

From the Beginning of Cooperation to the End of the Cold War – den Politikwandel in Europa und der Welt nachvollziehen (S II)

Katrin und Jan-Frederik Kremer, Hückeswagen



© picture alliance/Klaus Ros

Protest march of peace activists against the deployment of nuclear missiles, Hasselbach, Germany (1986)

Der Kalte Krieg hatte maßgeblichen Einfluss auf die internationalen Beziehungen, die Innenpolitik verschiedener Staaten sowie die Entwicklung gesellschaftlicher Strömungen zwischen 1975 und 1990. Mit dem Zusammenbruch der Sowjetunion galt er offiziell als beendet. Doch die aktuellen politischen Entwicklungen lassen so manchen daran zweifeln, ob die Spannungen zwischen Ost und West nun wirklich als beendet angesehen werden können.

In dieser Unterrichtseinheit beschäftigen sich die Schülerinnen und Schüler mit den Verträgen und Vereinbarungen, die zum Ende des Kalten Kriegs getroffen wurden. Auf der Grundlage von Rollenkarten versetzen sie sich in die Lage verschiedener Politiker und vertreten deren Meinung in einer Diskussion über die Vor- und Nachteile der *Dual-Track Decision* der NATO.

Klassenstufe: Sekundarstufe II

Dauer: 5 Stunden und Klausur

Bereich: Neuzeit, Nachkriegszeit, Kalter Krieg, Politikwandel

Kompetenzen:

- die Chancen einer internationalen Friedenspolitik zum Ende des Kalten Kriegs beurteilen
- die Bedingungen, unter welchen der Friede in Gegenwart und Zukunft gesichert werden könnte, erörtern
- unterschiedliche Quellen zum Thema, insbesondere Verträge und offizielle Erklärungen, verstehen und analysieren

Materialübersicht**1. Stunde: Working for peace and security in Europe**

- M 1 (Fo) Milestones of the Cold War up to 1975
 M 2 (Ab) President Gerald Ford: Speech in Helsinki in 1975
 M 3 (Tx) The Helsinki Declaration: The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
 M 4 (Tx) Method sheet: How to write a news report and a news commentary

2./3. Stunde: NATO's Dual-Track Decision and its reception in Germany

- M 5 (Bi) Protest march in Hasselbach
 M 6 (Tx) NATO's Dual-Track Decision and the Peace Movement
 M 7 (Tx) Let's discuss! The right way to secure peace
 M 8 (Ab) Language support: Taking part in a discussion

4. Stunde: The Malta Summit and the end of the Cold War

- M 9 (Bi) The Malta Summit in December 1989
 M 10 (Tx) Malta Summit: The end of the Cold War
 M 11 (Tx) President Bush's reflections on the Malta Summit
 M 12 (Tx) The dissolution of the Warsaw Pact

5. Stunde: Did the Cold War truly end?

- M 13 (Fo) The new Cold War
 M 14 (Tx) A new Cold War? – Reading a newspaper article

Lernerfolgskontrolle

- M 15 (LEK) Exam: The end of the Cold War
 M 16 (LEK) Exam: Evaluation sheet

Ab: Arbeitsblatt – **Bi:** Bildimpuls – **Fo:** Folie – **LEK:** Lernerfolgskontrolle – **Tx:** Text

M 1 Milestones of the Cold War up to 1975



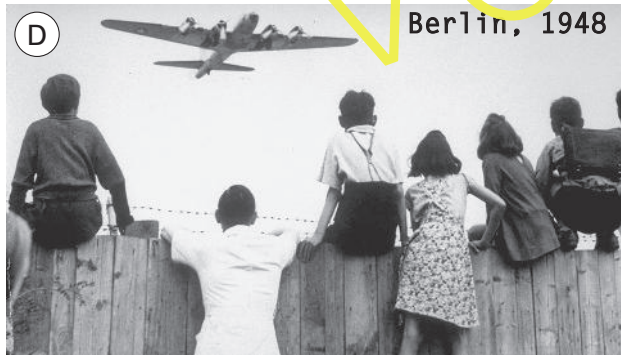
Washington, 1967 (Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons)



