THE WORLD SINCE 1945

1945-1990
Post-1945 changes that have shaped world politics:

1. The **end of European imperialism**: withdrawal of European countries from their colonies in Africa and Asia (**decolonization process**)
2. The onset of the **cold war**: the political and military confrontation between the US and the USSR
3. The creation of **nuclear weapons** and the means to deliver them: acceleration of the arms race
Major Characteristics of the Post-War Era

- Since 1945, world politics has been influenced greatly by the conflict between the US and the Soviet Union.
- Many wars and conflicts in the third world occurred due to the relation between the process of decolonization and cold war conflicts.
1. The End of Empire:

- Factors that were responsible in the acceleration of the decolonization process:

- Before 1945, imperialism was seen as a national prestige. But with the rise of the belief that national self-determination should be the guiding principle in international politics, the values began to change. Thus, reactions against imperialism increased, and colonized countries asked for independence.
1. The End of Empire:

- In 1941, US President Franklin Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met to discuss the postwar world. The result was the **Atlantic Charter**. One of the provisions in this document that was introduced by Roosevelt was the **autonomy of imperial colonies**.

- Therefore after World War II, there was pressure on Britain to abide by the terms of the Atlantic Charter.
1. The End of Empire:

- During World War II Japan, itself a significant imperial power, drove the European powers out of Asia.
- After the Japanese surrender in 1945, local nationalist movements in the former Asian colonies campaigned for independence rather than a return to European colonial rule.
## Decolonization

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Colonial State</th>
<th>Year of Independence</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Zaire</td>
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## Decolonization

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<td>Guinea-Bissau</td>
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<td>Angola</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>1980</td>
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After 1945, Britain recognized the principle of self-determination and the rise of nationalism.

Britain began to withdraw from Africa in the early 1960s, after the Prime Minister Harold Macmillan’s “wind of change” speech in South Africa.

Wind of change: refers to the political changes taking place across Africa heralding the end of European imperialism.
British Decolonization Experience

- Although there were some conflicts in Kenya (1952-56) and Malaya (1948-1960), the transition from empire was generally peaceful and led to the creation of democratic states.
- Withdrawal from India in 1947 was seen as the most successful act of decolonization as it led to the creation of world’s largest democracy.
- Both Britain and France sought to maximize their interests while withdrawing from their colonies. The British Commonwealth and the French Union in Africa were the main instruments of serving their advantage.
French Decolonization Experience

- After the war, France sought to preserve French prestige by maintaining its imperial status. Thus, France was against the decolonization process. For instance, France withdrew from Indo-China only after guerilla war and the military defeat to the Vietnamese revolutionary forces.

- France withdrew from Africa under President Charles de Gaulle. In Algeria, the French did not want to leave. Many French people regarded Algeria as part of France. France fought with Algeria between 1954 and 1962. 45,000 people died in the war, and France itself came to the edge of civil war.
The Importance of Nationalism and Communism

- In Asia, the relation between nationalism and revolutionary Marxism was influential in the decolonization process. For instance, in Malaya, the British defeated a communist movement (1948-1960).
- In Indo-China, communist groups managed to defeat French forces (1946-54). For the Vietnamese, centuries of foreign oppression by Chinese, Japanese, and French were influential in the rise of nationalism.
- After 1965, the US began to commit itself to the newly created South Vietnam. The American aim of containing communism was applied to the conflicts of Indo-China. Chinese and Soviet support for North Vietnam and communist guerillas were part of the cold war conflict.
Key Points

- Different states had different attitudes to decolonization after 1945. For instance, Britain decided to leave, but other like France (partly) and Portugal (wholly) wanted to maintain their imperial status.
- British withdrawal from Asia was more quickly than from Africa.
- In some places it was peaceful, but in others such as Algeria, Malaya and Angola there were revolutionary wars.
- The struggle for independence was also influenced by cold war conditions. Both superpowers got involved in the conflicts like the case of Vietnam.
2. The Cold War

- To understand international politics after the second world war, one should recognize the rising power of the US and the Soviet Union. The conflict between these two powers influenced almost every part of the globe.

- Relations between the Soviet Union and its European allies, with China, and with various revolutionary movements in the third world were important for world politics.
Key Phases of the Cold War

- 1945-1953: The **Onset of the Cold War**
- The failure to implement the principles agreed at the wartime conferences of Yalta and Potsdam was influential in the onset of the cold war in Europe.
- Between 4-11 February 1945, the heads of government of the United States, the UK, and the Soviet Union (Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Josef Stalin) came together for the purpose of discussing Europe's postwar reorganization.
- Mainly, it was intended to discuss the re-establishment of the nations of war-torn Europe.
The Agenda of the Yalta Conference

- **Roosevelt** asked for **Soviet support in the U.S. war against Japan**, 
- **Churchill** pressed for **free elections and democratic governments in Eastern and Central Europe** (specifically Poland); 
- and **Stalin** demanded a Soviet **sphere of political influence in Eastern and Central Europe**, an essential to the USSR's national security strategy.
The Agenda of Yalta Conference

- At the time, the **Red Army** had **occupied** and held much of Eastern Europe.

