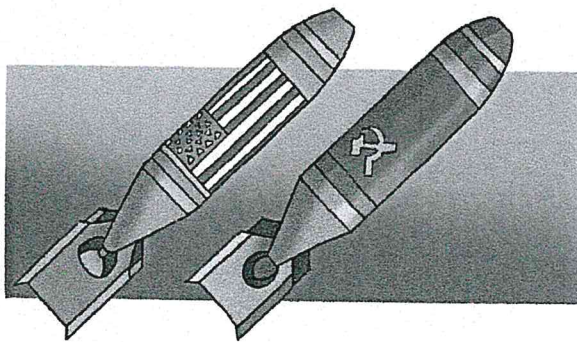
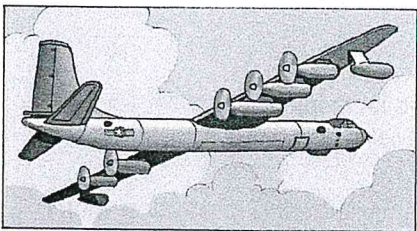
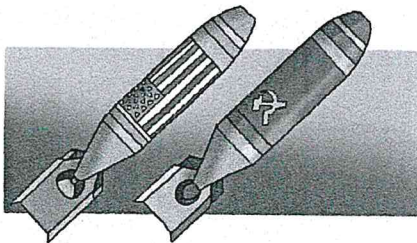
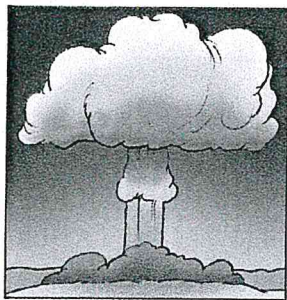


FOCUS

You have seen how the Cold War developed up to 1949. After the crisis in Berlin, relations between the superpowers were always likely to get worse rather than better. In this section, we will look at some key developments and consider why they were important and what they tell historians about the Cold War.



1.3 The Cold War intensifies

The significance of the arms race

On the morning of 6 August 1945, an American bomber flew over the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Its mission was to drop the first atomic bomb. The bomber carried out its deadly mission and Hiroshima was swept away in a devastating fireball, followed by a massive blast wave and then poisonous radiation. Over 100,000 people were killed, possibly more. Three days later, the USA dropped a second bomb on the city of Nagasaki. The world could see the devastating power of these weapons. By 1949, the Soviets had also developed an atomic bomb.

Not surprisingly, nuclear weapons would become a dominant theme in relations between the superpowers. Over the next ten years, the two superpowers were in an **arms race** – competing with each other to build more and better weapons.

Both sides built up huge conventional (non-nuclear) weapons, such as tanks, aircraft, submarines and, of course, troops. However, the most serious development was the nuclear arms race, which is summarised below.

1949: USSR develops its atomic bomb. This caused real alarm in the USA. US intelligence predicted the USSR would not have a bomb until 1953.

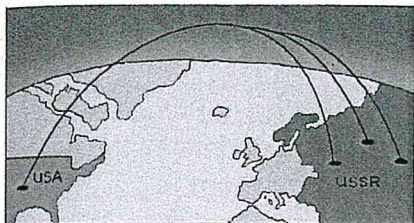
1950–53: A war broke out in Korea between the communist North Korea and the non-communist South Korea. The USA supported South Korea. Communist China and the USSR supported North Korea. At one point it seemed possible that the USA would use nuclear weapons again.

1951: The US Strategic Air Command (SAC) identified 6000 possible targets for nuclear attack in the USSR and kept a fleet of bombers armed with atom bombs in the air or ready to take off at any time.

1952: The USA developed a hydrogen (or thermonuclear) bomb. It was almost 10,000 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb.

1953: The USSR developed its own H-bomb.

1957: The USSR launched Sputnik, the first space satellite. As a consequence, the US feared that the USSR was technically more advanced. Both the US and the USSR had large, expensive space programmes. This was partly because rocket technology would also be useful in launching nuclear weapons.



1957-59: The USA and USSR both developed reliable Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs). These were rockets that carried nuclear warheads. They went into space and then came down on the target. They were unstoppable. Once launched, they could not be turned around.

