# Causes of the Korean War – I

## A – The Cold War

#### Origins of the Cold War

- 1. WWII: USA & USSR were allies vs Nazi Germany, but ≠ friends.
  - USA = Capitalist (free market, individual profit); USSR = Communist (state econ control, individual duty).
  - USA = political freedom; USSR = political control.
  - USA wanted Democracy & trade partners inc. Germany; USSR wanted world communist revolution + East Europe buffer states + destroy Germany.
- 2. Cold War followed WWII:
  - Stalin-backed coups in E. Europe; 1948–49: Stalin blockaded W. Berlin.
  - In Asia, communist demonstrations & revolutions  $\rightarrow$  CHINA became communist, 1949.

#### Two Standpoints

#### USA saw USSR as aggressor:

- 1. 1947: 'Truman Doctrine'  $\rightarrow$  'CONTAINMENT' policy; Congress gave \$17b Marshall Aid to support democracy.
- 2. Acheson: Communism = the rotten apple which will ruin the whole barrel.
- 3. April 1950: NSC-68 report said containment  $\neq$  enough  $\rightarrow$  USA must 'roll back' Communism.
- 4. US anti-communism ↑ after 1948:
  - 'PUMPKIN Papers' showed Alger Hiss (top US official, UN founder) = Soviet spy.
  - HUAC launched  $\rightarrow$  started w. 1947 'Hollywood Ten'.
  - Govt loyalty checks began; 425 employees sacked by Truman : homosexual (seen as blackmail risk).

#### USSR saw USA as aggressor:

- 1. Stalin took Churchill's 1946 'Iron Curtain' speech as war threat, saw Marshall Aid = US econ blackmail, accused USA of Empire-building.
- 2. USSR only got Atomic bomb in 1949; still behind in nukes until 1960s  $\rightarrow$  USSR options limited.

## B - The USA and the USSR in Korea

#### Background:

- 1943 CAIRO Conference = Allies said Korea would become free & indep.
- 10 Aug 1945: USSR entered Korea; USSR & USA agreed to divide Korea at 38th parallel → North = Soviet occupation, South = US occupation.
- 1945–50 = plan for 5-year TRUSTEESHIP.
- 1946–47: US-USSR JOINT COMMISSION failed to agree unification plan.

#### The USSR

- 1. 10 Aug 1945: Soviet army entered N. Korea.
  - Local 'People's Committees' already running areas  $\rightarrow$  became basis for govt.
  - USSR brought 67 Korean officers from USSR incl KIM IL SUNG  $\rightarrow$  made DPRK leader.
  - (though nb Cumings: Soviet control ≈ limited to Pyongyang.)
  - Stalin gave Kim Soviet weapons left in Korea/Manchuria; USSR advisers trained NKPA.
  - But 1949: Stalin told Kim USSR would not back invasion of South.

#### The USA

- 1. 8 Sept 1945: US forces entered S. Korea.
  - Warned about Communists by Japan → USA dropped leaflets telling Koreans to obey Japan 'til US arrived.
  - Even after arrival, Japanese kept guarding assets in US armbands (= unpopular).
- 2. Found 'People's Committees' running govt + 'People's Republic of Korea' in Seoul → USA banned them, set up US military govt using old Japanese systems (= unpopular).
- 3. US govt = failure:
  - Japanese had run everything → US soldiers (≠ trained, ≠ qualified, ≠ Korean-speaking) ran govt.
  - Befriended right-wing, Christian, English-speakers.
  - US soldiers abused locals, looted, drank, assaulted, harassed women.
  - 1946 poll: almost half S. Koreans preferred Japanese rule.
- 4. US flew in SYNGMAN RHEE (Christian Korean nationalist in USA since 1925)  $\rightarrow$  made S. Korea's President.
- 5. Widespread hatred of US occupation:
  - 1946: DAEGU uprising after police fired on strike  $\rightarrow$  US army crushed revolt  $\rightarrow$  611 dead, 2,609 arrested.
- 6. 1949: US troops withdrew but left ROK \$110m in weapons no tanks or planes, ∵ USA feared Rhee would invade North → global war risk.