- **Poland** was the **first item on the Soviet agenda**. Stalin stated that for the Soviet government, the question of Poland was one of **honor and security** because **Poland** had served as a **historical corridor for forces attempting to invade Russia**.

- Stalin stated the **Soviet Union** would **keep the territory of eastern Poland they had already annexed in 1939**.

- **Stalin promised free elections in Poland** despite the Soviet sponsored provisional government recently installed by him in Polish territories occupied by the Red Army.
The Agenda of Yalta Conference

- When Roosevelt wanted the USSR to enter the Pacific War against Japan, the Soviet Union demanded the American recognition of Mongolian independence from China in exchange for participating the war against Japan.

- *Roosevelt* accepted Stalin’s demand. He believed that the Soviet Union will be part of the new liberal and democratic world order to be established.

- Later, the then American optimism about the Soviet Union was criticized for encouraging Soviet expansion of influence to Japan and Asia.
The Agenda of Yalta Conference

- Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin ratified the **post-war occupation zones for Germany**:
  - four zones of occupation, one for each of the three principal Allies: The Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States (France later received one also, when the US and the UK ceded parts of their zones).
Potsdam Conference

- The Potsdam Conference was held from 17 July to 2 August 1945. Participants were Joseph Stalin, Winston Churchill and later Clement Attlee, and President Harry S. Truman.
- 3 leaders agreed on the following actions:
  - **Demilitarization, democratization, decentralization of Germany.**
  - **Division of Germany and Austria respectively into four occupation zones**, and the similar division of each capital, Berlin and Vienna, into four zones.
  - Agreement on the **prosecution of Nazi war criminals**.
  - **Destruction of German industrial war-potential** through the destruction or control of all industry with military potential.
The Onset of the Cold War

- The former wartime allies had conflicts for the future of Central and Eastern European countries.
- By July 1945, the Red Army's troops effectively controlled the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania.
- Stalin had set up a Communist government in Poland, ignoring the wishes of the majority of Poles.
- Soviet Union wanted to dominate Central and Eastern European countries under the pretext of preserving its security. But the Western countries thought that the real reason was to expand communism.
- In Eastern and Central Europe, Marxist regimes loyal to Moscow came to power.
George Kennan and the Long Telegram

- The then US ambassador to Moscow, George Kennan sent a *Long Telegram* to Washington in 1946. He warned the US about the Soviet threat:
  - The USSR perceived itself at war with capitalism;
  - The USSR would use Marxists in the capitalist world as allies.
- The Kennan’s *Telegram* gave the US government a clear understanding of how the Soviet government saw itself in the international community.
- According to Kennan, the Soviet Union did not see the possibility for long-term peaceful coexistence with the capitalist world.
- Capitalism was a threat to the ideals of socialism, and capitalists could not be trusted or allowed to influence the Soviet people.
The Idea ofContainment

- In July 1947, Kennan wrote an article in the issue of *Foreign Affairs* under the pseudonym "X", entitled "The Sources of Soviet Conduct".
- He asserted that Stalin's policy was shaped by a combination of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which advocated revolution to defeat the capitalist forces in the world.
- The X Article constructed a road map for the Cold War: the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be a long-term, patient but firm containment of Russian expansive tendencies.
Truman Doctrine

- To arouse awareness about Soviet ambitions, the US government designed **Truman Doctrine** in 1947.
- President Truman undertook to help countries that were threatened by Soviet expansion. **Turkey and Greece** also received aids within the framework of Truman doctrine.
- Truman made the plea amid the crisis of the Greek Civil War (1946–1949). He argued that if Greece and Turkey did not receive the aid that they urgently needed, they would inevitably fall to communism with serious consequences throughout the region.
- The Doctrine shifted American foreign policy toward containment of the Soviet expansion. Historians often use it to mark the **starting date of the Cold War**.
The US also designed **Marshall Plan** (1947–51) for European recovery.

This aid plan was instrumental for the economic rebuilding of Western Europe.

The US offered the same aid to the USSR and its allies, but they did not accept it.

