



*This material is designed to help you think about large historical topics in a manageable and meaningful way and to connect the content to the California standards.*

## How did the Cold War develop?

The Cold War developed directly out of World War II. The 1939 Soviet nonaggression pact with Germany angered the United States. Later, after the Soviets had joined the Allies to fight Germany, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin grew impatient with his partners for not invading German-occupied Europe before 1944, a step that would have eased the Soviet war burden. When Allied leaders met in Yalta in early 1945 to discuss postwar Europe, Stalin promised free elections in Eastern Europe; the Soviet Union would keep the Polish territory it annexed at the beginning of the war. The United States agreed to this in exchange for Soviet support against Japan. At the end of the war, Stalin did not keep his promise. The Soviet Union established Communist governments in its occupied territories, including Poland. In 1946, after Stalin declared that communism and capitalism could not coexist, it was clear that a global ideological war was underway.

## How was the Cold War waged all over the world?

Although Europe was the central battleground of the Cold War, intense battles between democracy and communism raged around the world.

The Cold War began a few years after the end of World War II, as the Soviet alliance with the United States and Britain unraveled. As the Soviet Union consolidated its control over Eastern Europe, the United States responded with the Marshall Plan, helping Western European countries recover from the ravages of the war, and the Truman Doctrine, offering aid to countries resisting Communist rule. In 1949 NATO was formed as a mutual defense pact among the United States, Canada, and Western European countries. In 1955 the Soviet Union created the Warsaw Pact, a military alliance of Soviet bloc countries. Tensions escalated as the Soviets developed an atomic bomb in 1949. An arms race began, as both superpowers started developing intercontinental ballistic missiles. In Lesson 5 you will read more about Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's more moderate policies. Despite this, uprisings occurred against Soviet rule in Poland (1952), Hungary (1956), and Czechoslovakia (1968).

Lesson 2 describes the Chinese civil war, which raged from 1946 to 1949. Communists, led by Mao Zedong in the north, fought and won a war against Nationalist forces in the south. In 1950 Communist China and the Soviet Union signed a treaty of friendship and mutual defense. This friendship would erode over time. Communist China made the Cold War more complex. Under Mao's leadership, China adopted two major reform policies: state-sponsored

industrialization and agricultural collectivization. Initial success of these policies inspired Mao's 1958 Great Leap Forward. However, poor planning led to agricultural production programs that brought disaster. An estimated 30 million people died from famine between 1960 and 1962. As China struggled to recover, Mao grew concerned that the revolution was faltering. He encouraged young people to rise up in a new "Cultural Revolution" against what he believed to be elitism forming in the Communist Party. Student militia units called Red Guards formed. Revolts led by these groups escalated into violence and terror, and Mao called on the army to restore order.

Communist and anti-Communist forces clashed directly in Korea and Vietnam, which you will read about in Lesson 3. In June 1950, with Soviet support, Communist North Korean forces invaded South Korea. Subsequent interventions by U.S. and UN forces for the South and Chinese forces for the North resulted in a stalemate. The war ended in July 1953 with minimal territorial changes. In Vietnam the United States sent troops to resist North Vietnam from uniting the country under a Communist government. China and the Soviet Union supported North Vietnam with weapons, supplies, and advisors. The United States withdrew in 1973, leaving the country in the hands of the North Vietnamese. The Korean and Vietnamese conflicts were two of the many proxy wars in which the Soviet Union and the United States faced off indirectly to promote their ideologies and interests.

The Cold War affected many other countries in Asia and Latin America as the superpowers continued to fight proxy wars in "Third World" developing nations. Clashes in Guatemala (1954), the Dominican Republic (1965), and Nicaragua and El Salvador (1974) would see the intervention of superpowers on both sides. Some countries attempted to avoid involvement in Cold War conflicts. In 1955 Indonesia and India led the Bandung Conference, and 27 other Third World nations joined them in support of nonintervention. Not all members of the Bandung Conference would achieve neutrality.

Communist Cuba was led by Fidel Castro. Following a failed U.S. invasion of Cuba, Castro allowed the Soviet Union to secretly begin building missile sites in Cuba. Discovery of the missiles led to the Cuban Missile Crisis. U.S. President Kennedy demanded the Soviets remove the missiles and ordered a naval blockade of Cuba. After a tense standoff, the Soviets agreed to remove the missiles in October 1962, while Kennedy pledged never to invade Cuba. Despite narrowly avoiding a full-scale nuclear war, Cold War conflicts in Latin America would continue. You will read more about them in Lesson 4.

Lesson 4 also explains how the Middle East became another key area of conflict. Abundant oil reserves in the region attracted strong interest from both superpowers. In Iran, nationalist and religious sentiments played a role in conflicts beyond Cold War ideologies. Driven

by anti-Western sentiment against the repressive U.S.-supported government, Iranians rebelled in 1978 and turned to the exiled Muslim leader Ayatollah Khomeini, who established Iran as an Islamic republic. When Khomeini encouraged Muslim radicals to overthrow secular governments, war broke out between Iran and Iraq in 1980. The United States aided both countries to maintain the region's power balance, but the Soviets backed Iran. The war ended in 1988 under a UN-negotiated ceasefire.

### How and why did the Cold War end?

In Lesson 5 you will see how diplomacy and Soviet economic struggles brought the Cold War nearly to its end. Both internal and external factors revealed weaknesses in the Soviet government. Following the Vietnam War, the United States began to shift from a policy of brinkmanship—a willingness to directly confront Soviet advances—to *détente*, a policy of easing tensions. With the election of U.S. President Reagan in 1980, a renewed anti-Communist stance ended the policy of *détente*. Increased defense spending in the United States put significant economic and military pressure on the Soviet Union, whose economy was already struggling. The Soviet-controlled economy experienced labor shortages, corruption rose, and living standards stagnated. These problems were compounded by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. The Soviets underestimated the Afghan Islamic rebels. When the United States supported Afghanistan with arms, the Soviet Union found itself mired in another costly proxy war.

In the face of these difficulties, Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985. Gorbachev instituted two major changes from traditional Soviet totalitarian policies. *Glasnost*, or “openness,” introduced political and social changes that led to Soviet democratization. This policy curbed the power of the Communist Party, allowed for multicandidate elections, and reduced restrictions on free speech and the press. *Perestroika* decentralized economic controls. It also shifted more authority from the central Communist Party to local governments. Even non-Communists were allowed to run in some elections.

As you will learn in Module 16, these policies would result in the Soviet Union losing control of its satellite countries and Soviet republic allies, leading to the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War.

## ACTIVITY

### Proxy Wars

While the Cold War did not feature direct battles between the United States and the Soviet Union, the two superpowers did engage in proxy wars by aiding opposing sides militarily, economically, and politically in conflicts around the world.

Your task will be to work in pairs to research a country in which a proxy war occurred and to create a digital presentation exploring Soviet and/or American interests in the country and the ways in which the United States and/or the Soviet Union intervened in the conflict.

**1. Planning** Choose one of the countries listed below and research the proxy war that took place there.

- Asia: Afghanistan, Laos, Cambodia, Burma/Myanmar, Malaya/Malaysia
- Latin America: Bolivia, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Chile
- Middle East: Iran, Egypt, Lebanon

**2. Focusing Your Research** Consider the following questions as you research:

- What was the status of the common people before the war?
- What were the main causes of the conflict?
- When did the war begin and end?
- Which side in the conflict did the Soviets and the Americans support? Why? What kind of support did they offer?
- What were the major battles and events of the war?
- What was the result of the conflict, and what type of government came to power?
- What is the state of the country today?

**3. Preparing the Digital Presentation** Create a digital presentation explaining the proxy war you've researched. Include maps, charts, photos, descriptions of the country's condition before the war, highlights of the conflict, and an analysis of the aftermath of the war.

## FOCUS ON CALIFORNIA

### California and the Cold War: The Aerospace Industry

Following World War II, continued defense spending made Southern California the nation's leading aircraft producer. A favorable climate and plenty of open space for testing, along with Southern California's strong technical universities, made the region ideal for America's growing aerospace industry. Sam Ramo, founder of aerospace giant TRW Inc., led the development of intercontinental ballistic missiles, and the North American Aviation facility in Downey developed the Apollo command module. During the 1950s, California received around \$50 billion in defense funding—nearly a quarter of the Department of Defense contracts. Later, during the Reagan era, Northrop Grumman workers in Southern California worked on B-2 bomber production. Following the end of the Cold War, California's aerospace industry declined, as major defense firms consolidated and relocated operations to Washington, DC.

# Cold War Conflicts



## Essential Question

Why did the Cold War never develop into a direct military conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union?



**About the Photo:** South Korean citizens wave flags to cheer on U.S. First Cavalry Division soldiers on their way to battle Communist troops during the Korean War.

In this module you will learn that the United States and the Soviet Union competed for dominance in the post–World War II world, with important consequences for other nations.