# Causes of the Korean War – II

#### Timeline

10 Aug 1945	USA & USSR agree to split Korea at 38th parallel.
Sept 1945	• USA sets up Military Govt in South Korea/Syngman Rhee (right-wing nationalist)
	flown in $ ightarrow$ future South Korean leader
	USSR installs Kim II Sung (communist nationalist) as North Korean leader.
Dec 1945	<ul> <li>USA &amp; USSR agree to 5-year 'trusteeship' of their zones.</li> </ul>
Oct 1946	<ul> <li>Anti-US uprising in Daegu, South Korea.</li> </ul>
1946–47	<ul> <li>US-USSR Joint Commission fails to agree unification plan.</li> </ul>
Mar 1947	<ul> <li>Truman Doctrine = 'containment' of communism.</li> </ul>
Nov 1947	• USA takes Korean issue to UN → UN creates UN Commission on Korea (UNCOK}.
May 1948	• Rhee 'elected' South Korean President in sham vote. He uses brutal forces (eg HYANGBODAN) to crush opposition.
Apr 1948–May 1949	Anti-Rhee uprisings in JEJU & Yeosu-Suncheon crushed violently.
Mar 1949	<ul> <li>Kim II Sung asks Stalin to back invasion of South Korea → told to wait (risk of NUCLEAR war).</li> </ul>
May-Aug 1949	• ROK Army invades North Korea. Gen Kim SOK-WON tells UN to support plan to conquer North Korea.
June 1949	<ul> <li>US Army leaves South Korea, but leaves \$110m kit + 500 KMAG advisers (no tanks/planes).</li> </ul>
Aug 1949	<ul> <li>USSR gets atomic bomb → ends US nuclear dominance of arms race.</li> </ul>
Sep 1949	<ul> <li>Kim asks Stalin again to back invasion → Stalin refuses again, but sends tanks, artillery, planes.</li> </ul>
Oct 1949	<ul> <li>Mao conquers China/ 30k communist Korean GUERRILLAS (who fought w. Mao) return to North Korea.</li> </ul>
1949–50	<ul> <li>Rhee &amp; Gen MacArthur discuss conquering North Korea/ ROK Army = 114k men; NKPA = 150k men.</li> </ul>
12 Jan 1950	• US Sec of State Dean ACHESON says Korea is NOT part of US Far East SECURITY CORDON.
April 1950	• Stalin agrees to invasion. Soviet Gen ANTONOV writes war plan. North Korean troops start moving into position.
May 1950	• Rhee loses election $\rightarrow$ South Korean govt in chaos
	• Kim visits MAO ZEDONG $\rightarrow$ gets Chinese support.
19 June 1950	<ul> <li>US ambassador John Foster DULLES visits South Korea → promises support, tours DMZ w. ROK leaders.</li> </ul>
25 June 1950	NKPA invades South Korea.

## WHY did Stalin change his mind in April 1950?

- 1. Aug 1949: USSR gets atomic bomb  $\rightarrow$  ends US nuclear dominance of arms race.
- 2. Oct 1949: China goes communist  $\rightarrow$  shifts power in Asia.
- 3. Jan 1950: Acheson says Korea = outside US defence zone  $\rightarrow$  Stalin thinks USA  $\neq$  react w. nuclear war.
- 4. Terentii SHTYKOV (Soviet ambassador & military adviser to North Korea) strongly backed Kim.
- 5. Jan 1950: Shtykov warns Stalin if USSR says no, Kim may go to China instead  $\rightarrow$  Stalin fears losing influence.

# The North Korean Invasion

## Sunday 25 June 1950

- 4:00am NKPA launched *Operation POKPUNG*, a full-scale invasion of South Korea, catching the ROK Army by surprise; most units not in position or on weekend leave.
- ROK weapons and suicide attacks failed against T-34 tanks.
- NKPA pushed south towards strategic location of Uijongbu.

## Monday 26 June 1950

- ROK Gen. 'FATTY' Chae demanded pincer attack on NKPA army, even though General Yu's 7th Division and Gen. Lee's 2nd Division were not ready → the NKPA overran Lee and Yu was forced to retreat.
- $\rightarrow$  UIJONGBU fell, leaving the way open to Seoul.