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- 1 When did the USSR get the bomb?
- 2 What was SAC?
- 3 When did the USA and USSR develop H-bombs?
- 4 What was Sputnik and why did it matter?
- 5 Write a definition of ICBM.

How did the arms race affect superpower relations?

The simple answer to this is that it made relations a lot worse! As both sides poured money and resources into the arms race, they claimed they needed these weapons to defend themselves, but they accused the other of being aggressive and threatening. This was partly to make sure that their own people would not question the massive cost of these programmes.

The poster on the left reads 'Glory to the policy of force!'

The poster on the right says 'St Madonna of the Hydrogen! We won't stop the tests!'

SOURCE 1

The box on the left is marked 'confessional'.

The poster on the confessional puns on a Russian word that means both 'forgive' and 'sell'. It says: 'We forgive/sell: 1) sins, 2) atomic weapons.'

The man with the gun is collecting 'for armaments'.

SOURCE ANALYSIS

Source 1 is a Soviet poster which is trying to say that the USA and NATO worshipped nuclear weapons. Explain how it does this.



A Soviet cartoon entitled 'The Church of NATO'.

SOURCE 2



The opening scene of Duck and Cover, a very well-known and widely broadcast information programme designed to warn children about what to do in a possible nuclear attack.

SOURCE ANALYSIS

- 1 Why does the film use a turtle?
- 2 Why would a historian find Source 2 useful as evidence about the impact of the arms race on the USA?

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- 1 What did each side accuse the other of with regard to the arms race?
- 2 Which groups in the USA and USSR actually benefited from the arms race?
- 3 Why was Eisenhower worried about the military-industrial complex?
- 4 Write your own definitions of MAD and 'deterrence'.

The Soviet reaction to the arms race

Soviet propaganda suggested that the USA worshipped nuclear weapons (see Source 1) and that as a result the USSR needed to build up its own nuclear arsenal. Soviet army leaders supported this policy as it brought massive resources for them.

The American reaction to the arms race

In the USA, there was massive concern about the build-up of Soviet weapons. Public information films warned of the danger of nuclear attack. Many American cities held air raid drills.

President Eisenhower talked about there being a 'missile gap' between the USA and the USSR. In fact, Eisenhower knew that the USA had more missiles. The US military and the industrial corporations that made the weapons were happy about this as they each got what they wanted.

By the time he left office, Eisenhower was becoming increasingly troubled by what he called the 'military-industrial complex'. He suggested that US industrialists and military commanders were more eager to increase tensions with the USSR than defuse them because it got the industrialists more money and the army more weapons.

Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) and deterrence

In one strange way, the arms race reduced the chances of there being a war between the superpowers. It soon became clear that nuclear weapons were so deadly that they should never be used. Both countries would be devastated. Neither side would survive. This idea became known as Mutual Assured Destruction or MAD.

It also led to the doctrine of **deterrence**. That having nuclear weapons deterred the other side from attacking you, so it made war less likely.

FOCUS TASK

Why was the arms race important?

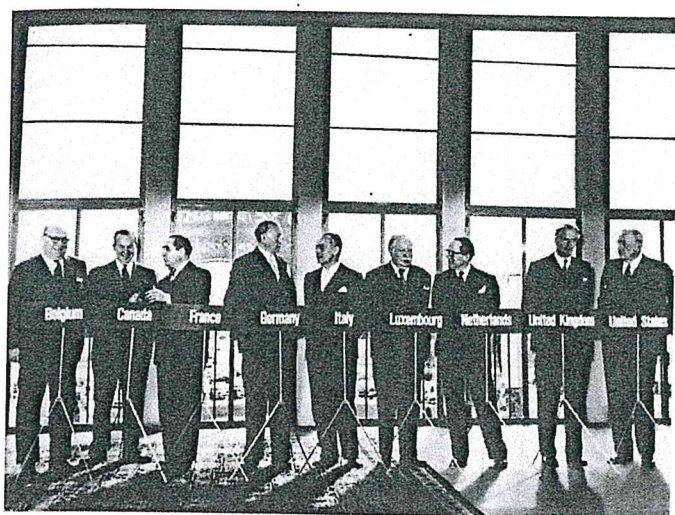


Look back over pages 24-26 and try to persuade this student that the arms race was important. You could refer to some or all of these points:

- What it cost.
- How technology developed.
- The fear it created among people of USA/USSR.
- The power it gave to particular groups in USA/USSR.
- The tension it caused between USA and USSR.
- The threat it posed to life on Earth.