### Explore ONLINE!



**HISTORY**

#### VIDEOS, including...

- Korea: The Forgotten War
- Arriving in Vietnam
- Ayatollah Khomeini

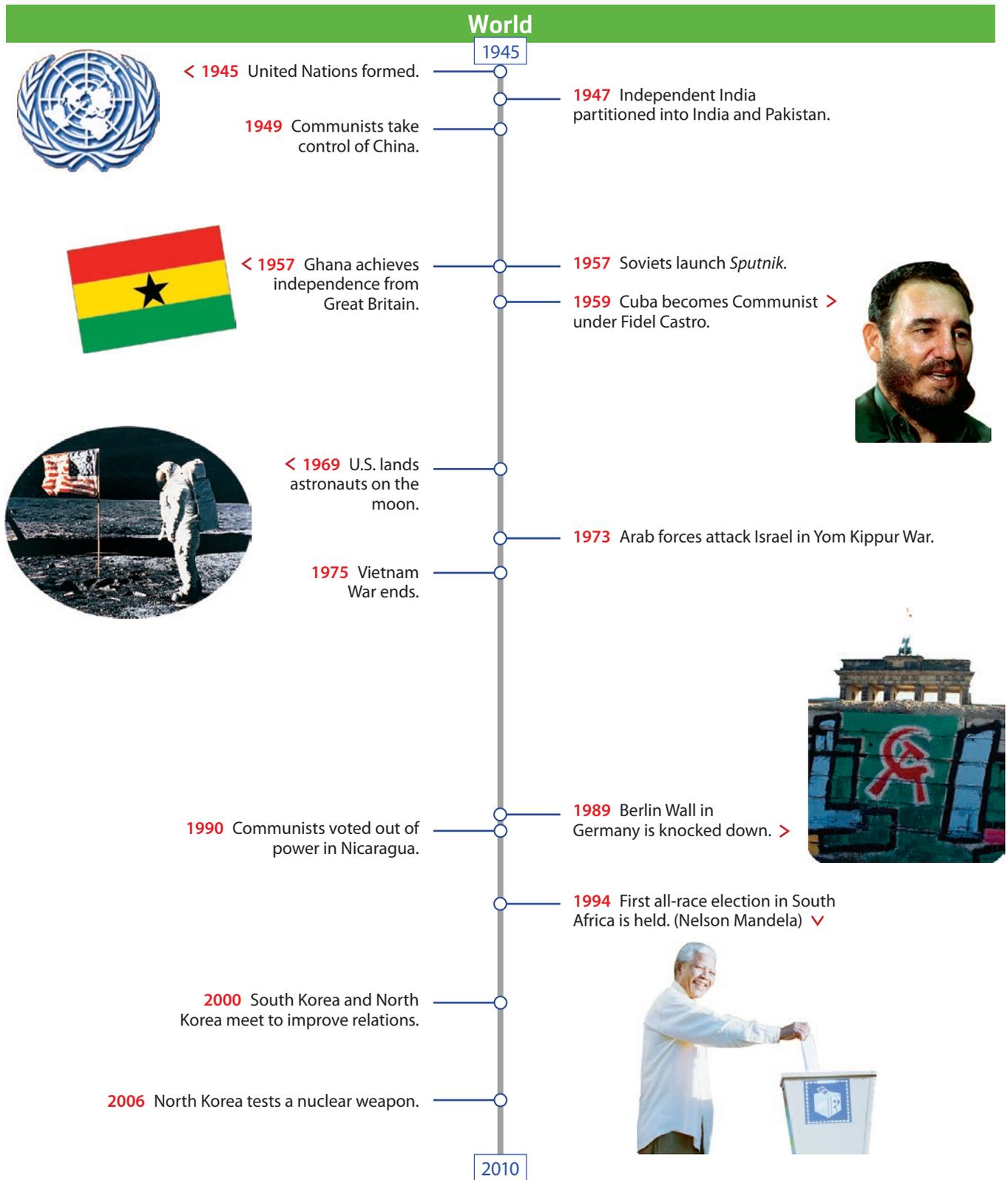
- ✓ Document-Based Investigations
- ✓ Graphic Organizers
- ✓ Interactive Games
- ✓ Image Compare: Political Boundaries Before and After World War II
- ✓ Carousel: War in Vietnam



**10.1.3** Consider the influence of the U.S. Constitution on political systems in the contemporary world. **10.6.2** Describe the effects of the war and resulting peace treaties on population movement, the international economy, and shifts in the geographic and political borders of Europe and the Middle East. **10.8.3** Identify and locate the Allied and Axis powers on a map and discuss the major turning points of the war, the principal theaters of conflict, key strategic decisions, and the resulting war conferences and political resolutions, with emphasis on the importance of geographic factors. **10.8.4** Describe the political, diplomatic, and military leaders during the war (e.g., Winston Churchill, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Emperor Hirohito, Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, Joseph Stalin, Douglas MacArthur, Dwight Eisenhower). **10.8.6** Discuss the human costs of the war, with particular attention to the civilian and military losses in Russia, Germany, Britain, the United States, China, and Japan. **10.9.1** Compare the economic and military power shifts caused by the war, including the Yalta Pact, the development of nuclear weapons, Soviet control over Eastern European nations, and the economic recoveries of Germany and Japan. **10.9.2** Analyze the causes of the Cold War, with the free world on one side and Soviet client states on the other, including competition for influence in such places as Egypt, the Congo, Vietnam, and Chile. **10.9.3** Understand the importance of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, which established the pattern for America's postwar policy of supplying economic and military aid to prevent the spread of Communism and the resulting economic and political competition in arenas such as Southeast Asia (i.e., the Korean War, Vietnam War), Cuba, and Africa. **10.9.4** Analyze the Chinese Civil War, the rise of Mao Tse-tung, and the subsequent political and economic upheavals in China (e.g., the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, and the Tiananmen Square uprising). **10.9.5** Describe the uprisings in Poland (1956), Hungary (1956), and Czechoslovakia (1968) and those countries' resurgence in the 1970s and 1980s as people in Soviet satellites sought freedom from Soviet control. **10.9.8** Discuss the establishment and work of the United Nations and the purposes and functions of the Warsaw Pact, SEATO, NATO, and the Organization of American States.

# Timeline of Events 1945–Present

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# Cold War: Superpowers Face Off

## The Big Idea

The opposing economic and political philosophies of the United States and the Soviet Union led to global competition.

## Why It Matters Now

The conflicts between the United States and the Soviet Union played a major role in reshaping the modern world.

## Key Terms and People

United Nations  
iron curtain  
containment  
Truman Doctrine  
Marshall Plan  
Cold War  
NATO  
Warsaw Pact  
brinkmanship

## Setting the Stage

In late 1943, as World War II raged, leaders of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union met together at Tehran, the capital of Iran, to discuss a joint strategy for defeating Germany and to open discussion about how to set national borders after the war. Starting in June 1944, the Soviet army marched west, and the American army, joined by other European allies, marched east. When the two forces met at the Elbe River in Germany on April 25, 1945, they embraced each other warmly because they had defeated the Nazis. Their national leaders, however, regarded each other much more coolly. This animosity caused by competing political philosophies would lead to a nearly half-century of conflict called the Cold War.

## Long-term Consequences of World War II

World War II was the most destructive war in history. The death toll of military personnel and civilians in Europe, Africa, and Asia during the conflict may have reached over 60 million. The total represented almost 3 percent of the world's population at the time. Loss of life was only one short-term consequence of the war. Massive land and property destruction, environmental changes, social issues, and problems involving hunger and disease also occurred. These problems would have a long-term impact on the world.

**Demographic and Social Consequences** World War II was the first war in which civilian deaths outnumbered military ones. Many civilian deaths occurred in connection with battles, bombings, or enemy occupations. Several ethnic groups, such as Jews and Roma, were singled out for destruction, and their elimination changed the demographic makeup of countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. In addition, the fighting and destruction as well as



10.6.2; 10.8.3; 10.8.4; 10.8.6; 10.9.1;  
10.9.2; 10.9.3; 10.9.8

**Reading Check**  
Analyze Effects  
What demographic changes did Europe undergo as a result of World War II?

changes in national borders caused millions of civilians to abandon their homes and property and move to new areas. Families were often split up, and many fathers died. Hunger and disease also took their toll on populations in the long term. Medical experts noted increased incidences of diabetes, depression, and heart disease following the war. Many soldiers and civilians also suffered adverse health effects as a result of exposure to chemical, biological, and atomic weapons.

**Economic and Environmental Consequences** Tank battles and bombing raids during the war caused a great deal of destruction both to the infrastructure (buildings, bridges, and roads) of countries and to the physical environment. Forests were depleted, and farmland was destroyed. It would take several years for crop production to reach prewar levels again. Countries began rebuilding soon after the war, and economies improved in most Western European nations. Countries under Soviet control took longer to rebound during the Cold War, as you will read below.

## Allies Become Enemies

Even before World War II ended, the U.S. alliance with the Soviet Union had begun to unravel. The United States was upset that Joseph Stalin, the Soviet leader, had signed a nonaggression pact with Germany in 1939. Later, Stalin blamed the Allies for not invading German-occupied Europe earlier than 1944. Driven by these and other disagreements, the two allies began to pursue opposing goals.

**Yalta Conference: A Postwar Plan** The war was not yet over in February 1945. But the leaders of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union met again at the Soviet Black Sea resort of Yalta. There, they agreed to divide Germany into zones of occupation controlled by the Allied military forces. Germany also would have to pay the Soviet Union to compensate for its loss of life and property during the war. Stalin agreed to join the war against Japan once Germany surrendered. He also promised that Eastern Europeans would have free elections. A skeptical Winston Churchill predicted that Stalin would keep his pledge only if the Eastern Europeans followed “a policy friendly to Russia.” Events after the war proved Churchill right, as the Soviet Union under Stalin never permitted free elections.

Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin meet at Yalta in 1945.



**Creation of the United Nations and Geneva Conventions** In June 1945, the United States and the Soviet Union temporarily set aside their differences. They joined 48 other countries in forming the **United Nations** (UN). This international organization was intended to protect the members against aggression. It was to be based in New York.

The new peacekeeping organization included a large General Assembly, in which each UN member nation could vote on a broad range of issues. An 11-member body called the Security Council had the real power to investigate and settle disputes, though. Its five permanent members were Britain, China, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union (now Russia). Each could veto any council action. This provision was intended to prevent any members of the council from voting as a bloc to override the others.

Many nations also joined together after the war in adopting a series of treaties on the treatment of civilians, prisoners of war (POWs), and those injured during wartime. Known as the Geneva Conventions, the treaties were adopted in 1949, added to in later years, and are still in force today.

**Differing U.S. and Soviet Philosophy and Goals** Despite agreement at Yalta and their presence on the UN Security Council, the United States and the Soviet Union split sharply after the war. The two “superpowers” were leaders both in military strength and in political and economic influence among the world’s nations. The United States promoted the capitalist economic philosophy, while the Soviet Union promoted communism.

The war had affected the two superpowers very differently. The United States suffered 400,000 deaths, but its cities remained intact. The Soviet Union had at least 50 times as many fatalities. Also, many Soviet cities were demolished. These contrasting situations, as well as political and economic differences, affected the two countries’ postwar goals and decisions.

**Reading Check**

Summarize

Why did the United States and the Soviet Union split after the war?

**Superpower Aims in Europe**

United States	Soviet Union
Encourage democracy in other countries to help prevent the rise of Communist governments	Encourage communism in other countries as part of a worldwide workers’ revolution
Gain access to raw materials and markets to fuel booming industries	Rebuild its war-ravaged economy using Eastern Europe’s industrial equipment and raw materials
Rebuild European governments to promote stability and create new markets for U.S. goods	Control Eastern Europe to protect Soviet borders and balance the U.S. influence in Western Europe
Reunite Germany to stabilize it and increase the security of Europe	Keep Germany divided to prevent its waging war again

**Analyze Charts**

**Contrast** Which U.S. and Soviet aims in Europe conflicted?

## Eastern Europe's Iron Curtain

A major goal of the Soviet Union was to shield itself from another invasion from the west. Centuries of history had taught the Soviets to fear invasion. Because it lacked natural western borders, Russia fell victim to each of its neighbors in turn. In the 17th century, the Poles captured the Kremlin. During the next century, the Swedes attacked. Napoleon overran Moscow in 1812. The Germans invaded Russia during World Wars I and II.