## Tuesday 27 June 1950

- US ordered evacuation of EMBASSY; 2,000 staff evacuated under air cover; supplies and sensitive employee records left behind.
- Mass civilian and military flight across Han River.
- NKPA reached Seoul by 7:30pm; Communist SLEEPER guerrilla units activated.
- ROK leadership fled south without informing troops.
- Vice-Minister of Defence ordered destruction of Han River bridge.

## Wednesday 28 June 1950

- 2:15am Han River BRIDGE blown without warning; c. 1,000 civilians killed.
- $\rightarrow$  44,000 ROK troops trapped north of river; most killed or disappeared.
- Seoul fell; in 3 days, ROK Army had lost 80% of its men and 70% of its equipment.
- Fehrenbach: "It had not been defeated ... it had been DESTROYED."

# The USA Enters the War

## CAUSES

- 1. Cold War context: an Existential Threat
  - 1950 = v soon after WWII  $\rightarrow$  West feared global comm takeover.
  - Communist scare in the US.
  - US saw invasion as USSR plot  $\rightarrow$  Korea = frontline in survival of democratic world.

#### 2. Cultural psychology: slaughter or be slaughtered

- 1950s = physically aggressive society (eg executions).
- Films showed heroic violence vs faceless enemies  $\rightarrow$  war seen as righteous.
- 3. North Korea atrocities
  - North Korea repressive, brutal tactics (eg: July 1950 killed c.5,000 in TAEJON (govt staff, police, civilians).
- 4. US interests
  - Jan 1950: Acheson had said Korea outside US defence zone  $\rightarrow$  now reversed this view.
    - Saw Korea as vital to Jap's safety + a matter of PRESTIGE.
    - If US did nothing  $\rightarrow$  allies lose faith, comm expands in far east.
    - Korea also important to US commercial empire (no colonies but key TRADE routes).

#### 5. Racism

• Many US attitudes to Asians = racist (lazy, sly, cruel). US saw itself as civilising "primitive peoples".

#### 6. MacArthur's military assessment $\rightarrow$ political decision

- 27 June: MacArthur visited Korea → restructured ROK command, ordered US bombing of NKPA airfields.
- Saw ROK collapse  $\rightarrow$  told US gov to send ground troops immediately.

## 7. 'Any means necessary' – How did the UN come to back war vs North Korea?

- UN Sec-Gen TRYGVE LIE (Norwegian) sympathised w. South Korea (: Norway's WWII exp).
- UN had taken responsibility for Korea (Nov 1947).
- **27 June**: UN Security Council passed RESOLUTION 83 = members should help South Korea restore peace.
- USSR was BOYCOTTING UN (re Communist China issue) → couldn't veto Res 83.
- US pressure: wrote Res 83 + Truman pushed it hard.
- Support for US in UN: many UN states feared comm, trusted USA as defender of democracy.
- **Nov**: Gen Assembly passed RESOLUTION 377 to act if Security Council deadlocked  $\rightarrow$  passed 52–5.
- US forces were fighting from Day 2 UN gave 'MORAL CLOAK' to avoid blame for risking world war.

## THE NKPA ADVANCE INTO SOUTH KOREA

- US troops arrived arrogant, thinking NKPA would flee at sight of US uniform.
- NKPA paused at Seoul, then resumed advance. No ROK forces left to resist.
- 5 July Task Force Smith at OSAN: US forces couldn't stop NKPA tanks/ briefly slowed NKPA but then fled.
- 6 July Battle of PYONGTAEK:
  - US 34th Infantry = under-equipped, no anti-tank, no radios, v inexperienced.
  - Command failures + panic → mass retreat, some soldiers froze + were shot.
- 16–20 July Battle of TAEJON:
  - US 24th Division: 3,602 killed/wounded + 2,962 captured (incl commander).
  - US kept setting up lines  $\rightarrow$  quickly collapsed.
- August: Recovery:
  - More troops + tanks + anti-tank weapons + supplies arrived from Japan.
  - USAF bombed bridges, depots, roads to disrupt NKPA supplies.
  - US formed defensive line at Natkong River (perimeter around port of PUSAN).
  - NKPA = exhausted  $\rightarrow$  paused.
- **Sept**: NKPA regrouped + renewed attack  $\rightarrow$  US driven back again.