You could do this in a written report or a presentation.

SOURCE 3



An official publicity photograph showing the leaders of NATO countries welcoming West Germany into NATO.

The formation of the Warsaw Pact, 1955

While the superpowers were clashing over aircraft and missiles in the sky, they were also clashing over issues on the ground. In 1955, NATO agreed to allow West Germany to join. There were limits on Germany's armed forces, but even so it was disturbing for the USSR to see their enemy from the Second World War now an ally of the USA and NATO.

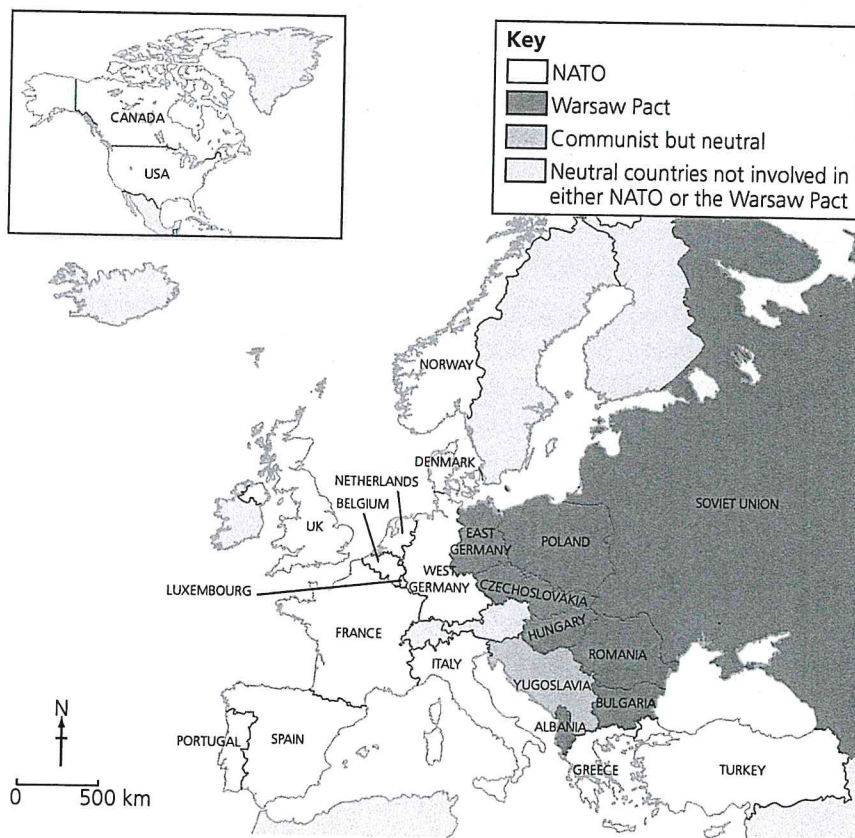
Stalin died in 1953, so by 1954 the Soviet Union had a new leader, Nikita Khrushchev. In many ways, Khrushchev was more liberal and less confrontational than Stalin – but only up to a point. He saw West Germany joining NATO as a serious threat. He

responded by forming the Warsaw Pact. All the communist states of Eastern Europe joined. All members promised that if one state was threatened, they would help to defend it.

SOURCE ANALYSIS

- 1 What caption do you think this photograph would have had in a US newspaper?
- 2 How would a Soviet newspaper regard the photograph? What caption might they write?

FIGURE 1



The members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

SOURCE 4



The badge of the Warsaw Pact.

SOURCE ANALYSIS

What is this source trying to say about the Warsaw Pact and its members?

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- 1 What change happened in NATO in 1955?
- 2 How did the USSR respond?
- 3 What were the terms of the Warsaw Pact?
- 4 How did the creation of the Warsaw Pact affect superpower relations?
- 5 Why is there some debate about its true purpose?

The significance of the Warsaw Pact

The Warsaw Pact strengthened the Soviet Union because it effectively gave the USSR command of all the armies of the satellite states.

Inevitably, tensions increased because Europe was now divided into two armed camps.