**Soviets Build a Buffer** As World War II drew to a close, the Soviet troops pushed the Nazis back across Eastern Europe. At war's end, these troops occupied a strip of countries along the Soviet Union's own western border. Stalin regarded these countries as a necessary buffer, or wall of protection. He ignored the Yalta agreement and installed or secured Communist governments in Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland, and Yugoslavia.

The Soviet leader's American partner at Yalta, Franklin D. Roosevelt, had died on April 12, 1945. To Roosevelt's successor, Harry S. Truman, Stalin's reluctance to allow free elections in Eastern European nations was a clear violation of those countries' rights. Truman, Stalin, and Churchill met at Potsdam, Germany, in July 1945. There, Truman pressed Stalin to permit free elections in Eastern Europe. The Soviet leader refused. In a speech in early 1946, Stalin declared that communism and capitalism could not exist in the same world.

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### Compare Maps

Political boundaries may change over time. Which countries' boundaries were expanded and which were contracted following World War II? Which countries were divided? Which disappeared?

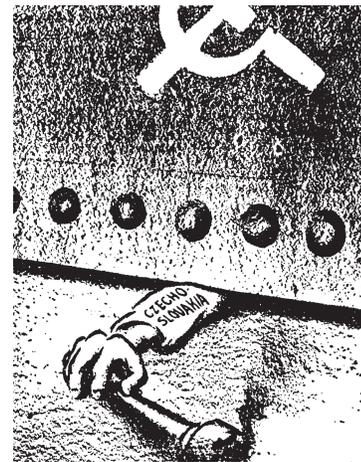
**An Iron Curtain Divides East and West** Europe now lay divided between East and West. Germany had been split into two sections. The Soviets controlled the eastern part, including half of the capital, Berlin. Under a Communist government, East Germany was named the German Democratic Republic. The western zones were occupied by forces and supporting personnel from the United States, Britain, and France. The population in West Germany, devastated by the war, relied on the Allies for goods and services. The Allies soon became concerned about the costs of continuing to support their German sectors and slowly began withdrawing from the country. In 1949, the united West German sectors officially became the Federal Republic of Germany.

Winston Churchill described the division of Europe following the war by referring to Soviet efforts to take control of its neighbors as establishing an “**iron curtain.**” Churchill’s phrase came to represent Europe’s division into mostly democratic Western Europe and Communist Eastern Europe.

*“From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. . . . All these famous cities and the populations around them lie in the Soviet sphere and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow.”*

—Winston Churchill,  
“Iron Curtain” speech, March 5, 1946

Nine days after Churchill’s speech, Stalin responded angrily in an interview with the Soviet press. He said, “Mr. Churchill now stands as a firebrand of war.” The Soviet Union suffered much greater losses than either Great Britain or the United States, Stalin explained. “One can ask, therefore, what can be surprising in the fact that the Soviet Union, in a desire to ensure its security for the future, tries to achieve that these countries should have governments whose relations to the Soviet Union are loyal?”



The Iron Curtain is shown dropping on Czechoslovakia in this 1948 political cartoon.

## United States Tries to Contain Soviets

U.S.-Soviet relations continued to worsen in 1946 and 1947. An increasingly worried United States tried to offset the growing Soviet threat to Eastern Europe. President Truman adopted a foreign policy called **containment**. It was a policy directed at blocking Soviet influence and stopping the expansion of communism. Containment policies included forming alliances and helping weak countries resist Soviet advances.

### Reading Check

#### Draw Conclusions

What meanings do Churchill and Stalin hope to convey in using the phrases *iron curtain* and *firebrand of war*? Discuss this question with several classmates before writing your answer.

**The Truman Doctrine** In a speech asking Congress for foreign aid for Turkey and Greece, Truman contrasted democracy with communism:

*“One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions . . . free elections . . . and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression . . . fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms. I believe it must be the policy of the United States to support free people . . . resisting attempted subjugation [control] by armed minorities or by outside pressures.”*

—President Harry S. Truman,  
speech to Congress, March 12, 1947

Truman’s support for countries that rejected communism was called the **Truman Doctrine**. It caused great controversy. Some opponents objected to American interference in other nations’ affairs. Others argued that the United States could not afford to carry on a global crusade against communism. Congress, however, immediately authorized more than \$400 million in aid to Turkey and Greece. The Truman Doctrine established an ongoing U.S. commitment to offer assistance to protect other democratic countries when it was deemed to be in the best interest of the United States.

**The Marshall Plan** Much of Western Europe lay in ruins after the war. There was also economic turmoil—a scarcity of jobs and food. In 1947, U.S. Secretary of State George Marshall proposed that the United States give aid to needy European countries. This assistance program, called the **Marshall Plan**, would provide food, machinery, and other materials to rebuild Western Europe. As Congress debated the \$12.5 billion program in 1948, the Communists seized power in Czechoslovakia. Congress immediately voted approval. The plan was a spectacular success. Even Communist Yugoslavia received aid after it broke away from Soviet domination.

**The Berlin Airlift** While Europe began rebuilding, the United States and its allies clashed with the Soviet Union over Germany. The Soviets wanted to keep their former enemy weak and divided. But in 1948, France, Britain, and the United States decided to withdraw their forces from Germany and allow their occupation zones to form one nation. The Soviet Union responded by holding West Berlin hostage.

Although Berlin lay well within the Soviet occupation zone of Germany, it too had been divided into four zones. The Soviet Union cut off highway, water, and rail traffic into Berlin’s western zones. The city faced starvation. Stalin gambled that the Allies would surrender West Berlin or give up their idea of reunifying Germany. But American and British officials flew food and supplies into West Berlin for nearly 11 months. In May 1949, the Soviet Union admitted defeat and lifted the blockade.

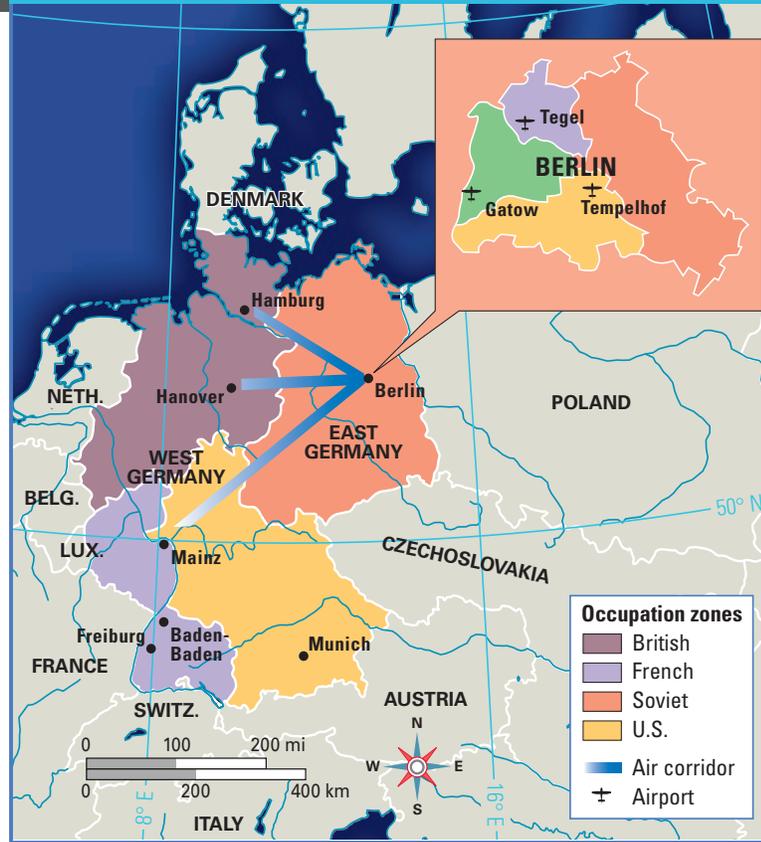
**Reading Check**  
Make Inferences  
What was Truman’s major reason for offering aid to other European countries?

## History in Depth

### Divided Germany, 1948–1949

#### The Berlin Airlift

From June 1948 to May 1949, Allied planes took off and landed every three minutes in West Berlin. On 278,000 flights, pilots brought in 2.3 million tons of food, fuel, medicine, and even Christmas gifts to West Berliners.



**Reading Check**  
Summarize  
What Soviet action led to the Berlin airlift?

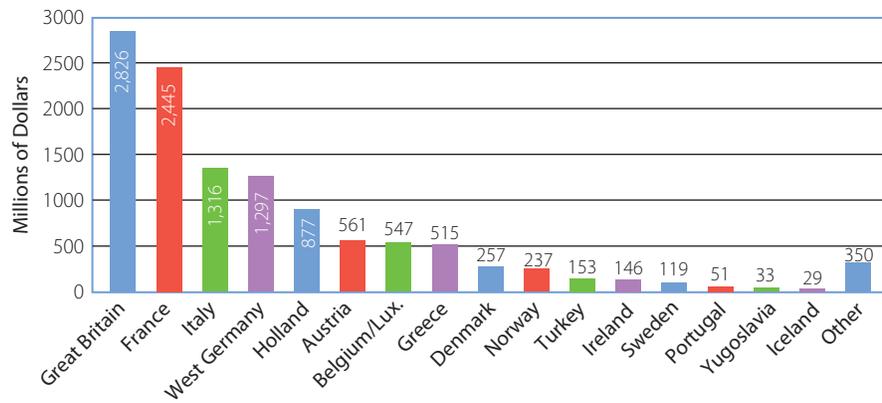
**Assistance to Asian Nations** The Marshall Plan was designed to help European nations recover from the war. President Truman also initiated a similar program to provide technical assistance for non-European nations, such as those in Southeast Asia as well as Pakistan, Israel, and Iran, which had been impacted by the war. The Point Four program provided technical expertise to help build up agriculture, public health, and education within affected countries. It gave rise to other assistance programs administered by an agency of the UN but funded largely by the United States.