The plan was in operation for four years. During that period some US $13 billion in economic and technical assistance were given to help the recovery of the European countries that had joined in the Organization for European Economic Co-operation.
The first major confrontation of the cold war took place over Berlin in 1948.

During the multinational occupation of Germany, the Soviet Union blocked the Western Allies’ railway and road access to sectors of Berlin under their control. Their aim was to gain control over the whole Berlin.

In response, the Western Allies organized the Berlin Airlift to carry supplies to the people of Berlin. They provided 13,000 tons of food daily to Berlin in an operation lasting almost a year.

Stalin ended the blockade in May 1949. During the crisis, the US deployed long-range bombers in Britain. This was followed by the establishment of NATO in 1949.
The key principle of the treaty: an attack on one member would be treated as an attack on all.

In practice this principle implied that the US committed itself to defend Western Europe.

Moreover, it reflected the willingness of the US to use nuclear weapons to deter Soviet aggression.

The US followed the policy of political encirclement.
Cold War all around the world

- While the origins of the Cold War was in Europe its effects were seen in all around the world.
- In 1949, decades of Chinese civil war ended in victory for the communists under Mao Zedong.
- In 1950, the North Korean attack on South Korea was interpreted as part of a general communist offensive, and a test case for the US and the UN to withstand aggression.
- When the Americans and the UN supported South Korea, Chinese gave support to North Korea. The war lasted 3 years and more than 3 million people died.
1953-1969: Conflict, Confrontation, and Compromise

- One **consequence of the Korean war** was the deployment of American weapons in Western Europe.
- **Western Europeans depended on the US for military security** and this dependence increased as the cold war intensified.
- The **rearmament of Germany in 1954 led to the creation of the Warsaw Pact in 1955.**
The acceleration of arms race

- By the 1960s, there were 7000 nuclear weapons in Western Europe.
- NATO deployed these weapons to offset Soviet conventional superiority.
- Towards the end of 1950s, the US also deployed nuclear missiles in Europe.
Soviet control of Eastern Europe

- The death of Stalin in 1953 was an important event.
- Stalin’s successor, Nikita Khrushchev (1953-1964), aimed at modernizing Soviet society, but did not allow reforms in Eastern Europe.
- Polish reforms were controlled; the Soviets invaded Hungary in 1956.
Suez crisis (1956)

- Soviet intervention to Hungary coincided with the attack on Egypt by France, Britain, and Israel after Nasser closed the Suez Canal.

- The **Suez Canal** was opened in 1869. It provided the **shortest link between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean**. The canal **eased commerce for trading nations** and particularly helped **European colonial powers to gain and govern their colonies**.

- In 1875, as a result of **debt and financial crisis**, the Egyptian ruler was forced to sell his shares in the canal operating company to the British government. **Britain obtained a 44% share in the canal's operations**.

- With the **1882 invasion and occupation of Egypt**, the United Kingdom took **de facto control of Egypt as well as the canal**.

- International ships could pass freely through the canal, in time of war and peace.
Suez crisis (1956)

- For Britain, the **Suez base was considered an important part of Britain's strategic position in the Middle East**. However, it became a source of growing tension in Anglo-Egyptian relations.
- Egypt's post-war domestic politics were experiencing a radical change, triggered by **economic instability, inflation, and unemployment**.
- Unrest began to manifest itself in the **growth of radical political groups, such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt**, and an increasingly **hostile attitude towards Britain and its presence in the country**.
Suez crisis (1956)

- In October **1951**, the Egyptian government unilaterally abolished the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, the terms of which granted Britain a lease on the Suez base for 20 more years.
- Britain refused to withdraw from Suez, relying upon its treaty rights, as well as its military there.
- On 23 July **1952**, a military coup overthrew King Farouk. Gamal Abdel Nasser came to power in the newly established Egyptian Republic.
Suez crisis (1956)

- In October 1954, Britain and Egypt concluded an agreement on the phased evacuation of British troops from the Suez base. Britain agreed to withdraw all troops within 20 months.

- Britain's close relationship with Iraq and Jordan were of particular concern to Nasser. In particular, Iraq's good relations with Britain were a threat to Nasser's desire to see Egypt as head of the Arab world.

- Nasser made an arms deal with communist Czechoslovakia in September 1955. This ended Egypt's reliance on Western arms. Later, other members of the Warsaw Pact also sold arms to Egypt and Syria. In practice, all sales from the Eastern Bloc were authorised by the Soviet Union, as an attempt to increase Soviet influence over the Middle East.
Suez crisis (1956)

- On 16 May, Nasser officially recognised the People's Republic of China. This caused the US president Eisenhower to withdraw all American financial aid for the Aswan Dam project. Nasser's response was the nationalization of the Suez Canal.

