American plane which had been flying over the USSR. It was a U-2 spy plane, designed to take photographs of Soviet military targets. These flights had been going on for three years. When President Eisenhower refused to apologize, the meeting collapsed. It had lasted just three hours. Overhead, a Soviet sputnik circled the globe twice.

The arms race continued into the 1960s as each superpower built more nuclear weapons and also developed new ones. In 1963, both the USA and the USSR produced their first nuclear submarines.
One key reason for this was money. Nuclear missiles were cheaper to make than many conventional weapons. Also, having nuclear weapons meant that the USA did not need a large army. It seemed as if building nuclear weapons saved money, but ordinary people in many nations were frightened of them.

THE TWENTIETH PARTY CONGRESS (1956)
In February 1956, Khrushchev made a secret speech at the Twentieth Party Congress in Moscow. He attacked Stalin, blaming him for much that had happened in the USSR before the war. Khrushchev told senior party officials that Stalin had been a ruthless, brutal dictator.

Most of the major communist leaders in eastern Europe owed their jobs to Stalin's support. People in these countries angrily rejected the 'secret' speech and attacked Stalinist leaders. In June 1956, there were strikes and riots at Poznan in Poland; 53 workers were killed. A popular leader, Gomulka, was brought back to carry out reforms.
In Hungary, it was far worse - there was an open revolt. The Hungarians had resented Soviet control of their country ever since it became communist in 1948. Hungary was a religious nation but its Catholic schools had been nationalised and religion was frowned upon. Schoolchildren were forced to learn communist history. In addition, the secret police (the AVO) were feared and Soviet troops still remained in the country.
Khrushchev's speech made the Hungarians feel they now had a chance to get rid of their own Stalinist leaders. At first, they were successful. The USSR forced the local communist leader, Rakosi, to resign in July 1956. But the Hungarian people were still dissatisfied: the harvest was poor and fuel was in short supply.

THE HUNGARIAN UPRISING (1956)
On 23 October, students and workers in Budapest, the capital of Hungary, held a demonstration. The Communist Party leader rejected their demands and police fired into the crowd. What had begun peacefully quickly turned into a rebellion.
A huge statue of Stalin was pulled down and dragged round the streets on a rubbish cart. Secret police arrested all the communist leaders who had hung from the trees. To calm things down, Soviet troops began withdrawing from Hungary and a moderate communist, called Imre Nagy, came to power. (It is pronounced 'Nooli'.)

Nagy brought non-communists into his government and released a leading Catholic called Cardinal Mindszenty. But the situation was going beyond Nagy's control. Communists and anti-communists had joined forces. Communists wanted to end Stalinist rule; anti-communists wanted to get rid of the communists altogether. The Communist Party itself began to fall apart. Its newspaper was not published.
On 30 October, Nagy accepted all the rebels' demands. On the following day, he asked the USSR to take its troops out of Hungary. On 1 November, he announced that Hungary would leave the Warsaw Pact and become neutral. He appealed to the United Nations and asked for western help in defending the country.
Khrushchev could not tolerate this. On 4 November, Soviet tanks moved into Budapest to put down the uprising. The Hungarian people fought back with home-made weapons, such as petrol bombs, but it was a one-sided fight.
About 3000-4000 Hungarians were killed and another 150,000 fled abroad. Nagy took refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy. Later in November, he was tricked out and arrested. He was executed in 1958. Cardinal Mindszenty was forced to spend the next 15 years hiding in the US Embassy before he was allowed to leave Hungary.

Nagy was replaced by the pro-Soviet Janos Kadar. He later carried out many of the reforms which Nagy had suggested. However, Hungary did not leave the Warsaw Pact. Nor did it become neutral.
Khrushchev's process of de-Stalinisation went slower after 1956 but he had shown that, in one respect, he differed little from Stalin. He had shown that eastern Europe was firmly under Soviet control and was going to stay that way.

A SOURCE
President Kennedy once stated that the United States had the [missiles] to wipe out the Soviet Union two times over, while the Soviet Union had enough atomic weapons to wipe out the United States only once. Journalists asked me to comment. I said jokingly, 'He's quite right. But I'm not complaining. Once is quite enough. What good does it do to [destroy] a country twice? We've not a bestowed people.'

B SOURCE
Radio Kossuth, a Hungarian radio station, 24 October 1956.
Fascist reactionaries elements have started an armed attack against our public buildings and have also attacked our police. In the interest of restoring order, and until further notice is given, we announce that it is forbidden to hold any meetings, rallies and parades.