## The Cold War Divides the World

These conflicts marked the start of the **Cold War** between the United States and the Soviet Union. A cold war is a struggle over political differences carried on by means short of military action or war. Beginning in 1949, the superpowers used spying, propaganda, diplomacy, and secret operations in their dealings with each other. Much of the world allied with one side or the other. In fact, until the Soviet Union finally broke up in 1991, the Cold War not only dictated U.S. and Soviet foreign policy but influenced world alliances as well.

**Superpowers Form Rival Alliances** The Berlin blockade heightened Western Europe's fears of Soviet aggression. As a result, in 1949, ten western European nations joined with the United States and Canada to form a defensive military alliance. It was called the North Atlantic Treaty

## Countries Aided by the Marshall Plan, 1948–1951



Source: *Problèmes Économiques* No. 306

### Interpret Graphs

- 1. Draw Conclusions** Which country received the most aid from the United States?
- 2. Make Inferences** Why do you think Great Britain and France received so much aid?

Organization (**NATO**). An attack on any NATO member would be met with armed force by all member nations.

The Soviet Union saw NATO as a threat and formed its own alliance in 1955. It was called the **Warsaw Pact** and included the Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania. In 1961, the East Germans built a wall to separate East and West Berlin. The Berlin Wall symbolized a world divided into rival camps. However, not every country joined the new alliances. Some, like India, chose not to align with either side. And China, the largest Communist country, came to distrust the Soviet Union. It remained nonaligned.

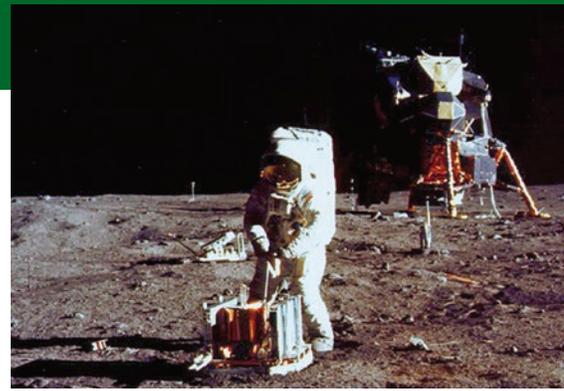
In the Western Hemisphere, the United States pushed for the formation of an organization of countries in North, Central, and South America and the Caribbean. Formed in 1948, the Organization of American States (OAS) hoped to bring peace and security to its member nations and to increase economic and social cooperation.

**The Threat of Nuclear War** As these alliances were forming, the Cold War threatened to heat up enough to destroy the world. The United States already had atomic bombs, thanks to the work of scientists in America such as Italian-born Enrico Fermi, who directed early experiments in splitting atoms in the early 1940s. Fermi was one of the architects of the nuclear age. In 1949, the Soviet Union exploded its own atomic weapon. President Truman was determined to develop a more deadly weapon before the Soviets did. He authorized work on a thermonuclear weapon in 1950.

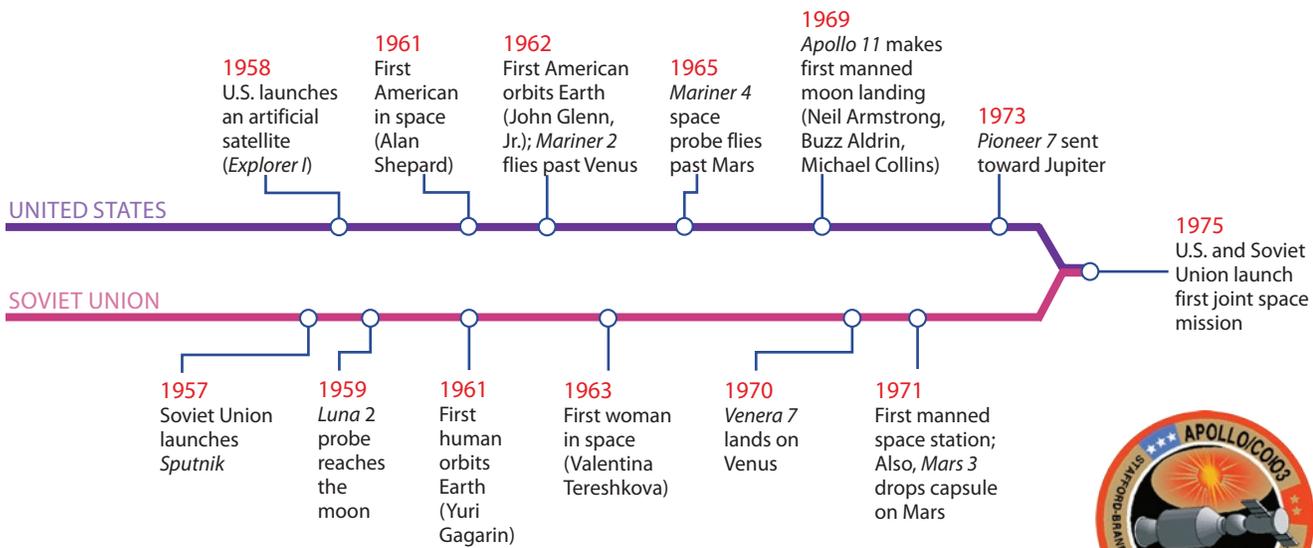
The hydrogen or H-bomb would be much more powerful than the A-bomb. Its power came from the fusion, or joining together, of atoms rather than the splitting of atoms, as in the A-bomb. Edward Teller, a Hungarian-born American nuclear physicist, was a leading proponent of the H-bomb and played an important role in its design. The team that

## The Space Race

Beginning in the late 1950s, the United States and the Soviet Union competed for influence not only among the nations of the world, but in the skies as well. Once the superpowers had ICBMs (intercontinental ballistic missiles) to deliver nuclear warheads and aircraft for spying missions, they both began to develop technology that could be used to explore—and ultimately control—space. However, after nearly two decades of costly competition, the two superpowers began to cooperate in space exploration.



In a major technological triumph, the United States put human beings on the moon on July 20, 1969. Astronaut Buzz Aldrin is shown on the lunar surface with the lunar lander spacecraft.



The joint *Apollo* and *Soyuz* mission ushered in an era of U.S.-Soviet cooperation in space.

The Soviet Union launched *Sputnik*, the first successful artificial space satellite, on October 4, 1957. As it circled the earth every 96 minutes, Premier Nikita Khrushchev boasted that his country would soon be “turning out long-range missiles like sausages.” The United States accelerated its space program. After early failures, a U.S. satellite was launched in 1958.



### Critical Thinking

- 1. Compare** Which destinations in space did both the United States and the Soviet Union explore?
- 2. Make Inferences** What role might space continue to play in achieving world peace?

developed the new weapon was based in Los Alamos, New Mexico. In 1952, the United States tested the first H-bomb on a group of coral islands in the Pacific. It yielded an explosion equivalent to 10 million tons (10 megatons) of TNT, more than 600 times more powerful than the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, Japan. The Soviets were also hard at work on their own H-bomb and exploded one in 1953.

Dwight D. Eisenhower became the U.S. president in 1953. He appointed the firmly anti-Communist John Foster Dulles as his secretary of state. If the Soviet Union or its supporters attacked U.S. interests, Dulles threatened, the United States would “retaliate instantly, by means and at places of our own choosing.” This willingness to go to the brink, or edge, of war became known as **brinkmanship**. Brinkmanship required a reliable source of nuclear weapons and airplanes to deliver them. So, the United States strengthened its air force and began producing stockpiles of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union responded with its own military buildup, beginning an arms race that would go on for four decades.

**The Cold War in the Skies** The Cold War also affected the science and education programs of the two countries. In August 1957, the Soviets announced the development of a rocket that could travel great distances—an intercontinental ballistic missile, or ICBM. On October 4, the Soviets used an ICBM to push *Sputnik*, the first unmanned satellite, above the earth’s atmosphere. Americans felt they had fallen behind in science and technology, and the government poured money into science education. In 1958, the United States launched its own satellite. A German-born rocket scientist named Wehrner von Braun was the driving force behind the U.S. ballistic missile program. He would play a major role in the American space program for more than 30 years.

In 1960, the skies again provided the arena for a superpower conflict. Five years earlier, Eisenhower had proposed that the United States and the Soviet Union be able to fly over each other’s territory to guard against surprise nuclear attacks. The Soviet Union said no. In response, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) started secret high-altitude spy flights over Soviet territory in planes called U-2s. In May 1960, the Soviets shot down a U-2 plane, and its pilot, Francis Gary Powers, was captured. This U-2 incident heightened Cold War tensions.

While Soviet Communists were squaring off against the United States, Communists in China were fighting a civil war for control of that country.

### Reading Check

#### Analyze Effects

How did the U.S. policy of brinkmanship contribute to the arms race?

## Lesson 1 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** Which action or event of the Cold War was the most significant? Explain.



2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
3. **Analyze Causes** How was formation of the United Nations a response to World War II?
4. **Evaluate** Do you consider the Marshall Plan and Berlin Airlift to have been successful? Explain.
5. **Compare and Contrast** What factors help to explain why the United States and the Soviet Union became rivals instead of allies?
6. **Analyze Motives** What were Stalin’s objectives in supporting Communist governments in Eastern Europe?
7. **Analyze Issues** Why might Berlin have been a likely spot for trouble to develop during the Cold War?



# Communists Take Power in China

## The Big Idea

After World War II, Chinese Communists defeated Nationalist forces, and two separate Chinas emerged.

## Why It Matters Now

China remains a Communist country and a major power in the world.

## Key Terms and People

Mao Zedong

Jiang Jieshi

commune

Red Guards

Cultural Revolution

## Setting the Stage

In World War II, China fought on the side of the victorious Allies. But the victory proved to be a hollow one for China. During the war, Japan's armies had occupied and devastated most of China's cities. China's civilian death toll alone was estimated to be between 10 and 22 million persons. This vast country suffered casualties second only to those of the Soviet Union. However, conflict did not end with the defeat of the Japanese. In 1945, opposing Chinese armies faced one another.

## Communists vs. Nationalists

A bitter civil war was raging between the Nationalists and the Communists when the Japanese invaded China in 1937. During World War II, the political opponents temporarily united to fight the Japanese. But they continued to jockey for position within China.

**World War II in China** Under their leader, **Mao Zedong** (mow-dzuh•dahng), the Communists had a stronghold in northwestern China. From there, they mobilized peasants for guerrilla war against the Japanese in the northeast. Thanks to their efforts to promote literacy and improve food production, the Communists won the peasants' loyalty. By 1945, they controlled much of northern China.

