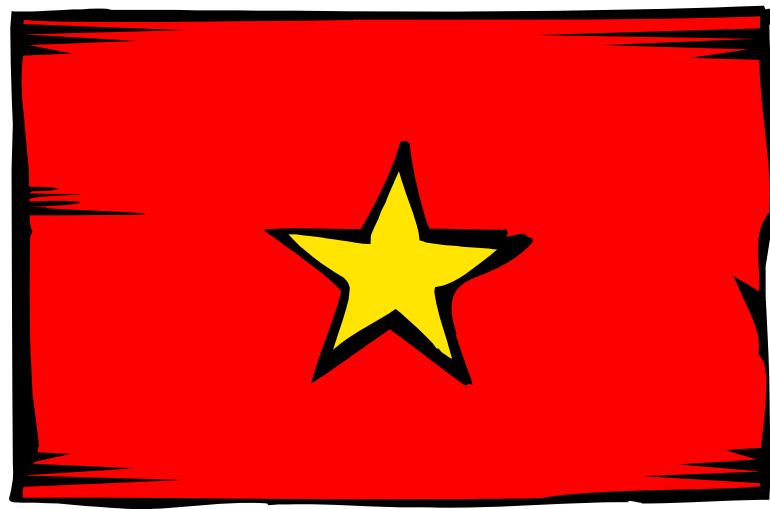




# Memorial to Servicemen in Vietnam







President Clinton formally  
recognized Vietnam on  
July 11, 1995





# Nixon, Kissinger, & Détente

- To protect US interests and shape world, try cooperating with USSR, talking with PRC, and more intervening in Third World
- With USSR, Nixon expands trade and signs two SALT (1972) treaties (one limits ABM systems; other limits number of missiles)
- US maintains superiority in nuclear warheads with MIRVs; arms race continues



# Nixon, Kissinger, & Détente

- USA and USSR accept borders (Helsinki 1975)
- Nixon travels to China (1972); USA and PRC agree to resist Soviet expansion
- Middle East unstable: Israel gains (1967 war) but 1973 war almost draws in USA and USSR
- CIA replaces Allende with Pinochet, Chile 1973
- Nixon initially backs racist governments in Africa; slowly accepts some pro-US black governments



# USA in World Economy (Nixon Era)

- USA intervenes in Third World partly because overseas investments, exports, and imports vital to US economy/standard of living
- Global economic instability hinders Nixon (inflation, Third World debt, US trade deficit)
- Nixon devalues dollar and raises tariffs (1971)
- Economic competition with Japan heats up
- USA fears any sign of US economic decline





# Carter (1977-81) & Preventive Diplomacy

- Carter vows to pay attention to important North-South and environmental issues
- His Administration divides on foreign policy: Vance pushes use of diplomacy, but Brzezinski wins overtime with Cold War perspective
- Panama Canal Treaties (1977) reduce tension
- Camp David (1978): Israeli-Egyptian peace
- Détente deteriorates; Cold War deepens



# Carter & Reinvigorated Cold War

- SALT II (1979) caps delivery vehicles and MIRV launchers but not warheads; Carter increases military to appease opponents
  - USSR invasion of Afghanistan (1979) stalls SALT and produces Carter Doctrine (US will intervene to protect Persian Gulf)
  - Carter is inconsistent on human rights; US ties with Shah in Iran result in hostages (1979-81)
- 
- 



# Reagan (1981-89)

- A traditional Cold Warrior (“evil empire” source of problems); USA can shape world
- Reagan Doctrine (1985): open help to anti-communist fighters to topple governments
- Champions free-market capitalism; rejects 1982 Law of Sea (limit private exploitation)
- Largest peacetime military buildup in US history; by 1985, military budget doubled from 1980



# Interventions in El Salvador and in Nicaragua

- Rebels challenge government of landed elite and military (with death squads); Reagan spends \$6 billion to prop up government in its civil war
- Reagan sees Central America via Cold War; critics argue poverty is the source of instability
- Sandinistas (leftist nationalists) topple dictator Somoza (1979); CIA forms contras
- Bloody civil war develops (30,000 die)





# Iran-Contra Scandal; Middle East; Africa

- Administration funds contras illegally by weapon sales; destroys documents; lies to Congress
- Reagan sends Marines into civil war in Lebanon, but withdraws after 1983 bombing
- Israeli-Arab violence undermines peace
- Public pressure and Congress force Reagan to accept sanctions on South Africa (1986)
- Third World suffers massive debt and poverty



# Nuclear Weapons Debate;

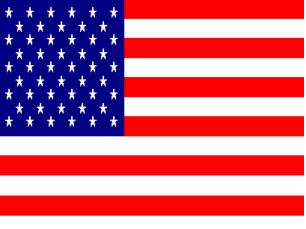
## Gorbachev, post-1985

- Reagan's arms buildup and Strategic Defense Initiative (1983) provoke worldwide protests for "freeze"
- NY, 1982: largest peaceful protest (1 million)
- Reagan-Gorbachev meetings reduce tensions; 1987 INF Treaty on European arms
- Key: reformers in USSR want to improve economy; to do so, need to reduce military spending; Gorbachev often acts unilaterally



# The End of the Cold War

- Gorbachev's reforms within USSR and in foreign policy (no longer prop up unpopular governments) set off changes that end Cold War
- E. Germans topple government (1989); 2 Germanys unite (1990); Communist governments collapse in E. Europe
- USSR disintegrates (1991) into Russia and other countries as Gorbachev loses power
- Key to end is relative decline of USA/USSR in international system



# Why the Cold War Ended

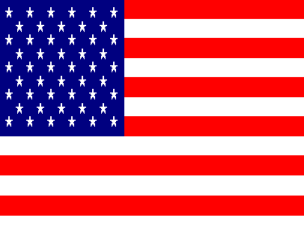
- Four reasons:
  - 1) Arms race and interventions cost trillions and starve domestic needs (infrastructure, ed)
  - 2) Allies (Fr, China) challenge 2 superpowers
  - 3) Emergence of 3rd World diffuses power
  - 4) Worldwide antinuclear movement
- All 4 gradually push USA/ USSR to détente to restore economy and preserve power





# START Treaties; Tiananmen Square (1989)

- START I (1991) reduces long-range nuclear weapons by 1/3; START II (1993) cuts levels by another 50% and eliminates MIRV ICBMs
- Bush maintains high defense budgets and overseas interventions; no “peace dividend”
- In response to China’s slaughter of pro-democracy protesters; Bush limits protests
- Bush asserts trade and security are priority



# Courage



(CNN/FILE)