- For the next 35 years, much of the energy of each side went into plans to stop a possible invasion by the other side. For example, thousands of American troops, tanks, aircraft and other weapons were stationed in bases across Europe, particularly Germany. In response, the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact members trained forces and stationed troops in case NATO attacked.
- They also created the danger that one side would mistake a training exercise for a real attack. We know that this happened in 1983, but it probably happened at other times as well.

The Warsaw Pact was also significant in another way. In 1953, there had been huge demonstrations across East Germany protesting about communist policies. This was not dealt with by East German troops. It was Soviet tanks and troops that ended the protests. They killed 40 protesters and wounded over 400. Similar protests in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania were crushed in the same way by Soviet armed forces. Some historians believe that the Warsaw Pact was formed to allow Khrushchev to make sure that communist rule in Eastern Europe remained secure. All the senior jobs in the Warsaw Pact were held by Soviet officials and commanders, not from any of the satellite states.

FOCUS TASK

How important was the formation of the Warsaw Pact?

Write a paragraph to explain the importance of the Warsaw Pact in superpower relations. Choose one of these phrases that you think is particularly accurate, then write a paragraph to support your choice.

- It was a turning point in the Cold War.
- It was the most important event in the Cold War.
- It was an important development in superpower relations.
- It was a key event in the story of the USSR and its allies.

If none of the statements seem accurate, then write your own!

The Hungarian Uprising, 1956

Stalin died in 1953 and the USSR's new leader was Nikita Khrushchev. Khrushchev seemed to be more liberal than Stalin. He tried to calm tensions with the USA and criticised Stalin's harsh methods of rule. It seemed the USSR's iron grip on Eastern Europe might soften. This view would soon be tested – in Hungary.

Trouble in Hungary

From 1949 to 1956, Hungary was led by a hard-line communist called Mátyás Rákosi. By 1956, communist rule was deeply unpopular. There was no freedom of speech and people lived in terror of the **secret police**. Hungarians resented the large number of Soviet troops and officials in their country. There were also shortages of food and other day-to-day essentials.

Protests

Discontent began to rise. Khrushchev replaced Rákosi with a new communist leader, Emo Gero. But this achieved little. By October 1956, there were serious demonstrations and street protests.

Khrushchev's response: Part 1

October 25

Gero asked Khrushchev to provide Soviet troops to crush the demonstrations. On 25 October, Khrushchev sent 30,000 troops to do just that. However, things did not go well. There was fierce fighting and some troops seemed to sympathise with the protesters.

October 28

Khrushchev changed his approach. He sacked Gero and appointed Imre Nagy as Hungary's new leader. Nagy was definitely the people's choice. He promised reforms in Hungary, which made the Hungarians happy. Nagy also promised to be a loyal ally to Moscow, which made Khrushchev happy. On 28 October, Khrushchev ordered Soviet troops to pull out of Hungary.

Nagy's new Hungary

Nagy started out on an ambitious programme of reforms:

- He planned to bring in free elections so that non-communists could try to get elected.
- He started giving land back to farmers (farming had been controlled by the state).
- He got rid of the secret police.
- He got rid of the restrictions on free speech.
- Ordinary Hungarians began to set up their own local councils and took control of the police, factories and schools.

Hungarians were delighted with the changes. But the next question was whether Khrushchev would also approve.

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- 6 When did Stalin die?
- 7 Who took over after him?
- 8 How was he different from Stalin?
- 9 Why was there so much discontent in Hungary by 1956?
- 10 What did Khrushchev do to Rákosi and why?

SOURCE 5



Hungarians protesting in Budapest and setting fire to the Soviet flag.

SOURCE ANALYSIS

- 1 How would this scene have been reported in the West?
- 2 How would it have been reported in the USSR?

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- 11 What did Khrushchev do on 25 October?
- 12 What happened as a result?
- 13 How did Khrushchev change his approach on 28 October?

Khrushchev's response: Part 2

Khrushchev was soon facing pressure from critics inside the USSR and the communist leaders of other countries in Eastern Europe. They worried that if the Hungarian protests succeeded, they would spread to their own countries.

Hungary leaves the Warsaw Pact

On 1 November, Imre Nagy declared Hungary to be a neutral country. He made it clear that Hungary was pulling out of the Warsaw Pact. This would massively weaken the Warsaw Pact. Nagy also said he wanted to be on better terms with the USA. Khrushchev began to believe that events in Hungary were part of an anti-Soviet plot.