Berlin, 1961



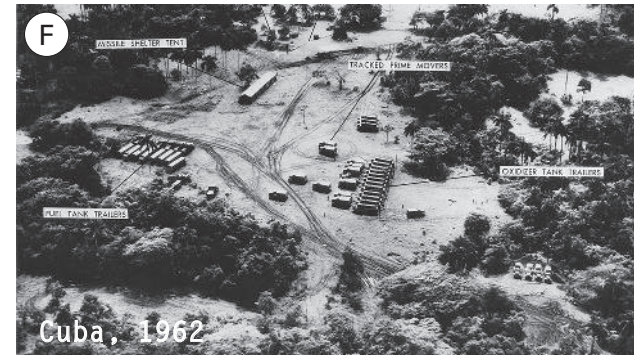
1974 (Joint Communiqué on SALT I)



Berlin, 1948



Vietnam, 1966



Cuba, 1962

VORANSICHT

M 7 Let's discuss! The right way to secure peace

Prepare a talk show about the Dual-Track Decision on 1 December 1983.



Dorothee Sölle, peace activist

As a peace activist, you seek to achieve ideals such as ending all wars, to minimising human violence and banning weapons, with the ultimate goal of achieving world peace. Collect arguments to support your view on the DualTrack Decision:

Alois Mertes, Secretary of State (CDU)

As Secretary of State, you are the administrative head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. You and your party support the Dual Track Decision and have just voted for the deployment of Pershing-II-missiles to Germany. Collect arguments to support your view on the DualTrack Decision:

Petra Kelly, member of the Bundestag

As a member of the Green party, you oppose nuclear weapons. In addition, you were one of the initiators of the "Krefelder Appell". Collect arguments to support your view on the DualTrack Decision:

Arthur F. Burns, US Ambassador

As US ambassador, you are an official envoy and the highest ranking diplomat representing the United States in Germany. As such, it is clearly your task to defend US interests. Collect arguments to support your view on the DualTrack Decision:

VORANSICHT

M 8 Language support: Taking part in a discussion

Lost for words? Check out this language support sheet for help.

Expressing your opinion

- In my view/opinion, ...
- As I see it, ...
- To my mind, ...
- I think/believe/feel that ...
- It seems to me that ...

Including others

- So what do you think?
- How do you feel about that?
- What is your view/opinion on this (matter)?

Interrupting others

- Can I jump in here?
- Can I just make a point?
- Wait a minute ...
- Sorry, but did you say ...?

Holding the floor

- Let me just add one more thing.
- Would you please let me finish (this sentence/thought)?

Changing the subject

- There is something else I wanted to say/ask you ...
- Let's also consider ...
- While I'm thinking of it, ... comes to my mind.

Returning to the original subject

- As I was saying, ...
- Let's get back to the point ...
- (Yes, well) Anyway...

Defending yourself

- That's not what I said/ meant at all. I was merely making the point that ...
- You've got that all wrong. What I said was ...
- You're distorting what I actually said.



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Expressing complete agreement

- I completely agree with you on that point.
- Precisely./Exactly.
- So do I./Me too.
- Nor do I./Me neither.

Expressing partial agreement

- Maybe that's true.
- You've got a point but ...
- That might be true/the case.

Expressing partial disagreement

- Do you really think so?
- It's not as simple as that.
- I find that hard to believe.
- Are you sure?

Expressing complete disagreement

- That's definitely not the case.
- That's not true at all.
- I totally disagree with you.

Using fillers

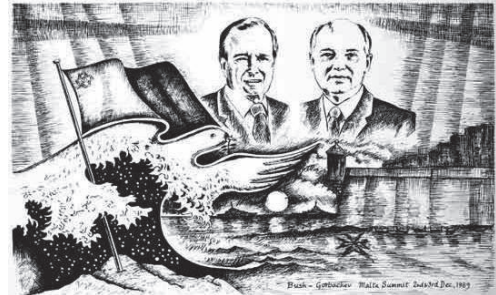
- Well, ...
- Now let me think/see ...
- I see what you mean ...
- Right then.

M 10 The Malta Summit: The end of the Cold War

Partner A

Find out what George Bush senior and Mikhail Gorbachev talked about on a cruise ship off the Maltese coast.

Many contemporaries, as well as historians, have considered the Malta Summit which took place on 2 and 3 December 1989, to mark the end of the Cold War, despite the fact that the two leaders actually hardly agreed on anything of substance. The summit took place only weeks after the fall of the Berlin Wall. A number of arms reduction treaties had been signed before the summit, for instance SALT II in 1979 and the INF in 1987. Eleven months after the conclusion of the talks in Malta, Presidents Bush and Gorbachev signed a treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe, as well as START I in December 1991.