C SOURCE
Hungarian news report, 4 November 1956.
People are jumping up at the tanks, throwing hand grenades inside and then slamming the driver's windows. The Hungarian people are not afraid of death. It is only a pity that we can't stand for long.

Questions
a Study Source C. Explain the point the writer was making. Support your answer by referring to details in the source and your own knowledge, 16 marks
b Explain why the people of Hungary rebelled against their government in 1956. 19 marks
ANTI-SOVET FEELINGS

In 1956, Soviet tanks had crushed the uprising in Hungary. This action showed that the USSR would not tolerate countries in eastern Europe who wanted to go their own way. It was 1968 before another communist country tried to win some independence from the USSR. This time, it was Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakia had been a democratic country before World War II. Its standard of living had been high. Even under communist control, it was more industrialised than most of the satellite states. However, its economic achievements were not as great as its people hoped.

The country was suffering from severe inflation and people complained that it was being exploited by the Soviet Union. There were student protests and criticism of the Czech Communist Party.

In January 1968, a new man was chosen as First Secretary of the Communist Party. His name was Alexander Dubček. He wanted to improve the economy. He planned to do this by having less central planning, with more privately owned businesses. People would be able to travel to the West and the Communist Party would change, allowing criticisms of its methods and policies. There would be new freedoms for the people:

- freedom of assembly, allowing people to organise meetings and political parties;
- freedom of religion;
- political prisoners freed;
- trade unions allowed;
- limits on the powers of the security police;
- press censorship to end; and
- a new National Assembly would be elected, in which communists would not have all the power.

These changes would make Czechoslovakia very different from other communist nations, so Dubček tried to reassure the USSR. He told them that Czechoslovakia would not leave the Warsaw Pact.

THE PRAGUE SPRING

Dubček called his plans 'socialism with a human face'. This meant that his style of socialism would also allow freedom for the people. The Czechoslovak people discussed politics openly for the first time in years. People called it 'the Prague Spring'. It was as if the nation were being reborn.

The Czech people supported Dubček's reforms, as did Yugoslavia and Romania, but the USSR did not. Soviet leaders tried to persuade Dubček to give up his reforms. They were afraid that Czechoslovakia might leave the Warsaw Pact, whatever Dubček said. They were also worried about the effect his changes might have on other communist countries.

The Prague Spring gave way to early summer. Soviet politicians continued to talk to Dubček. Meanwhile, behind the scenes, they planned to invade Czechoslovakia, just as they had invaded Hungary in 1956. In early May, Soviet tanks began moving through Poland and East Germany towards Czechoslovakia. By late July, about 75,000 Soviet troops were in position just outside the Czechoslovakian border.

In July, the USSR and four other Warsaw Pact countries sent a message to Dubček. In effect, they asked him to change his policy. He did not. Dubček did not believe the USSR would invade Czechoslovakia; nor did Tito, the Yugoslav president, who visited the country in August.

According to the USSR, what happened next was that they received a letter from leading Czech communists. It asked for Soviet help in putting down a counter-revolution. (No one is sure whether this is true or whether the letter was made up.)

On the night of 20-21 August 1968, Soviet troops entered Czechoslovakia. There were also a few troops from Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and East Germany to make it look like a Warsaw Pact joint exercise.

One Czech official who saw them thought they were shooting a film: he did not believe his country was being invaded. Most Czechs did not resist because they knew there was no point: they could not hope to win. Faced with Soviet rifles, they placed flowers in the barricks.

However, some fought back. Barricades were set up in the streets and tanks were blown up. Students took down street names to confuse the invaders. Anti-Soviet broadcasters stayed on the air by moving from one hiding place to another.

Meanwhile, Dubček had been arrested and taken to Moscow where he was forced to sign an agreement, ending most of his reforms. The official Soviet version of the invasion bore no relation to the truth (see Source D). He returned to Czechoslovakia but could not bring the Czech resistance under control. In April 1969, he was forced out of office and a pro-Soviet leader called Gustav Husák took over. He clamped down on all opposition inside the country.

Questions

a What was the Prague Spring? (6 marks)
b What does Source C tell us about Czechoslovakia after Dubček's removal? (3 marks)
c How reliable is Source C to an historian studying the methods of communist governments? Use Source C and your own knowledge to explain your answer. (6 marks)