

Khrushchev's Secret Speech

And Its Consequences in Eastern Europe

Housekeeping

- Last quiz
- New Quiz
- Paper at the end: Topic by October 31
 - Review some of the existing scholarship
 - Use 4-5 original documents

REVIEW:

Stalin's Death and the Impulse for Change

The new leadership is fearful of foreign threats and internal stability

Agree for the need to change

Stalin had become inflexible, and the policies he used to industrialize Soviet Union were no longer working

People expected better life

Domestic political change

No more terror: amnesty

More money for food, consumer goods, housing

1953: Enter the Eisenhower Administration

Review of US foreign policy:

The balance of power: US strategic advantage

Capacity to deliver nuclear weapons to USSR

USSR does not have that capacity

NSC-68: Global ideological conflict

Security and defense top budgetary priority

Massive increase in spending

The Korean War: US bogged down in a stalemate



Eisenhower's Foreign Policy Rhetoric

Eisenhower and Republicans Run Against Containment Policy

Appropriate vision of global ideological struggle

John Foster Dulles (and Allen Dulles)

Containment is a policy of reaction, not action

US must take offensive: "Roll Back"

Eisenhower very cautious on military spending

High budget deficits endanger stability

"Military-Industrial Complex"



Eisenhower's Strategic Policy: The New Look

Not Containment, which is reactive

Wants to save money

Massive Retaliation

Willingness to strike where most strategic

Willingness to use whatever weapons make sense

Korea? An Unfortunate Miscommunication

Germany and NATO

The Use of Undercover Operations: An Aside

Iran, 1953: Mohammad Mossadegh: Wants to gain control over Iran's oil, which earlier had been owned by British

Sanctions against Iran, but Truman did not approve of coup

Eisenhower Administration approves, Mossadegh replaced by

Shah Reza Pahlavi

Eisenhower administration maintains Mossadegh at risk of communist takeover

US companies now gain access to Iranian Oil

Shah Reza Pahlavi installs harsh dictatorship

Guatemala, 1954

Jacobo Arbenz elected to presidency in 1951

Arbenz institutes fairly radical reforms

Appropriates land from United Fruit Company for landless peasants (John Foster Dulles is on the board of UFC)

Legalizes communist party in Guatemala

Dulles portrays Arbenz as Communist

Organizes CIA operation and overthrows Arbenz, installs dictator

Guatemala has been unstable repressive regime ever since

Soviet New Leadership and Foreign Policy

Domestic pressures to improve people's lives

Poor economic performance in countries of Eastern Europe

The New Course

The threat of nuclear annihilation

Belligerent US rhetoric that seems to approve nuclear war

Considerable concerns about German rearmament in NATO

Little influence beyond communist world

MALENKOV: For greater reform, war will end civilization: Weak

MOLOTOV: Little reform; war is inevitable, sharp divide between socialist and capitalist camps: Inflexible Germany rearms in 1954

Khrushchev's Strategy

Socialism and Capitalism must clash

Capitalist camp wants to destroy socialism

But socialist camp has grown stronger

- Nuclear weapons

- More economic growth

- Allies not only in Eastern Europe, but China, elsewhere

As a result, capitalists won't attack socialism

- Meanwhile, continuing economic and political progress of socialist camp will lead to victory

Khrushchev's Foreign Policy: 1955

Investment on nuclear capabilities: Bombers, Missiles

Creation of the Warsaw Pact as answer to NATO

Loosen Stalin-Molotov vision of either friend or enemy

- Austrian State Treaty

- Repairs relationship with Yugoslavia

Expand alliances to newly independent, nationalist states that don't like Britain, France, US: Egypt, India, Indonesia

Peaceful Coexistence with West

- Proposals to reduce conventional forces

- Geneva Conference

- Normalizes relations with West Germany

The 20th Congress of the CPSU: 1956

The Public Section

War is no longer inevitable: Peaceful Coexistence

Different Roads to Communism

Socialism doesn't need a violent revolution, can come to power peacefully

Global clash between camp of imperialism/war and camp of peace

The 20th Congress: The Private Section

Khrushchev attacks Stalin

Why? Understands contradiction in Soviet Union

Has to explain

Also sees it as a way to weaken opponents to his policies

What? Stalin betrayed Leninism and the Party

Lenin recommended Stalin's removal

Stalin murdered Old Bolsheviks: over 50% of 1934

"Congress of Victors"; over 78% of Central

Committee

Stalin tried to remove Tito

BUT: Stalin's decision to suppress enemies of party, collectivize agriculture and rapid industrialize were good

Impact in Soviet Union

Distributed to Party

Raised many questions

Resulted in Crackdown

Unpopular within many party elites

Impact in Eastern Europe: Poland. 1956

Post-WWII: “Home” and “Moscow” Communists

Wladyslaw Gomulka, Home Communist, Sent to Prison in
1951, Released in 1954

Khrushchev’s speech in February, 1956

Polish communist leader, Boleslaw Bierut, dies in March
Struggle within communist party

Uprisings begin in Poznan in June, around 70 killed, but
unrest continues

In October, Party appoints Gomulka as leader, who calls for reform

Soviets concerned, but Khrushchev believes won’t go to far, allows it to
happen



Hungary, 1956



As in Poland, Struggles within Party

Stalinist Rákosi and Reformist Nagy

1953: Nagy made Prime Minister to oversee New Course

1955: Nagy deposed as Prime Minister, Rákosi returns

Rákosi deeply unpopular, Economy doing badly

Secret Speech undermines Rákosi

Students, intellectuals encouraged by events in Poland

The Soviet Decision on Hungary

THE CASE FOR WITHDRAWAL (Mikoyan, Shepilov, Zhukov)

It will make matters worse in Soviet-dominated countries in Central Europe

It will strengthen NATO

It will damage peace offensive in nationalist newly independent countries

THE CASE FOR INTERVENTION (Molotov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov)

It will make USSR look weak and encourage imperialists

It will encourage other Eastern European countries to revolt

It will encourage nationalist dissent in USSR (esp. Ukraine, Moldova, Baltics)

It will hurt standing with other Communist Parties (China, Tito)

KHRUSHCHEV WAVERS, THEN SUPPORTS

Key Issue: Nagy says he wants out of Warsaw Pact

Khrushchev needs to keep his own authority, can't look weak

The Crisis in Suez: Background

The Suez Canal: Finished in 1869 by British

Key waterway connecting Indian Ocean and Mediterranean

Gamel Abdel Nasser heads Egypt as Arab Nationalist

Looks to Soviet model for industrial development

Confrontation towards former imperialist countries

Stalin/Molotov ignores him

Khrushchev begins to court him in 1955 with arms sales, help
with Aswan Dam



The Crisis Unfolds

July, 1956: Nasser nationalizes Suez Canal

October 26-28: Israel, Britain and France attack Egypt

October 30: US and USSR join in criticizing attack at UN

Eisenhower threatens economic sanctions, in particular selling British pounds, resulting in devaluation

Soviets threaten military action: Soviet volunteers, nuclear retaliation

Israel, Britain and France stop the attack

Khrushchev's lesson: Nuclear threats work

The Role of Memory:

The Lessons We (Mis)Learn

Two misinterpretations of brinksmanship: Korea, Suez

Creates a narrative by which we understand ourselves

But different people have different narratives

Want to persuade others

History becomes political

Memory of 1956 in Hungary

Write three things

Big in 1989: Reburial of Nagy a key event

By 1990s, less important

Seems to be more important now