# **China Enters the War**

## THE NKPA ARE DEFEATED

- Sep 1950: US amphibious force left Pusan, landed INCHON "strategically brilliant" but risky. USSR had warned Kim re danger, but he focussed on Pusan.
- 10 Sep: USAF used napalm to clear path.
- 15 Sep: US troops landed, took Seoul airfield; by 22 Sep, 6,600 vehicles, 25k tons fuel & 54k troops flown in.
- 28 Sep: Seoul liberated; US pushed inland.
- Simultaneously, US 8th Army broke out from Pusan → NKPA trapped. USSR & China urged Kim to retreat too late → Gen. Walker: "Pursue & DESTROY".
- NKPA officer Pak Ki-song later claimed retreat was a trap most historians disagree: NKPA disintegrated.
- NKPA losses: 135k POWs, 200k casualties, all tanks & heavy weapons, whole supply trains. Survivors regrouped near Pyongyang = only 30k.

#### WHY did the UN defeat the NKPA?

- 1. UN = 385k troops, 5× tanks, better artillery, full air/sea control (270 ships); USAF flattened Inchon.
- 2. Inchon only defended by 2k poorly-trained troops. Kim had ignored USSR advice to mine harbour.
- 3. Bruce Cumings: Inchon success = due to Admiral Arthur STRUBLE organising landing.
- 4. Kim had focused all 98k troops at Pusan  $\rightarrow$  Inchon flanked NKPA.
- 5. NKPA expected 50-day op; by Sep = exhausted, hungry (USAF cut supplies).

## THE UN INVADES NORTH KOREA

- By end-Sep, Rhee restored as South Korean President; UN troops reached 38th Parallel.
- 1 Oct: MacArthur demanded NKPA surrender.
- 7 Oct: UN Resolution 376 = authorised "ALL APPROPRIATE STEPS"  $\rightarrow$  9 Oct: MacArthur invaded North Korea.
- Truman wanted to stop at 38th Parallel (feared China entering), but others saw chance to roll back communism.
- 15 Oct: Truman met MacArthur (WAKE Island). MacArthur claimed China wouldn't intervene. Truman reassured.
- 19 Oct: US 8th Army took Pyongyang.
- 24 Oct: ROK 6th Div reached Yalu (China border); US & Australian forces close behind.

#### WHY did the UN invade North Korea?

- 1. To destroy NKPA military capacity in North Korea
- 2. NKPA appeared defeated; no resistance.
- 3. US policy shift: NSC68 (Apr 1950; containment) → NSC81 (Sep: rollback). Truman happy for MacArthur to invade if China stayed out.
- 4. MacArthur (v. influential) insisted China wouldn't intervene.
- 5. Many Americans wanted revenge for deaths & atrocities status quo was not enough.
- 6. UN agreed: aim = reunify Korea  $\rightarrow$  Resolution 376.
- 7. Syngman RHEE pushed hard for full unification; ROK forces led advance.

## THE CHINESE CAMPAIGNS – I

- MacArthur promised victory by Xmas.
- Planned 'PINCER' invasion: ROK + X Corps (east), 8th Army (west), mountains between = no comms.
- Progress = easy; media reported success. Recon saw no sign of Chinese forces.
- In reality, PVA had begun crossing Yalu on 13 Oct.
- Mao had decided to act by Aug; 1 Sep warned he'd not accept North Korean invasion.