© Joseph Casha

Painting by a Maltese artist showing Bush and Gorbachev at the Malta Summit

End of the Cold War declared

Presidents Bush and Gorbachev declared the Cold War to have ended during a joint¹ press conference concluding their storm-lashed² talks on board the *Maxim Gorky*, a Soviet cruise vessel, off the Maltese coast. They also announced that they were now navigating into shallow waters by beginning military disarmament in Europe.

The Soviet leader made a point by saying: "I assured the President of the United States that I will never start a hot war against the USA." US President George Bush pointed out: "We can realise a lasting peace and transform the East-West relationship to one of enduring co-operation. That is the future that Chairman Gorbachev and I began right here."

This face-to-face meeting of the two statesmen must be seen against the backdrop³ of rapid change in Eastern Europe: Hungary opening its borders, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Czechoslovakian government.

"We are at the beginning of a long road to a lasting, peaceful era."

Mikhail Gorbachev

Both leaders were enthusiastic about the changes sweeping⁴ Europe. Still, they also emphasised the need for caution, especially when it came to Germany's future and the possibility of reunification. Mr Bush said: "It is not for the United States to dictate the pace of change in Germany or anywhere else." And Mr Gorbachev stated: "The world is leaving one epoch and entering another. We are at the beginning of a long road to a lasting, peaceful era. The threat of force, mistrust, psychological and ideological struggle should all be things of the past."

Despite the generally positive tone of the summit, differences emerged⁶ on the issues of a common policy on Central America as well as reductions in naval forces during a concluding round of talks. Still, the two leaders agreed to meet again in June.

Annotations

1 **joint**: gemeinsam – 2 **storm-lashed**: sturmgepeitscht – 3 **backdrop**: background, setting – 4 **to sweep**: dahinsausen, fegen – 6 **to emerge**: aufkommen

Tasks

1. Read the article and summarise it in your own words. Take notes.
2. Present the summary to your partner. Speak as freely as possible.
3. Together with your partner, prepare for a discussion in class whether or not the Malta Summit ended the Cold War.

M 11 President Bush's reflections on the Malta Summit

Partner B

In October 1997 President George Bush (Republican Party) was interviewed on his perception of some of the events surrounding the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War.

Bush made the following statement regarding the Malta Summit on 2 and 3 December 1989:

“I said, I wanna meet Gorbachev and I wanna do it soon. I think some of our European friends had suggested this was important and I felt it was important, but we had different feelings inside our administration: still some wariness¹ about the reality of the change and what Gorbachev's heartbeat really was. [...] I wrote him a letter [...] and said I wanna have a meeting and I want it to be a non-Agenda meeting.

So then we [...] went back and forth as to where we might have such a meeting, [...] and we finally hit upon Malta because it was a nice peaceful harbor, a place [where] they never had bad weather [...] and nobody would get seasick. Well, [...] the meteorologists on every television station in Britain and the US [...] screwed² it up, and we got seasick over there. Not me, but Gorbachev, and he couldn't even come out to the *Slava*, his cruiser, to have this marvelous exchange with us. [...]

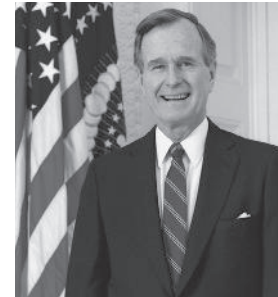
But at the meeting we surprised people by coming forward with an agenda [...]. And before we even got through the first pleasantries, we unleashed³ this on him and I read [the proposals] off. And he was amazed and I think pleased, because I think he'd bought into⁴ the fact that we were dragging our feet, we didn't wanna go forward and there was a wide array of proposals and initiatives and agenda items that hit common support.

And so, Malta from our administration's standpoint [...] is a breakthrough because we didn't hear any more of our wonderful press corps [...] [saying] that we didn't know what we were doing, and they recognized that there had been a reason for taking some time. And then Gorbachev understood there was reason for taking some time and that got us off to a [...] good understanding for the years that followed.”

Bush was then asked whether, in his view, the Summit had marked the end of the Cold War or whether it had just changed the relations between the East and the West. He replied:

“Well, we had some differences at Malta with Gorbachev that [...] would keep me from saying it ended the Cold War. [...] He showed me a map [...] The purpose of the map was to show me that we were trying to encircle the Soviet Union and thus he was gonna insist we have naval arms control⁵. [...] I cite the fact that Gorbachev raised this [...] to give your viewers the feel [...] that [...] all problems weren't behind us, and surely they weren't all behind us in terms of arms control and exactly how we negotiated cuts in conventional forces [and] nuclear wet forces.