Meanwhile, the Nationalist forces under **Jiang Jieshi** (jee•ahng-jee•shee) dominated southwestern China. Protected from the Japanese by rugged mountain ranges, Jiang gathered an army of 2.5 million men. From 1942 to 1945, the United States sent the Nationalists at least \$1.5 billion in aid to fight the Japanese. Instead of benefiting the army, however, these supplies and money often ended up in the hands of a few corrupt officers. Jiang's army actually fought few battles against the Japanese. Instead, the Nationalist army saved its strength for the coming battle against Mao's Red Army. After Japan surrendered, the Nationalists and Communists resumed fighting.



10.8.6; 10.9.3; 10.9.4

**Civil War Resumes** The renewed civil war lasted from 1946 to 1949. At first, the Nationalists had the advantage. Their army outnumbered the Communists' army by as much as three to one. And the United States continued its support by providing nearly \$2 billion in military aid. The Nationalist forces, however, did little to win popular support. With China's economy collapsing, thousands of Nationalist soldiers deserted to join the Communists. In spring 1949, China's major cities fell to the well-trained Red forces. Mao's troops were also enthusiastic about his promise to return land to the peasants. The remnants of Jiang's shattered army fled south. In October 1949, Mao Zedong gained control of the country. He proclaimed it the People's Republic of China. Jiang and other Nationalist leaders retreated to the island of Taiwan, which Westerners called Formosa.

Mao Zedong's victory fueled U.S. anti-Communist feelings. Those feelings grew stronger after the Chinese and Soviets signed a treaty of friendship in 1950. Many people in the United States viewed the takeover of China as another step in a Communist campaign to conquer the world.

The Chinese Revolution had several things in common with earlier and later social revolutions. For example, like the French Revolution that began in 1789, the Russian Revolution of 1917, and the Cuban Revolution that began in 1959, a central purpose of the Chinese Revolution was to break down the existing class structure and provide more economic and political opportunity for those other than the ruling class, including land ownership. In all of the revolutions, peasants played a key role.

**Reading Check**  
**Recognize Effects**  
 How did the outcome of the Chinese civil war contribute to Cold War tensions?



### Chinese Political Opponents, 1945

Nationalists		Communists
Jiang Jieshi	<b>Leader</b>	Mao Zedong
Southern China	<b>Area Ruled</b>	Northern China
United States	<b>Foreign Support</b>	Soviet Union
Defeat of Communists	<b>Domestic Policy</b>	National liberation
Weak due to inflation and failing economy	<b>Public Support</b>	Strong due to promised land reform for peasants
Ineffective, corrupt leadership and poor morale	<b>Military Organization</b>	Experienced, motivated guerrilla army



#### Interpret Charts

- Draw Conclusions** Which party's domestic policy might appeal more to Chinese peasants? Why?
- Form and Support Opinions** Which aspect of the Communist approach do you think was most responsible for Mao's victory? Explain.

## The Two Chinas Affect the Cold War

China had split into two nations. One was the island of Taiwan, or Nationalist China, with an area of 13,000 square miles. The mainland, or People's Republic of China, had an area of more than 3.5 million square miles. The existence of two Chinas, and the conflicting international loyalties they inspired, intensified the Cold War.

**The Superpowers React** After Jiang Jieshi fled to Taiwan, the United States helped him set up a Nationalist government on that small island. It was called the Republic of China. The Soviets gave financial, military, and technical aid to Communist China. In addition, the Chinese and the Soviets pledged to come to each other's defense if either was attacked. The United States tried to halt Soviet expansion in Asia. For example, when Soviet forces occupied the northern half of Korea after World War II and set up a Communist government there, the United States supported a separate state in the south.

**China Expands Under the Communists** In the early years of Mao's reign, Chinese troops expanded into Tibet, India, and southern, or Inner, Mongolia. Northern, or Outer, Mongolia, which bordered the Soviet Union, remained in the Soviet sphere.

In a brutal assault in 1950 and 1951, China took control of Tibet. The Chinese promised autonomy to Tibetans, who followed their religious leader, the Dalai Lama. When China's control over Tibet tightened in the late 1950s, the Dalai Lama fled to India. India welcomed many Tibetan refugees after a failed revolt in Tibet in 1959. As a result, resentment between India and China grew. In 1962, they clashed briefly over the two countries' unclear border. The fighting stopped but resentment continued.

### Reading Check

**Draw Conclusions**  
How did the Cold War contribute to Jiang's survival?

## BIOGRAPHY

### Mao Zedong (1893–1976)

Born into a peasant family, Mao embraced Marxist socialism as a young man. Though he began as an urban labor organizer, Mao quickly realized the revolutionary potential of China's peasants. In 1927, Mao predicted:

*The force of the peasantry is like that of the raging winds and driving rain. . . . They will bury beneath them all forces of imperialism, militarism, corrupt officialdom, village bosses and evil gentry.*

Mao's first attempt to lead the peasants in revolt failed in 1927. But during the Japanese occupation, Mao and his followers won widespread peasant support by reducing rents and promising to redistribute land.



## The Communists Transform China

For decades, China had been in turmoil, engaged in civil war or fighting with Japan. So, when the Communists took power, they moved rapidly to strengthen their rule over China's 550 million people. They also aimed to restore China as a powerful nation.

**Communists Consolidate Power** After taking control of China, the Communists began to tighten their hold. The party's 4.5 million members made up just 1 percent of the population. But they were a disciplined group. Like the Soviets, the Chinese Communists set up two parallel organizations, the Communist Party and the national government. Mao headed both until 1959.

**Mao's Brand of Marxist Socialism** Mao was determined to reshape China's economy based on Marxist socialism. Eighty percent of the people lived in rural areas, but most owned no land. Instead, 10 percent of the rural population controlled 70 percent of the farmland. Under the Agrarian Reform Law of 1950, Mao seized the holdings of these landlords. His forces killed more than a million landlords who resisted. He then divided the land among the peasants. Later, to further Mao's socialist principles, the government forced peasants to join collective farms. Each of these farms was comprised of 200 to 300 households.

Mao's changes also transformed industry and business. Gradually, private companies were nationalized, or brought under government ownership. In 1953, Mao launched a five-year plan that set high production goals for industry. By 1957, China's output of coal, cement, steel, and electricity had increased dramatically.

**"The Great Leap Forward"** To expand the success of the first Five-Year Plan, Mao proclaimed the "Great Leap Forward" in early 1958. This plan called for still larger collective farms, or **communes**. By the end of 1958, about 26,000 communes had been created. The average commune sprawled over 15,000 acres and supported more than 25,000 people. In the strictly controlled life of the communes, peasants worked the land together. They ate in communal dining rooms, slept in communal dormitories, and raised children in communal nurseries. And they owned nothing. The peasants had no incentive to work hard when only the state profited from their labor.

The Great Leap Forward was a giant step backward. Poor planning and inefficient "backyard," or home, industries hampered growth. The program was ended in 1961 after crop failures caused a famine that killed about 20 million people.

**Soviet Competition and Global Politics** China was facing external problems as well as internal ones in the late 1950s. The spirit of cooperation that had bound the Soviet Union and China together began to fade. The two countries clashed several times in territorial disputes along their

long shared border. They also were involved in political clashes as each sought to be viewed as the leader of a worldwide Communist movement.

Mao's revolution had an impact on global politics from the 1950s through the 1970s. Close to home, the Chinese provided military, advisory, and financial support to Communist leaders in Korea and Vietnam. Farther away, Mao took a particular interest in Communist expansion in Latin American countries such as Cuba, Peru, and Bolivia. Latin American Communist leaders came to China to learn from Mao about political organization and guerilla fighting, which they put into practice during periods of unrest in their own countries during the 1960s and 1970s. African revolutionaries also took lessons from the Chinese Communist leaders and then employed what they learned in their own countries.

**The Cultural Revolution** After the failure of the Great Leap Forward and the split with the Soviet Union, Mao reduced his role in China's government. Other leaders moved away from Mao's strict socialist ideas. For example, farm families were permitted to live in their own homes and could sell crops they grew on small private plots. Factory workers could compete for wage increases and promotions.

Mao thought China's new economic policies weakened the Communist goal of social equality. He was determined to revive the revolution. In 1966, he urged China's young people to "learn revolution by making revolution." Millions of high school and college students responded. They left their classrooms and formed militia units called **Red Guards**.

The Red Guards led a major uprising known as the **Cultural Revolution**. Its goal was to establish a society of peasants and workers in which all were equal. The new hero was the peasant who worked with his hands.

## History in Depth

### The Red Guards

The Red Guards were students, mainly teenagers. They pledged their devotion to Chairman Mao and the Cultural Revolution. From 1966 to 1968, 20 to 30 million Red Guards roamed China's cities and countryside, causing widespread chaos. To smash the old, non-Maoist way of life, they destroyed buildings and beat and even killed Mao's alleged enemies. They lashed out at professors, government officials, factory managers, and even parents.

Eventually, even Mao turned on them. Most were exiled to the countryside. Others were arrested and some executed.



The life of the mind—intellectual and artistic activity—was considered useless and dangerous. To stamp out this threat, the Red Guards shut down colleges and schools. They targeted anyone who resisted the regime. Intellectuals had to “purify” themselves by doing hard labor in remote villages. Thousands were executed or imprisoned.

Chaos threatened farm production and closed down factories. Civil war seemed possible. By 1968, even Mao admitted that the Cultural Revolution had to stop. The army was ordered to put down the Red Guards. Zhou Enlai (joh-ehn•leye), Chinese Communist Party founder and premier since 1949, began to restore order. While China was struggling to become stable, the Cold War continued to rage. In addition, two full-scale “hot” wars broke out—in Korea and in Vietnam.

### Reading Check

**Analyze Issues**  
What aspects of Marxist socialism did Mao try to bring to China?

## Lesson 2 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** Which effect of the Communist Revolution in China do you think had the most permanent impact? Explain.

Cause	Effect
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
3. **Analyze Issues** What policies or actions enabled the Communists to defeat the Nationalists in the Chinese civil war?
4. **Make Inferences** Why did the United States support the Nationalists in the civil war in China?
5. **Identify Problems** What circumstances prevented Mao’s Great Leap Forward from bringing economic prosperity to China in the late 1950s and early 1960s?
6. **Analyze Effects** Why was the Cultural Revolution led by the Red Guards a failure?



# Wars in Korea and Vietnam

## The Big Idea

In Asia, the Cold War flared into actual wars supported mainly by the superpowers.