SOURCE 6



The centre of Budapest in November 1956 after the uprising was defeated.

The tanks move in

On 3 November, Soviet troops and tanks moved back into Hungary. Nagy called on the Hungarian people to resist the Soviet forces. Hard fighting followed. There were over 2000 Soviet casualties and around 20,000 Hungarians were killed. Some 200,000 more fled the country.

Clampdown

A new Hungarian leader, Kadar, took control. He was backed by the USSR. In the months that followed, he clamped down on the rebellion. Around 35,000 Hungarians were arrested and 300 were executed, including Imre Nagy.

The international reaction

When the Soviet troops invaded Hungary, Imre Nagy called on the USA and the United Nations to intervene and help Hungary defend itself. No help came.

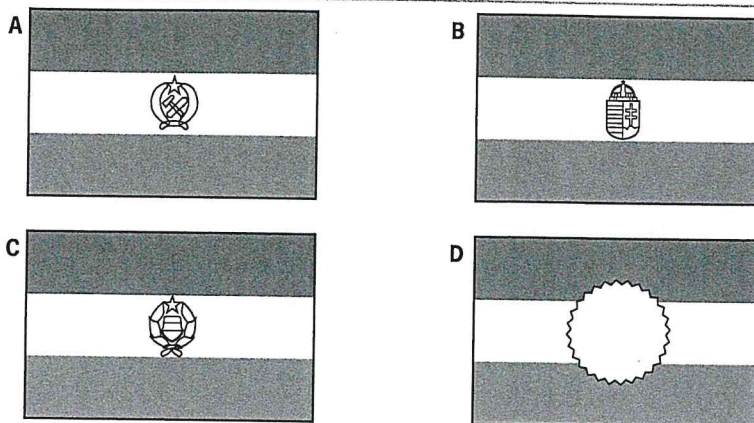
The USA did protest loudly and publicly condemned Khrushchev's actions. However, Hungary was simply too close to the USSR. It would have been impossible for the West to help the rebels without sending massive forces across Europe and this would have run the risk of triggering a major war. The American President Eisenhower was simply not prepared to risk this.

The significance of the Hungarian Uprising

The lesson that emerged from the Hungarian revolt was that Khrushchev was not going to let Hungary (or any other state in Eastern Europe) pull out of the Warsaw Pact. It is possible that he might have allowed some of the reforms to take place, but total independence was out of the question.

The Hungarian Uprising also strengthened Khrushchev's authority. His tough actions silenced his critics inside the USSR and won him the support of the leaders of the other Warsaw Pact countries. He had shown that he would intervene to protect them if they faced rebellions like the Hungarian Uprising.

SOURCE 7



The flags of Hungary 1948-56.

These four flags tell Hungary's story since the Second World War.

- Flag A is the Hungarian flag that the communists introduced when they took power after the war.
- Flag B shows the changes the Hungarians made to the flag during the uprising in 1956.
- Flag C is the Hungarian flag after the communists regained control.
- Flag D is the flag after communist rule ended in 1989.

SOURCE ANALYSIS

Create your own presentation using the four flags in Source 7 to tell the story of the Hungarian Uprising of 1956.

FOCUS TASK

What was the importance of the Hungarian Uprising in superpower relations?

Here are some facts about the Hungarian Uprising. They are all true! But are they all important in the context of superpower relations? To answer this question, you have to judge:

- Do they tell you something important about the behaviour or beliefs of the superpowers (USSR or USA)?
- Do they tell you something important about the relationship between the superpowers?
- Did this help change superpower relationships in any important way?

Make your own copy of this table and fill out as many rows as you can.

Facts about the Hungarian Uprising	Important, Not important, or Not sure	Reason ...
Communist rule was unpopular in Hungary	Important	Because it tells us something about how the USSR controlled its satellite states
Rákosi was replaced by Gero	Not important	It is only an incidental detail in the story
Imre Nagy replaced Gero as leader of Hungary and brought in major reforms		
Imre Nagy had the support of the Hungarian people		
Nagy pulled out of the Warsaw Pact		
Khrushchev sent forces into Hungary to remove Nagy		
The USA criticised Soviet invasion but did little else		
The uprising strengthened the determination of the USSR to keep control of Eastern Europe		