[...] I think it was a breakthrough. [...] I guess different leaders in the US have a different date in mind for when he or she felt the Cold War actually ended. Clearly the coming down of the Berlin wall was an important one. Clearly Gorbachev's agreeing finally to let a unified Germany [...] remain in NATO [was another important date]. Clearly Gorbachev going along in the UN in 1990 because of desert storm [...] was a major breakthrough in terms of the end of the Cold War, going along with the US side, the allied side, the coalition side. So there are a lot of points where observers might say, well this ended the Cold War. I must confess I'm a little confused [...], but Malta was important.”



George Bush, President (1989–1993)

© Photo: US Federal Government

Source: <http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/coldwar/interviews/episode-23/bush2.html> (text shortened and slightly edited)

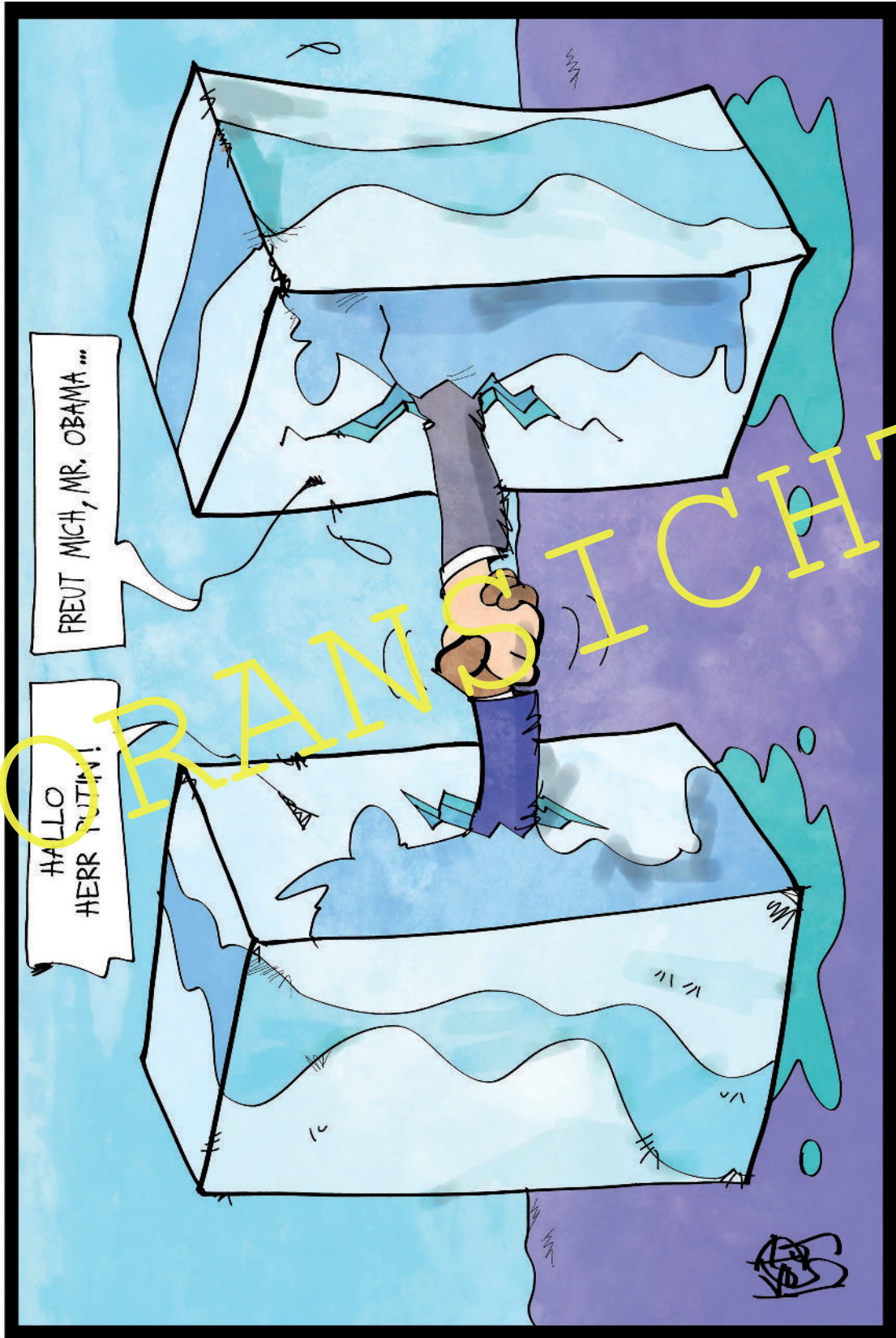
Annotations

1 **wariness:** Vorsicht, Behutsamkeit – 2 **to screw sth. up:** etw. vermässeln – 3 **to unleash:** etw. freisetzen – 4 **to buy into sth.:** to believe sth. – 5 **naval arms control:** Rüstungsbeschränkung für die Marine