## Why It Matters Now

Today, Vietnam is a Communist country, and Korea is split into Communist and non-Communist nations.

## Key Terms and People

38th parallel  
Douglas MacArthur  
Ho Chi Minh  
domino theory  
Ngo Dinh Diem  
Vietcong  
Vietnamization  
Khmer Rouge

## Setting the Stage

When World War II ended, Korea became a divided nation. North of the **38th parallel**, a line that crosses Korea at 38 degrees north latitude, Japanese troops surrendered to Soviet forces. South of this line, the Japanese surrendered to American troops. As in Germany, two nations developed. One was the Communist industrial north, whose government had been set up by the Soviets. The other was the non-Communist rural south, supported by the Western powers.

## War in Korea

By 1949, both the United States and the Soviet Union had withdrawn most of their troops from Korea. The Soviets gambled that the United States would not defend South Korea. So they supplied North Korea with tanks, airplanes, and money in an attempt to take over the peninsula.

**Standoff at the 38th Parallel** On June 25, 1950, North Koreans swept across the 38th parallel in a surprise attack on South Korea. Within days, North Korean troops had penetrated deep into the south. President Truman was convinced that the North Korean aggressors were repeating the types of actions that Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese had taken in the 1930s. Truman's policy of containment was being put to the test. And Truman resolved to help South Korea resist communism.

South Korea also asked the United Nations to intervene. When the matter came to a vote in the Security Council, the Soviets were absent. They had refused to take part in the council to protest admission of Nationalist China (Taiwan), rather than Communist China, into the UN. As a result, the Soviet Union could not veto the UN's plan to send an international force to Korea to stop the invasion. A total of 15 nations, including the United States and Britain, participated under the command of General **Douglas MacArthur**.



10.1.3; 10.9.2; 10.9.3; 10.9.8

Meanwhile, the North Koreans continued to advance. By September 1950, they controlled the entire Korean peninsula except for a tiny area around Pusan in the far southeast. That month, however, MacArthur launched a surprise attack. Troops moving north from Pusan met with forces that had made an amphibious landing at Inchon. Caught in this “pincer action,” about half of the North Koreans surrendered. The rest retreated.

**The Fighting Continues** The UN troops pursued the retreating North Koreans across the 38th parallel into North Korea. They pushed them almost to the Yalu River at the Chinese border. The UN forces were mostly from the United States. The Chinese felt threatened by these troops and by an American fleet off their coast. In October 1950, they sent 300,000 troops into North Korea.

The Chinese greatly outnumbered the UN forces. By January 1951, they had pushed UN and South Korean troops out of North Korea. The Chinese then moved into South Korea and captured the capital, Seoul. “We face an entirely new war,” declared MacArthur. He called for a nuclear attack against China. Truman viewed MacArthur’s proposals as reckless. “We are trying to prevent a world war, not start one,” he said. MacArthur tried to go over the president’s head by taking his case to Congress and the press. In response, Truman removed him from his command.

Over the next two years, UN forces fought to drive the Chinese and North Koreans back. By 1952, UN troops had regained control of South Korea. Finally, in July 1953, the UN forces and North Korea signed a cease-fire agreement. The border between the two Koreas was set near the 38th parallel, almost where it had been before the war. In the meantime, 4 million soldiers and civilians had died.

**Aftermath of the War** After the war, Korea remained divided. A demilitarized zone, which still exists, separated the two countries. In North Korea, the Communist dictator Kim Il Sung established collective farms, developed heavy industry, and built up the military. At Kim’s death in

UN forces landing at Inchon in South Korea in 1950



1994, his son Kim Jong Il took power. Under his rule, Communist North Korea developed nuclear weapons but had serious economic problems.

On the other hand, South Korea prospered, thanks partly to massive aid from the United States and other countries. In the 1960s, South Korea concentrated on developing its industry and expanding foreign trade. A succession of dictatorships ruled the rapidly developing country. With the 1987 adoption of a democratic constitution, however, South Korea established free elections. During the 1980s and 1990s, South Korea had one of the highest economic growth rates in the world.

Political differences have kept the two Koreas apart, despite periodic discussions of reuniting the country. North Korea's possession of nuclear weapons is a major obstacle. The United States still keeps troops in South Korea.

### Reading Check

#### Recognize Effects

What effects did the Korean War have on the Korean people and nation?

[Explore ONLINE!](#)

## War in Korea, 1950–1953



### Interpret Maps

- 1. Movement** What was the northernmost Korean city UN troops had reached by November 1950?
- 2. Changing Boundaries** If the war had ended in January 1951, where would the southern border of North Korea have been located?

## War Breaks Out in Vietnam

Much like its involvement in the Korean War, the involvement of the United States in Vietnam stemmed from its Cold War containment policy. After World War II, stopping the spread of communism was the principal goal of U.S. foreign policy.

**The Road to War** In the early 1900s, France controlled most of resource-rich Southeast Asia. (French Indochina included what are now Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.) But nationalist independence movements had begun to develop. A young Vietnamese nationalist, **Ho Chi Minh**, turned to the Communists for help in his struggle. During the 1930s, Ho's Indochinese Communist Party led revolts and strikes against the French.

The French responded by jailing Vietnamese protesters. They also sentenced Ho to death. He fled into exile but returned to Vietnam in 1941, a year after the Japanese seized control of his country during World War II. Ho and other nationalists founded the Vietminh (Independence) League. The Japanese were forced out of Vietnam after their defeat in 1945. Ho Chi Minh believed that independence would follow, but France intended to regain its colony.

**The Fighting Begins** Vietnamese nationalists and Communists joined to fight the French armies. The French held most major cities, but the Vietminh had widespread support in the countryside. The Vietminh used hit-and-run tactics to confine the French to the cities. In France the people began to doubt that their colony was worth the lives and money the struggle cost. In 1954, the French suffered a major military defeat at Dien Bien Phu. They surrendered to Ho.

The United States had supported France. With France's defeat, the United States saw a rising threat to the rest of Asia. President Eisenhower described this threat in terms of the **domino theory**. The Southeast Asian nations were like a row of dominos, he said. The fall of one to communism would lead to the fall of its neighbors. This theory became a major justification for U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War era.

**Vietnam: A Divided Country** After France's defeat, an international peace conference met in Geneva, Switzerland, to discuss the future of Indochina. Based on these talks, Vietnam was divided at 17° north latitude. This is similar to the way Korea was divided at the 38th parallel. North of that line, Ho Chi Minh's Communist forces governed. To the south, the United States and France set up an anti-Communist government under the leadership of **Ngo Dinh Diem** (NOH dihn D'YEM).

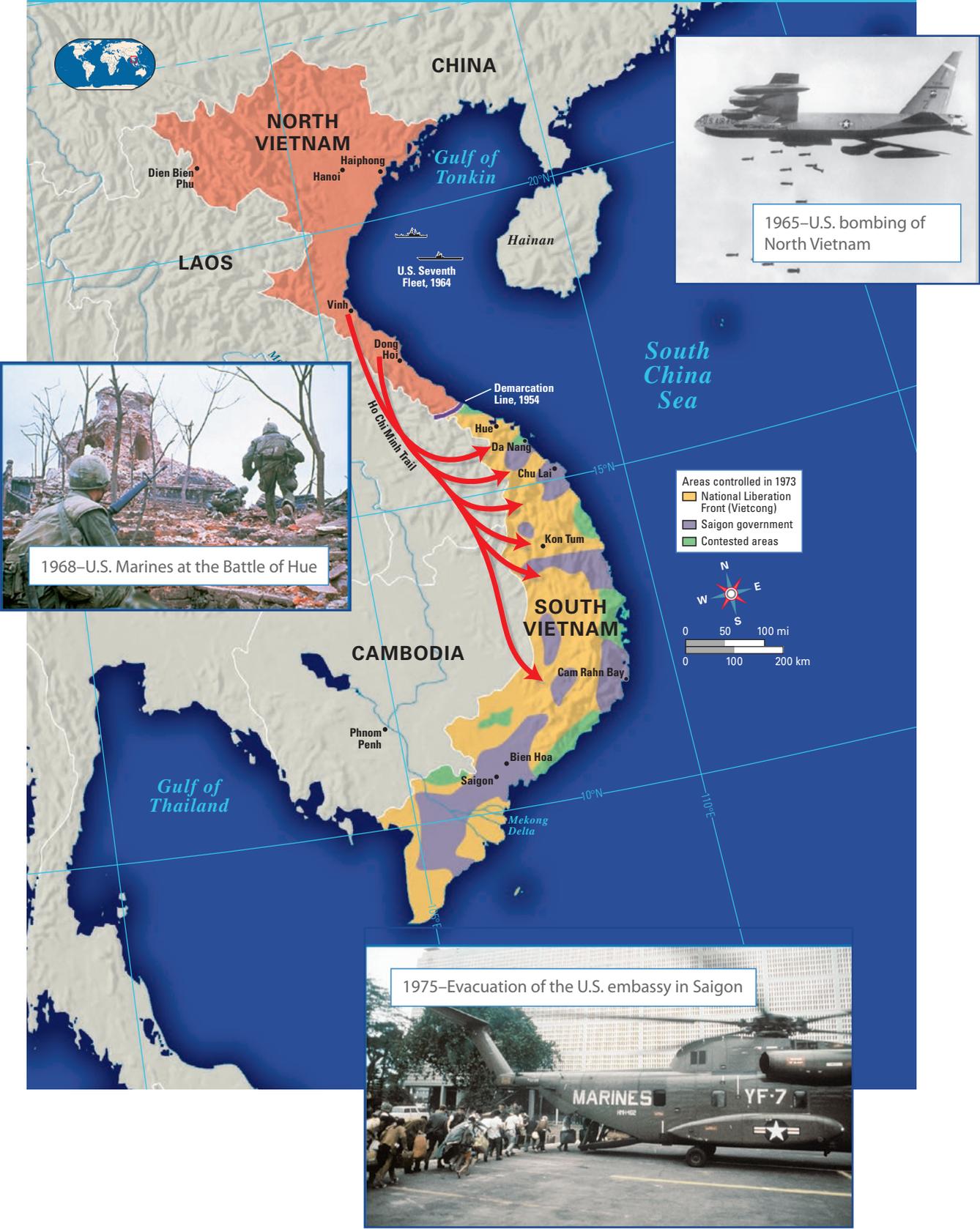
Diem ruled the south as a dictator. Opposition to his government grew. Communist guerrillas, called **Vietcong**, began to gain strength in the south. While some of the Vietcong were trained soldiers from North Vietnam, most were South Vietnamese who hated Diem. Gradually, the Vietcong won control of large areas of the countryside. In 1963, a group of South Vietnamese generals had Diem assassinated. But the new leaders were no more popular than Diem had been. It appeared that a takeover by the Communist Vietcong, backed by North Vietnam, was inevitable.