#### WHY did the Chinese intervene?

- 1. PRC = fanatical communists, fresh from 20 years of civil war, wanted to extend rev.
- 2. Also proud nationalists, wanted revenge for past imperialist humiliations.
- 3. Called forces 'People's VOLUNTEERS' to avoid direct war w. US.
- 4. North Korea begged China for help after 15 Sep.
- 5. Mao: felt a moral duty to help Korean allies "who have stood on our side".
- 6. Mao feared US/Rhee-led Korea on China's border.
- 7. Helping North Korea would ↑ China's PRESTIGE in communist bloc.
- By 19 Oct: 200k Chinese troops hidden in mountains.
- 25 Oct: launched FIRST PHASE OFFENSIVE hit UN west advance hard, then vanished.
- UN regrouped, resumed push north in late Nov.
- By then, PVA = 380k.
- 25 Nov: Second Phase Offensive drove UN back in -22°C temps.
- Followed by 3rd, 4th, 5th offensives.
- Seoul fell 4 Jan 1951; by end Jan, PVA controlled 3/3 of Korea.
- US = shocked. MacArthur considered nuking North Korean supply routes.

#### WHY were the Chinese able to drive back the UN troops?

- 1. MacArthur = overconfident; ignored frontline warnings.
- 2. UN forces = over-stretched, stuck on narrow roads; no link between east & west prongs.
- 3. Chinese tricked UN into over-advancing, then ambushed.
- 4. UN recon missed build-up: PVA moved at night, hid by day. Troops deliberately misinformed → gave inconsistent info when captured → US intelligence wrongly concluded no Chinese Army present.
- 5. PVA = veteran guerrillas, tough, disciplined, led by trained officers.
- 6. No heavy kit light infantry using surprise night attacks, bugles, terrifying 'HUMAN WAVE' charges.
- 7. I close combat used classic trap: let US advance into 'V', then close behind  $\rightarrow$  panic & retreat.
- 8. Weather helped PVA US gear froze, Chinese used to harsh winters.

# The End of the War

#### THE UN INVADES NORTH KOREA ... AGAIN

- Feb−Mar 1951: 8th Army launched Operations Thunderbolt, Killer, Ripper, Courageous, Tomahawk → pushed PVA back to 38th Parallel.
- Apr 1951: Operation Rugged crossed Parallel, reaching 'Kansas Line' (5 miles into North Korea). Operation DAUNTLESS pushed to 'WYOMING Line' (20 miles in).

#### WHY did UN Command invade North Korea a second time?

- 1. PVA/NKPA were retreating  $\rightarrow$  aim = push them back as far as possible.
- 2. Strategic reasons: 38th Parallel = undefendable; Wyoming Line = stronger ground.
- 3. Wanted to threaten IRON TRIANGLE (key flatland east of Pyongyang).
- 4. Ceasefire talks had begun  $\rightarrow$  aim = gain best position before politicians halted war.
- 5. MacArthur disagreed w. Truman, esp. over nukes & escalation.

#### WHY did Truman sack MacArthur?

- 1. He had been forced to meet MacArthur at Wake Island (seen as a huge insult).
- 2. MacArthur kept making PUBLIC STATEMENTS opposing official policy (in defiance of orders).
- 3. MacArthur wanted to use nuclear weapons.
- 4. His 2nd invasion broke clear instructions to avoid provoking China.

On 11 APRIL 1951: Truman sacked MacArthur.

## **STALEMATE**

- **1951 fighting** = disaster for both sides:
- Apr–May: Chinese Fifth Phase Offensive failed  $\rightarrow$  est. 100k PVA losses.
- UN's Sept offensive incl. 'Bloody Ridge' & 'HEARTBREAK Ridge' = equally costly.
- $\rightarrow$  war of attrition:
- Mostly night raids. Front stayed static.
- PVA tactics = swarm UN positions, then fight to death as UN retook them.
- Avg 24k shells/day fired onto UN lines; in attacks, up to 1k in 10 mins.
- Eg: White Horse Hill changed hands 24× in 10 days (6–15 Oct 1952).

• PORK CHOP Hill (July 1953) = 1.5k UN vs 5.5k Chinese casualties in 6 days, incl. hand-to-hand fighting. Air war:

- USAF bombed North Korea so heavily they reported no targets left.
- USSR sent MiG jets & pilots (disguised as Chinese).
- Huge air losses: Soviets/PVA 3k planes, UN 3.5k.