Tasks

1. Read the interview and summarise it in your own words. Take notes.
2. Present the summary to your partner. Speak as freely as possible.
3. Together with your partner, prepare for a discussion in class whether or not the Malta Summit ended the Cold War.

© picture alliance/dieKLEINERT.de/Kostas Koufogi



M 13 The new Cold War

M 14 A new Cold War? – Reading a newspaper article

Read this *Guardian* article by Simon Tisdall, published on 19 November 2014 to find out whether, in his opinion, the Cold War is back.

The new cold war: are we going back to the bad old days?

Tanks and troops invading a satellite state, tit-for-tat¹ spy expulsions², high-risk military games of chicken³ involving nuclear bombers and interceptor jets, gas supply cut-offs, and angry diplomatic exchanges – if it sounds familiar, then it should. Newspaper headlines from Moscow to Washington and Sydney to Kiev all agree: the cold war is back.

Well, maybe. [...] But this time around, the battleground is less extensive, the battle-lines less clear. The particular trigger for the resurgence⁴ of chronic cold war-itis was Russia's sudden annexation in March of Crimea, a Black Sea region that Moscow, historically speaking, regards as its own. It is, in fact, part of the sovereign territory of independent Ukraine. Since then, the trouble has spread, with Russian-backed separatists in the Donbas region of eastern Ukraine fighting for independence, or at least autonomy, from the western-backed government in Kiev, and Russia implicitly threatening western energy supplies.

Last weekend's G20 summit in Brisbane, Australia, showed just how raw nerves have become – over Ukraine and, more broadly, over what the west has come to see as a pattern of expansionist, confrontational and often illegal behaviour by the Putin regime, including its not-forgotten 2008 military intervention in Georgia. On meeting Putin, Canada's prime minister, Stephen Harper, said: "Well, I guess I'll shake your hand but I have only one thing to say to you: you need to get out of Ukraine." David Cameron and Barack Obama personally delivered similar messages, in slightly less hostile terms.

Putin left the summit early, in a huff⁵ but showed no sign whatever of backing down. Later, in an interview on German television, he complained that western countries, not him, were pushing the world towards a new cold war. [...]

Auguries⁶ of a rising confrontation between Russia and the west are not hard to find. A recent report by the European Leadership Network said close military encounters have jumped to cold war levels, with 40 dangerous or sensitive incidents recorded in the past eight months.

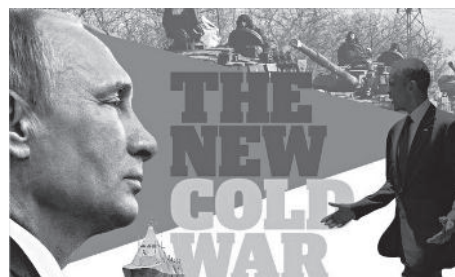
Sweden recently launched a full-scale naval operation to hunt down a mini-submarine, assumed to be Russian, trespassing⁷ inside its coastal waters. The hunt was eventually called off after nothing was found. Analysts suggested that was just as well, since the depth-charging⁸ of a Russian sub, if it had happened (and the Swedes were angry enough to do it), could have sparked a bigger crisis.

Other governments in the Baltic region have similar worries. In August, Finland scrambled US-made Hornet fighter jets when Russian aircraft illegally entered Finnish airspace on three separate occasions in one week. A Finnish research vessel was also harassed⁹. In an interview with the *Guardian*, Sauli Niinisto, Finland's president, added his voice to the chorus warning that the world was "at the gates of a new kind of cold war".

But the similarities can be overdone, a senior government insider in Helsinki said, arguing that Russia is economically weak, deprived of foreign investment, beset¹⁰ by capital flight, and almost wholly dependent for cash on energy exports at a time when the international oil price is dropping. "Russia's actions in Ukraine are more a show of weakness and fear. This is not expansionism, this is insecurity," the insider said. [...]