### Reading Check

#### Make Inferences

What actions might the United States have justified by the domino theory?

# War in Vietnam, 1957–1973



## Ho Chi Minh

(1890–1969)

When he was young, the poor Vietnamese Nguyen Tat Thanh (WEE•un tat thawn) worked as a cook on a French steamship. In visiting U.S. cities where the boat docked, he learned about American culture and ideals. He later took a new name—Ho Chi Minh, meaning “He who enlightens.” In proclaiming Vietnam’s independence from France in 1945, he declared, “All men are created equal,” echoing the words of the American Declaration of Independence.

His people revered him, calling him Uncle Ho. However, Ho Chi Minh did not put his democratic ideals into practice. He ruled North Vietnam by crushing all opposition.



## The United States Gets Involved

Faced with the possibility of a Communist victory, the United States decided to escalate, or increase, its involvement. Some U.S. troops had been serving as advisers to the South Vietnamese since the late 1950s. But their numbers steadily grew, as did the numbers of planes and other military equipment sent to South Vietnam.

**U.S. Troops Enter the Fight** In August 1964, U.S. President Lyndon Johnson told Congress that North Vietnamese patrol boats had attacked two U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. As a result, Congress authorized the president to send U.S. troops to fight in Vietnam. By late 1965, more than 185,000 U.S. soldiers were in combat on Vietnamese soil. U.S. planes had also begun to bomb North Vietnam. By 1968, more than half a million U.S. soldiers were in combat there.

The United States had the best equipped, most advanced army in the world. Yet it faced two major difficulties. First, U.S. soldiers were fighting a guerrilla war in unfamiliar jungle terrain. Second, the South Vietnamese government that they were defending was becoming more unpopular. At the same time, support for the Vietcong grew, with help and supplies from Ho Chi Minh, the Soviet Union, and China. Unable to win a decisive victory on the ground, the United States turned to air power.

The United States began widespread “carpet bombing” of millions of acres of farmland and forests in an attempt to destroy enemy hideouts and deter guerilla attacks. The bombers spread two deadly chemicals, napalm (a jellied oil product) and Agent Orange (a powerful weed killer). Both had terrible side effects. Napalm killed vegetation but also stuck to humans, burning their skin. Agent Orange did clear the jungles but also destroyed cropland and caused sickness in some farm animals. This bombing strengthened peasants’ opposition to the South Vietnamese government and to the American forces inside their country.

### Reading Check

#### Analyze Causes

What were two reasons U.S. troops had trouble fighting the war on Vietnamese soil?

**The United States Withdraws** During the late 1960s, the war grew increasingly unpopular in the United States. Dissatisfied young people began to protest the tremendous loss of life in a conflict on the other side of the world. Bowing to intense public pressure, President Richard Nixon began withdrawing U.S. troops from Vietnam in 1969.

Nixon had a plan called **Vietnamization**. It allowed for U.S. troops to gradually pull out, while the South Vietnamese increased their combat role. To pursue Vietnamization while preserving the South Vietnamese government, Nixon authorized a massive bombing campaign against North Vietnamese bases and supply routes. He also authorized bombings in neighboring Laos and Cambodia to destroy Vietcong hiding places.

In response to protests and political pressure at home, Nixon kept withdrawing U.S. troops. The last left in 1973. Two years later, the North Vietnamese overran South Vietnam. The war ended, but more than 1.5 million Vietnamese and 58,000 Americans had lost their lives.

## Postwar Southeast Asia

War's end did not bring an immediate halt to bloodshed and chaos in Southeast Asia. Cambodia (also known as Kampuchea) was under siege by Communist rebels. During the war, it had suffered U.S. bombing when it was used as a sanctuary by North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops.

**Cambodia in Turmoil** In 1975, Communist rebels known as the **Khmer Rouge** set up a brutal Communist government under the leadership of Pol Pot. In a ruthless attempt to transform Cambodia into a Communist society, Pol Pot's followers carried out mass killings of 2 million people. This was almost one quarter of the nation's population. The Vietnamese invaded in 1978. They overthrew the Khmer Rouge and installed a less repressive government. But fighting continued. The Vietnamese withdrew in 1989. In 1993, under the supervision of UN peacekeepers, Cambodia adopted a democratic constitution and held free elections.

**Vietnam After the War** After 1975, the victorious North Vietnamese imposed tight controls over the South. Officials sent thousands of people to "reeducation camps" for training in Communist thought. They nationalized industries and strictly controlled businesses. They also renamed Saigon, the South's former capital, Ho Chi Minh City. Communist oppression caused 1.5 million people to flee Vietnam. Most escaped in dangerously overcrowded ships. More than 200,000 "boat people" died at sea. The survivors often spent months in refugee



The skulls and bones of Cambodian citizens form a haunting memorial to the brutality of its Communist government in the 1970s.

### Vietnam Today

Vietnam remains a Communist country. But, like China, it has introduced elements of capitalism into its economy. The changes prompted a Western travel magazine in 1997 to claim that Hanoi, the capital of Vietnam, “jumps with vitality, its streets and shops jammed with locals and handfuls of Western tourists and businesspeople.” The photo on the right shows two executives touring the city.

Along Hanoi’s shaded boulevards, billboards advertise U.S. and Japanese motorcycles, copiers, video recorders, and soft drinks. On the streets, enterprising Vietnamese business people offer more traditional services. These include bicycle repair, a haircut, a shave, or a tasty snack.



#### Reading Check

##### Recognize Effects

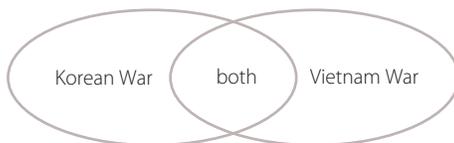
What was one of the effects of Pol Pot’s efforts to turn Cambodia into a Communist peasant society?

camp in Southeast Asia. About 70,000 eventually settled in the United States or Canada. Although Communists still govern Vietnam, the country now welcomes foreign investment. The United States normalized relations with Vietnam in 1995.

While the superpowers were struggling for advantage during the Korean and Vietnam wars, they also were seeking influence in other parts of the world.

### Lesson 3 Assessment

- Organize Information** In what ways were the causes and effects of the wars in Korea and Vietnam similar?



- Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- Make Inferences** When President Truman told General MacArthur, “We are trying to prevent a world war, not start one,” what did he mean?
- Analyze Motives** What role did the policy of containment play in the involvement of the United States in wars in Korea and Vietnam?
- Identify Causes** How might imperialism be one of the causes of the Vietnam War?
- Form Opinions** Do you think U.S. involvement in Vietnam was justified? Why or why not?
- Analyze Motives** Why did the North Vietnamese change the name of Saigon to Ho Chi Minh City?



# The Cold War Divides the World

## The Big Idea

The superpowers supported opposing sides in Latin American and Middle Eastern conflicts.

## Why It Matters Now

Many of these areas today are troubled by political, economic, and military conflict and crisis.

## Key Terms and People

Third World  
nonaligned nations  
Fidel Castro  
Anastasio Somoza  
Daniel Ortega  
Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini

## Setting the Stage

Following World War II, the world's nations were grouped politically into three "worlds." The first was the industrialized capitalist nations, including the United States and its allies. The second was the Communist nations led by the Soviet Union. The **Third World** consisted of developing nations, often newly independent, who were not aligned with either superpower. These nonaligned countries provided yet another arena for competition between the Cold War superpowers.

## Fighting for the Third World

The Third World nations were located in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. They were economically poor and politically unstable. This was largely due to a long history of colonialism. They also suffered from ethnic conflicts and lack of technology and education. Each needed a political and economic system around which to build its society. Soviet-style communism and U.S.-style free-market democracy were the main choices.

**Cold War Strategies** The United States, the Soviet Union, and, in some cases, China, used a variety of techniques to gain influence in the Third World. They backed wars of revolution, liberation, or counterrevolution. The U.S. and Soviet intelligence agencies—the CIA and the KGB—engaged in various covert, or secret, activities, ranging from spying to assassination attempts. The United States also gave military aid, built schools, set up programs to combat poverty, and sent volunteer workers to many developing nations. The Soviets offered military and technical assistance as well as economic aid, mainly to India, Egypt, and newly independent countries in central and southern Africa, such as Congo, Angola, and Mozambique.

**Association of Nonaligned Nations** Other developing nations also needed assistance. They became important



10.9.2; 10.9.3; 10.9.8

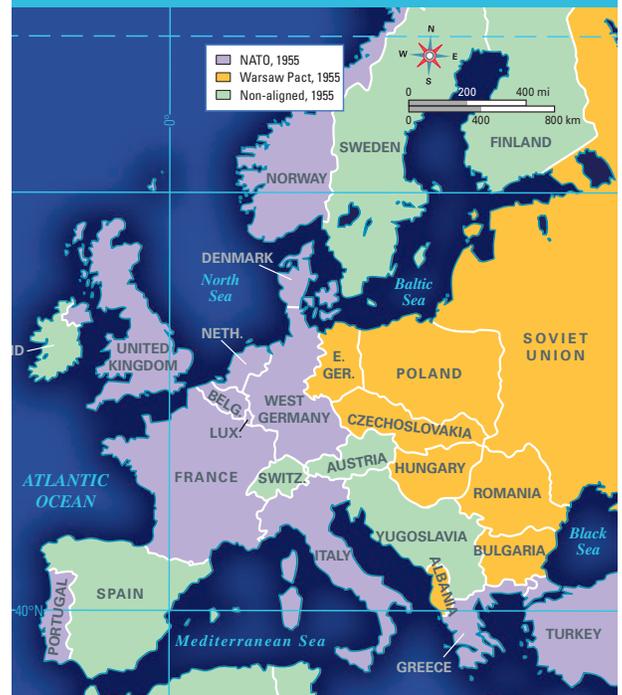
## How the Cold War Was Fought

During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union both believed that they needed to stop the other side from extending its power. What differentiated the Cold War from other 20th-century conflicts was that the two enemies did not engage in a shooting war. Instead, they pursued their rivalry by using the strategies shown below.



Egypt built the Aswan High Dam with Soviet aid.