#### **Behind lines**:

- Communist POWs on KOJE Island (off Pusan) rioted, kidnapped US camp commander = propaganda win.
- $\rightarrow$  UN could hold South Koreans plains, but not North Korean hills = too costly to retake (WWI-level deaths).
- $\rightarrow$  US govt told Army losses no longer politically acceptable.
- $\rightarrow$  UN passed RESOLUTION 384: stopped demanding Chinese withdrawal, seek ceasefire.

#### Peace talks began.

## ATROCITIES

By the North Koreans – 1954 US Army report (based on POW accounts) found:

- Many US troops murdered after capture.
- Survivors = beaten, tortured, starved, marched long distances w/o food, water, clothes, shelter or medical care.
- Also humiliated, displayed, or molested.

#### By the South Koreans:

- ROK troops may have killed 100k civilians during communist retreat (eg 30k BODO LEAGUE massacred). By the US:
- At NO GUN RI (July 1950): US troops & planes killed at least 150 fleeing civilians (mainly women, kids, old men).
- Saturation BOMBING (eg: Pyongyang = 10k litres napalm + 697 tons bombs dropped → 8k deaths.)

# **Ceasefire and Aftermath**

## Ceasefire

#### WHY did USA seek Ceasefire?

- 1. To push NKPA off hills would = WWI-level deaths.
- 2. Policy had shifted: rollback  $\rightarrow$  containment (Wyoming Line)  $\rightarrow$  war couldn't be won.
- 3. MacArthur sacked  $\rightarrow$  no more total victory aims.
- 4. Govt + public wanted end to casualties.
- 5. To recover US POWs + remove 135k enemy POWs.
- 6. War cost \$bns esp. due to artillery use.
- 7. USA's full military capacity was tied up but threats in Europe, Indochina, Persia were growing.
- 8. UN/world opinion had turned: wanted peace not unification.
- 9. EISENHOWER (elected Nov 1952) had promised quick end to war.

#### WHY did China agree to Ceasefire?

- 1. US had battlefield-ready nuclear weapons.
- 2. Eisenhower (Pres. March 1953) rumoured to be willing to use nukes if no deal by summer.
- 3. STALIN died (1 Mar 1953)  $\rightarrow$  USSR disunited  $\rightarrow$  'peaceful coexistence' = support unreliable.
- 4. War = prestige  $\uparrow$  for China, but delaying peace = prestige  $\downarrow$ .
- 5. Army wanted more support, but civil govt wanted to build economy  $\rightarrow$  tensions inside China.
- 6. 400k Chinese military deaths + bad rice harvest (esp. North East).
- 7. UN promised to enforce ceasefire on S. Korea.

## **Ceasefire talks**

• Talks began at KAESONG (July 1951) but broke down – Communists used talks to buy time to reinforce. **The DMZ** 

- Talks restarted at PANMUNJOM (Oct 1951), but dragged.
- 27 Nov 1951: 4-mile De-Militarised Zone (DMZ) agreed at current front line, but fighting continued.

#### The POWs

- Issue =  $\frac{1}{3}$  of 135k enemy POWs didn't want repatriation = propaganda defeat for Communists.
- Communists demanded full return, accused US of mistreatment + germ warfare  $\rightarrow$  UN had to disprove.
- Oct 1952: UN said no new offers; talks paused.
- Dec 1952: Red Cross suggested exchange of sick/wounded.
- Feb 1953: Gen. Clark wrote to Kim + Peng  $\rightarrow$  March: Chinese reply agreed to 'LITTLE SWITCH' (April).
- 4 June: agreed to 'Big Switch'  $\rightarrow$  India would handle non-returnees, but 90 days allowed for persuasion.

#### Syngman Rhee

- Rhee was furious: didn't want to return to pre-war status quo: "never, never, never."
- 18 June: removed ROK troops from UN Command + freed 27k anti-Communist POWs = risked wrecking Ceasefire.
- Eventually, under US pressure, didn't sign but agreed not to block.
- Armistice signed 27 July 1953 = Ceasefire only, no peace. War has never officially ended.

#### WHY did Rhee agree not to block the Ceasefire?

- 1. US offered in June 1953: MUTUAL SECURITY Treaty (expand ROK army, US-funded)/ Long-term econ aid/ \$200m + 5k tons food immediately
- 2. Rhee knew S. Korea depended on US couldn't survive or fight on without them : HAD to agree.