- The nationalization of the Suez Canal hit British economic and military interests in the region. The British government decided in favour of military intervention against Egypt to avoid the complete collapse of British prestige in the region.

- On 29 October 1956, Britain, France, and Israel started the war against Egypt.

- The US President, Eisenhower, was strongly against the attack on Egypt. Due to US economic sanctions, British abandoned the operation.
The Cuban Missile Crisis (1962)

- In October 1962, the US discovered that Soviets secretly deployed nuclear missiles in Cuba. In return, the US president Kennedy moved nuclear forces to unprecedented position of alert.

- The risk of nuclear war was at its peak. 6 days after Kennedy announced the invasion of Cuba, Soviets withdrew missiles.

- The US assured the Soviets that the US would not invade Cuba. The US also undertook to withdraw equivalent NATO nuclear missiles from Europe.

- Cuba crisis was one of the most dangerous moments of the cold war. There was risk of nuclear war.
1969-1979: The Rise and Fall of Detente

- Despite these tensions, **detente was laid down between the US and the USSR**, and there was **rapprochement between the US and China**.
- The Soviet Union felt that the **economic burden of the nuclear arms race** was unsustainable. The **American economy was also in financial trouble as the Vietnam War** drained government finances at the same time as the **US sought to expand the welfare state**.
- Soviet-American detente had its roots in the **mutual recognition of the need to avoid nuclear crises**, and in the economic and military incentives to avoid arms race.
- The **Cuban Missile Crisis showed how dangerous the relations between the USSR and the USA** were becoming.
1969-1979: The Rise and Fall of Detente

- The Soviets also hoped that more trade with Western Europe would be possible.

- Worsening relations with the People's Republic of China, leading to the Sino-Soviet Split, had caused great concern in the Soviet Union. The leadership feared the potential of a Sino-American alliance against them and believed it necessary to improve relations with the United States.

- Brezhnev (1964-1982) and Nixon each hoped improved relations would boost their domestic popularity and secure their power.

- In the West, detente was associated with the US President Nixon and his adviser Henry Kissinger. Both were also crucial in the American-Chinese rapprochement.
Detente period

- The most obvious manifestation of détente was the series of summits held between the leaders of the two superpowers and the treaties that resulted from these meetings.
- Earlier in the 1960s, before détente, the Partial Test Ban Treaty had been signed in 1963.
- Later, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1970) and Outer Space Treaty (1967) were two of the first building blocks of détente.
- SALT I (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) Treaty was signed in 1972. This treaty led to the conclusion of the Anti-Balistic Missile Treaty (ABM Treaty).
In 1975, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe met and produced the Helsinki Accords, a wide ranging series of agreements on economic, political, and human rights issues.

Trade relations between the two blocs increased substantially during the era of détente. Most significant were the vast shipments of grain that were sent from the West to the Soviet Union each year, which helped make up for the failure of Soviet collectivized agriculture.
Detente in Europe: Ostpolitik

- **Detente in Europe** had its origins in the **Ostpolitik** of the German Chancellor, **Willy Brandt (1969-1974)**.
- The Christian Democrats under **Konrad Adenauer and others** tried to ignore and isolate the communist regime of East Germany, while **Brandt's Social Democrats** tried to achieve more freedom for East Germans by collaboration.
- In **1970**, **Brandt signed the Treaty of Moscow** about the renunciation of the use of force and **recognizing the current European borders**. Later that year, **Brandt signed the Treaty of Warsaw** and recognized the People's Republic of Poland.
- With the **Basic Treaty signed with East Germany in 1972**, formal relations were established between the two German states for the first time since partition.
Weakening of the detente

- Soviet support for revolutionary movements in the Third World such as Ethiopia in 1975 and Angola in 1978 weakened the detente period.

- The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 to support their revolutionary allies ended détente.
1979-86: The Second Cold War

- In **1980** Ronald Reagan was elected as US President. He was in favor of a **hard position against the Soviets**.
- **Increasing nuclear tensions** between superpowers. Soviets perceived that the US was planning a nuclear war against them.
- In **1983**, Soviet air defenses shot down a South Korean civilian airline in Soviet airspace. The American reaction was to deploy nuclear missiles in Europe. This created great tension in East-West relations.
- In November 1983, Soviet intelligence misinterpreted a NATO training exercise and the Soviets believed that NATO was preparing to attack Soviets.
Gorbachev and the change

- **Gorbachev** became president in 1985. His new thinking in **foreign policy and domestic reforms** created a revolution for Soviet society.

- The policies of **glasnost (openness)** and **perestroika (restructuring)** started the process of the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

- His domestic reforms were catalysis for **reforms in Eastern Europe**.