Annotations

1 **tit-for-tat**: Wie du mir, so ich dir. – 2 **expulsion**: Ausweisung – 3 **game of chicken**: Spiel mit dem Untergang, Feiglingsspiel (Spieltheorie) – 4 **resurgence**: Wiederaufleben – 5 **huff**: angry and offended mood – 6 **augury**: a sign of what might happen in the future – 7 **to trespass**: to enter sth. without permission – 8 **depth-charging**: Wasserbombenangriff – 9 **to harass so.:** jmdn. bedrängen, drangsaliieren – 10 **beset**: heimgesucht



Title photo of the article: Collage showing Putin (left) and Obama (right)

© Guardian composite

Any new cold war-type confrontation would differ in scope and range from the worldwide frozen conflict that dominated the latter half of the 20th century. For a start, it would not be truly global. In the 1970s and 80s, countries as diverse as Nicaragua, Angola, Yemen and Indonesia were the setting for proxy wars fought between rival Soviet or Cuban-backed forces on the one hand, and western-backed, anti-communist militias on the other. [...]

The second decade of the 21st century offers little scope for a repetition. Following the Soviet implosion, the Warsaw Pact (Russia's NATO equivalent) was wound up.¹¹ Moscow now has few friends in eastern and central Europe. In the wider world, Russia's lack of overt allies is now even more evident. [...]

Similar considerations apply on the western "side". When the cold war finished, the US declared itself the victor, paid itself a peace dividend in the form of reduced military spending, and flattered itself that, with the end of superpower rivalry, a unipolar moment had arrived – meaning unchallenged US global hegemony. A quarter of a century later, that smug¹² self-congratulation has disappeared, as has much international confidence in US leadership. [...] In other words, if the US and Russia want a fight, they will each have far fewer supporters this time around. Indeed, China and the other 21st-century powers may well welcome the idea of the "old" superpowers wearing themselves out in a new slug-fest¹³.

A new cold war would lack other key features that distinguished its forerunner. Ideologically speaking, the once definitive struggle between the monolithic rival systems of Marxist communism and free-market capitalism has largely evaporated for want of interest. [...]

Looked at another way, it could be argued the cold war never went away, or at least, that there was merely a brief time-out in the 1990s that ended when Putin rose to power 15 years ago. Bilateral proxy contests for power and influence have continued, though in different forms. In Syria, Moscow's strong support for the regime of Bashar al-Assad, which rents Russia a military base at Tartus on the Mediterranean, is one of the main reasons Assad has survived the civil war for as long as he has. In supporting Assad, Russia acts in deliberate, intransigent¹⁴ opposition to the US.

In Iran, similarly, Russia has worked to maintain close ties with the ruling clerical establishment, in open defiance¹⁵ of US and Israeli-led efforts to isolate the ayatollahs. Moscow is a party to the Vienna negotiations on Iran's suspect nuclear programme, which are due to conclude next Monday. But at the same time, it has announced a new deal to build next-generation nuclear reactors at two sites in Iran, regardless of the outcome in Vienna.

Spying, information theft, economic espionage and assassination also remain an important part of the dysfunctional US-Russia relationship. To crude violence have now been added the new weapons of the information age, including identity theft, cyber-warfare, computer hacking and ever more sophisticated disinformation techniques. [...]

Yet, more than anything else perhaps, the stridently¹⁶ toxic personality of Vladimir Putin himself fits well in the "new cold war" scenario. Like the Soviet hardmen of old, such as Nikita Khrushchev, Leonid Brezhnev, and Yuri Andropov, the diminutive¹⁷ Putin appears by turns ruthless, charming and ultimately reckless¹⁸. His passionate, single-minded belief in his nation's greatness, owing as much to the Tsarist as to the Soviet legacy, drives his mission to project Russian power. His ability to ignore moral considerations, legal norms, and basic human compassion makes him both a dangerous and resourceful foe. [...]

Source: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/19/new-cold-war-back-to-bad-old-days-russia-west-putin-ukraine>

Annotations

11 **to wind up**: to stop – 12 **smug**: selbstgefällig – 13 **slug-fest**: Schlagabtausch – 14 **intransigent**: refusing to change your opinion or behaviour – 15 **defiance**: bold resistance – 16 **strident**: schrill – 17 **diminutive**: very small – 18 **reckless**: waghalsig, rücksichtslos

Task

Summarise the different views on the "new Cold War" presented in the text and prepare for a discussion on the issue.