## Aftermath

#### Cold War → intensified

- 1. War didn't solve USA–USSR tensions (Bruce, 2017).
- 2. It was a 'PROXY WAR'  $\rightarrow$  the way the Cold War was fought (eg Vietnam, Cuba, Afghanistan).
- 3. Cold War  $\rightarrow$  global, not just European.
- 4. Fear of communism grew  $\rightarrow$  US gave \$3bn to help France in Indochina; West Germany rearmed.
- 5. World  $\rightarrow$  2 hostile blocs:
  - US added Greece, Turkey, West Germany to NATO (1955) vs. USSR formed Warsaw Pact (1955)
  - US formed SEATO (1954, w. France, GB, NZ, Australia, Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan) v. communism.
- 6. ARMS RACE  $\rightarrow$  speeded up
  - a. NSC-68  $\rightarrow$  US military spending grew:
    - Hydrogen bomb (1952)/ Tactical nukes/ ICBMs (1957)/ US had 2k nuclear warheads by 1955/ NATO nuclear bombers in Europe/ NATO bases in Turkey + Greece (joined 1952)
  - b. USSR = hydrogen bomb (1953), Red Army =  $2.8m \rightarrow 5.8m$  (1955)  $\rightarrow$  huge conventional power.

#### US–China hostility $\rightarrow$ increased

- 1. USA:
  - Communism now seen as global threat  $\rightarrow$  affected whole US foreign policy. PRC = new main enemy.
  - US refused to recognise PRC; held Taiwan was 'China' till 1971; used veto to block PRC admission to UN.
  - Full trade embargo on China (1950–71).
  - Strengthened anti-China alliances: ANZUS (1951)/ SEATO (1954)
  - US bases: Japan, Philippines, Taiwan, S. Korea; rearmed Japan; helped France in Indochina;  $\rightarrow$  Vietnam.
  - US 7th FLEET sent to Taiwan Strait  $\rightarrow$  military standoff.

#### 2. China:

- War = PRC now a global Cold War power.
- PRC more aggressive vs USA.
- War confirmed Chinese belief that revolution was threatened by global capitalism.
- PRC saw US as new imperialist (like UK/Japan had been).
- US bases = encirclement/siege  $\rightarrow$  all Asian conflicts seen as US plots.
- $\rightarrow$  Justified arms build-up + backing anti-US movements.
- PRC = defender of weak nations (claimed to have 'saved' N. Korea).
- China saw 'peaceful coexistence' as betrayal  $\rightarrow$  PRC-USSR relations worsened.
- Chinese Communist Party  $\rightarrow$  stronger at home (eg 'RESIST AMERICA, Aid Korea' campaign).

#### United Nations → enhanced

- 1. UN showed it could act collectively to defend peace.
- 2. USSR returned to UN but used veto often → UN General Assembly passed RESOLUTION 377 to be able to overrule Security Council.
- 3. Trygve Lie (UN Sec-Gen) resigned (1953) USSR refused to work w. him; said he favoured US.
- 4. Debate: UN = peacekeeper or US tool for containment? As membership grew, US influence fell.

#### North Korea → destroyed

- 1. Total devastation: almost all cities bombed, >1m killed/missing, 1.5m wounded.
- 2. USSR + China cancelled North Korea's debts + gave aid but much less than US aid to South Korea.
- 3. Communist countries sent aid in kind:
  - Albania: asphalt/Czechoslovakia: buses + engines/Hungary: tool factory/E. Germany: phones + engines/ Poland: Pyongyang rail factory/ Bulgaria: wooden tools factory/ Romania: Pyongyang hospital/USSR: engines, freight, hospital support

#### South Korea $\rightarrow$ developed

- 1. Massive loss of population (1.2 m killed/missing; 430k wounded)
- 2. UN Command remained to protect  $\rightarrow$  US military bases  $\rightarrow$  an economic boost.
- 3. After the 'April Revolution' (1960) displaced Rhee' corrupt government  $\rightarrow$  an 'economic miracle'.
- 5. NB: mandatory military conscription/ defectors from North Korea.