- When Eastern European countries engaged in revolts against Moscow, Gorbachev declared that **East Europeans were “doing it their way”** by making reference to Frank Sinatra’s song “I did it my way”.

- He thus signalled the **end of the Brezhnev doctrine** which had limited East European sovereignty. The **Sinatra doctrine meant that Eastern Europeans were now allowed to go their way**.
Brezhnev Doctrine

- Leonid Brezhnev, in a speech at the Fifth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party on November 13, 1968 stated:

  "When forces that are hostile to socialism try to turn the development of some socialist country towards capitalism, it becomes not only a problem of the country concerned, but a common problem and concern of all socialist countries."

- This doctrine was announced to justify the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 that ended the Prague Spring, along with earlier Soviet military interventions, such as the invasion of Hungary in 1956.

- These interventions aimed to put an end to democratic liberalization efforts and uprisings that had the potential to undermine Soviet hegemony inside the Eastern bloc.
Brezhnev Doctrine

- Brezhnev Doctrine implied that no country would be allowed to leave the Warsaw Pact, disturb a nation's communist party's monopoly on power, or in any way undermine the cohesiveness of the Eastern bloc.
- This doctrine also implied that the leadership of the Soviet Union reserved, for itself, the right to define "socialism" and "capitalism".
- Following the announcement of the Brezhnev Doctrine, numerous treaties were signed between the Soviet Union and its satellite states to reassert these points and to further ensure inter-state cooperation.
- The principles of the doctrine were so broad that the Soviets even used it to justify their military intervention in the non-Warsaw Pact nation of Afghanistan in 1979.
Gorbachev did **not suppress the reform movements in Eastern Europe**.

In most of his speeches he emphasized **peaceful coexistence with the West, expanded trade, ending the division of Europe**.

Gorbachev revised Soviet military policy. He decided to **withdraw from Afghanistan and opposed to agressive and interventionist policies**.

These changes are referred to as the **end of the Brezhnev doctrine**.
Gorbachev and the change

- Gorbachev’s aim in foreign policy was to **transform relations with the US and Western Europe**.
- His policy towards the West used **agreements on nuclear weapons as a means of building trust and demonstrating his determination for peace**.
- Gorbachev stated that “we are firmly opposed to the division of the continent into military blocs, and against everything that is the source of the threat of war”.
3. Nuclear Weapons

- The US and the Soviet Union emerged as superpowers having **Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)** and the means to deliver them over intercontinental distances.

- After 1945, **nuclear weapons presented enormous challenges to world politics** and to the leaders responsible for conducting post-war diplomacy.

- The cold war provided the context and the pretext for the growth of **nuclear weapons which threatened the very existence of humankind** and continued beyond the end of the cold war.
Nuclear Weapons

- Why did the US drop atomic bombs in Japan? To end the war or to show American power to the Soviet Union.
- **Hiroshima** (6 August 1945): 70-80 thousand died immediately, 140,000 by the end of 1945 and 200,000 by 1950.
- **Nagasaki** (9 August 1945): 30-40 thousand died immediately. 70,000 by the end of 1945 and 140,000 by 1950.
Nuclear Weapons

- How dangerous was the nuclear confrontation between the East and the West?
- Did nuclear weapons keep the peace between superpowers or did they provoke conflict and risk global security?
Development of the means to deliver bombs

- In 1945, it took 6 hours to cross the Pacific and bomb Hiroshima.
- In the beginning, the US did not have long-range missiles to reach the USSR from the US and had to use British or other bases.
- In time both superpowers developed long-range missiles and then ballistic missiles that could target the other superpower from their own territory.
Increasing risk of nuclear war

- In 1957, the USSR tested an Intercontinental Ballistic Missile and also launched a satellite, Sputnik, into space using such a missile.
- After then, the world became a global battlefield in which both superpowers would bomb each other from their own territory in no more than 30-40 minutes. It took a ballistic missile to travel from one continent to another 30-40 minutes.
## Arms Race

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<td>1949</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jet bomber</td>
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<tr>
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Israel, India, Pakistan, North Korea, developed nuclear weapons. In 1990, India and Pakistan came close to nuclear confrontation.

Mutual fear that one side would destroy the other side: The superpower era thus acted in accordance with the logic of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD): superpowers would attack the enemy after being attacked.
Arms Control

- **Arms control** was a means of regulating the growth of nuclear weapons, but not of eliminating them. On the other hand, arms control served to legitimate the existence and growth of nuclear weapons.

- In the West, critics of the detente and arms control argued that Soviet Union was acquiring military supremacy.