## European Alignments, 1955



### MAJOR STRATEGIES OF THE COLD WAR

#### FOREIGN AID

The two superpowers tried to win allies by giving financial aid to other nations. For instance, Egypt took aid from the Soviet Union to build the Aswan High Dam.

#### ESPIONAGE

Fearing the enemy might be gaining the advantage, each side spied on the other. One famous incident was the Soviet downing of a U.S. U-2 spy plane in 1960.

#### MULTINATIONAL ALLIANCES

To gain the support of other nations, both the Soviet Union and the United States entered into alliances. Two examples of this were NATO and the Warsaw Pact (shown on map above).

#### PROPAGANDA

Both superpowers used propaganda to try to win support overseas. For example, Radio Free Europe broadcast radio programs about the rest of the world into Eastern Europe.

#### BRINKMANSHIP

The policy of brinkmanship meant going to the brink of war to make the other side back down. One example was the Cuban Missile Crisis.

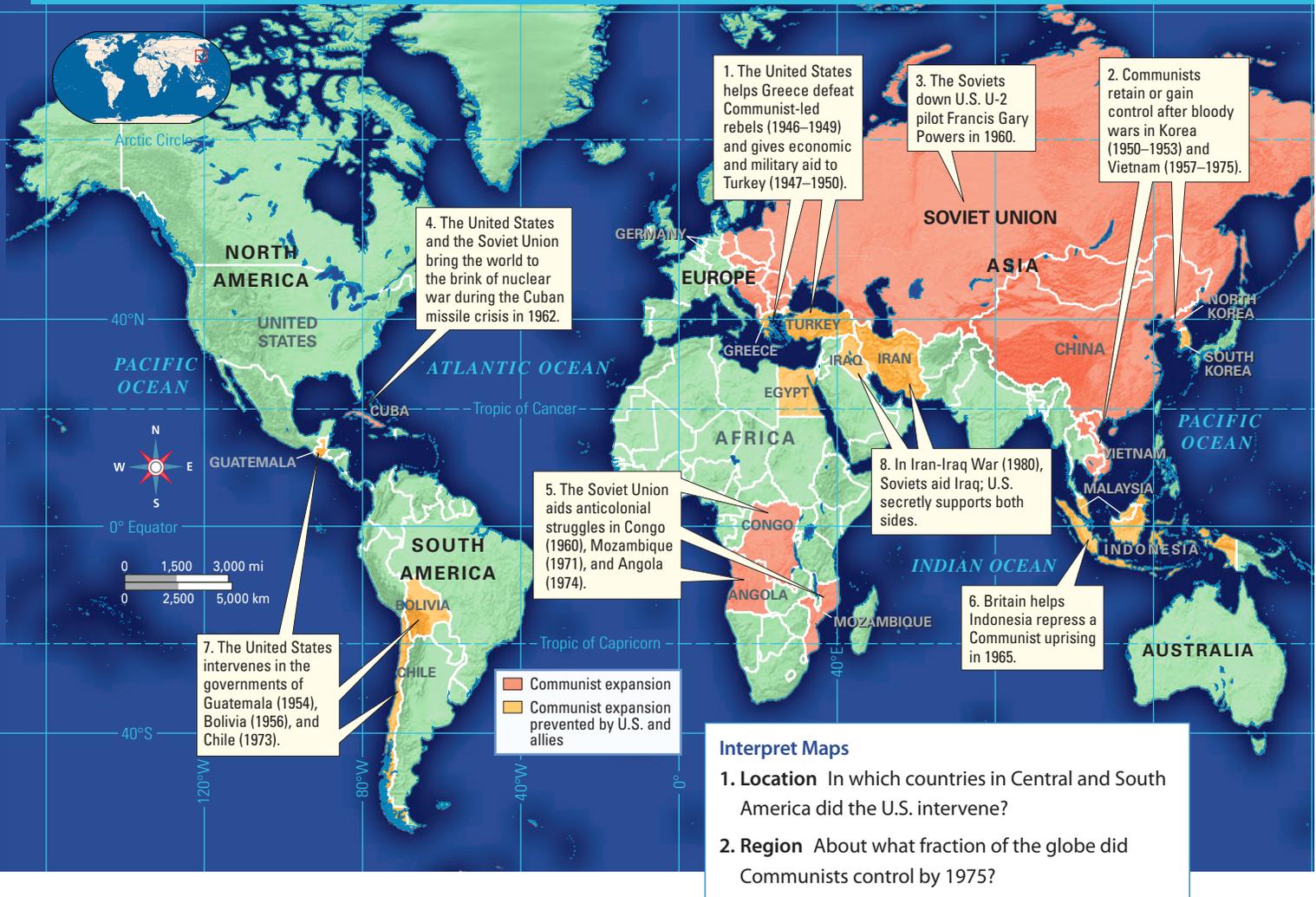
#### SURROGATE OR PROXY WARS

The word *surrogate* means "substitute" and *proxy* means "representing someone else." Although the United States and the Soviet Union did not fight each other directly, they fought indirectly by backing opposing sides in many smaller conflicts.

### Interpret Visuals

- 1. Generalize** Judging from the map, how would you describe the effect on Europe of multinational alliances?
- 2. Analyze Motives** What motive did the two superpowers have for fighting surrogate or proxy wars?

## Cold War Hot Spots, 1948–1980



**Reading Check**  
**Analyze Motives**  
 Why did some nations choose to be nonaligned?

players in the Cold War competition between the United States, the Soviet Union, and later, China. But not all Third World countries wished to play a role in the Cold War. For example, India vowed to remain neutral. Indonesia, a populous island nation in Southeast Asia, also struggled to stay uninvolved. In 1955, it hosted many leaders from Asia and Africa at the Bandung Conference. They met to form what they called a “third force” of independent countries, or **nonaligned nations**. Some nations, such as India and Indonesia, maintained their neutrality. Others took sides with the superpowers or played competing sides against each other. For example, Egypt first accepted Soviet aid to help build the Aswan High Dam and Soviet weapons for its conflicts with Israel. Later, Egypt switched allegiance to the United States following the 1973 Yom Kippur War.

### Confrontations in Latin America

After World War II, rapid industrialization, population growth, and a lingering gap between the rich and the poor led Latin American nations to seek aid from both superpowers. At the same time, many of these countries alternated between short-lived democracy and harsh military rule. U.S. involvement in Latin America began long before World War II.

American businesses backed leaders who protected U.S. interests but who also often oppressed their people. After the war, communism and nationalistic feelings inspired revolutionary movements. These found enthusiastic Soviet support. In response, the United States provided military and economic assistance to anti-Communist dictators.

**Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution** In the 1950s, Cuba was ruled by an unpopular dictator, Fulgencio Batista, who had U.S. support. Cuban resentment led to a popular revolution, which overthrew Batista in January 1959. A young lawyer named **Fidel Castro** led that revolution. At first, many people praised Castro for bringing social reforms to Cuba and improving the economy. Yet Castro was a harsh dictator. He suspended elections, jailed or executed his opponents, and tightly controlled the press.

Castro nationalized U.S.-owned sugar mills and refineries. In response, President Eisenhower ordered an embargo on all trade with Cuba. Castro then turned to the Soviets for economic and military aid.

In 1960, the CIA began to train anti-Castro Cuban exiles. In April 1961, they invaded, landing in southwestern Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. However, the United States did not provide the hoped-for air support. Castro's forces easily defeated the invaders, humiliating the United States.

**Nuclear Face-off: The Cuban Missile Crisis** The failed Bay of Pigs invasion convinced Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev that the United States would not resist Soviet expansion in Latin America. So, in July 1962, Khrushchev secretly began to build 42 missile sites in Cuba. In October, an American spy plane discovered the sites. President John F. Kennedy declared that missiles so close to the U.S. mainland were a threat. He demanded their removal and also announced a naval blockade of Cuba. Kennedy explained his actions to the American people and the rest of the world in a televised address:

*“Our policy has been one of patience and restraint, as befits a peaceful and powerful nation which leads a worldwide alliance. We have been determined not to be diverted from our central concerns by mere irritants and fanatics. But now further action is required, and it is under way; and these actions may only be the beginning. We will not prematurely or unnecessarily risk the costs of worldwide nuclear war in which even the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouth; but neither will we shrink from that risk at any time it must be faced.”*

—John F. Kennedy, October 22, 1962

Castro protested that his country was being used as a pawn and that he did not intend for Cuba to get involved in the Cold War. But Castro and Cuba were deeply involved. Kennedy's demand for the removal of Soviet missiles put the United States and the Soviet Union on a collision course. People around the world feared nuclear war. Fortunately, Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles in return for a U.S. promise not to invade Cuba.

## Fidel Castro

(1926–2016)

The son of a wealthy Spanish-Cuban farmer, Fidel Castro became involved in politics at the University of Havana. He first tried to overthrow the Cuban dictator, Batista, in 1953. He was imprisoned but made this vow to continue the struggle for independence:

*“Personally, I am not interested in power, nor do I envisage assuming it at any time. All that I will do is to make sure that the sacrifices of so many compatriots should not be in vain.”*

Despite this declaration, Castro ruled Cuba as a dictator for nearly 50 years. In 2008, his younger brother, Raúl Castro, succeeded him as president.



The resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis left Castro completely dependent on Soviet support. In exchange for this support, Castro backed Communist revolutions in Latin America and Africa. Soviet aid to Cuba, however, ended abruptly with the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. This loss dealt a crippling blow to the Cuban economy. Eventually, Castro loosened state control of Cuba’s economy and sought better relations with other countries.



**Civil War in Nicaragua** Just as the United States had supported Batista in Cuba, it had also funded the Nicaraguan dictatorship of **Anastasio Somoza** and his family since 1933. In 1979, Communist Sandinista rebels toppled Somoza’s son. Both the United States and the Soviet Union initially gave aid to the Sandinistas and their leader, **Daniel Ortega** (awr•TAY•guh). The Sandinistas, however, gave assistance to other

Marxist rebels in nearby El Salvador. To help the El Salvadoran government fight those rebels, the United States supported Nicaraguan anti-Communist forces called the Contras or *contrarevolucionarios*.

The civil war in Nicaragua lasted more than a decade and seriously weakened the country’s economy. In 1990, President Ortega agreed to hold free elections, the first in the nation’s history. Violeta Chamorro, a reform candidate, defeated him. The Sandinistas also lost elections in 1996 and 2001. However, Ortega won the election once again in 2006 and returned to power.

**Reading Check**  
Analyze Motives  
Why did the U.S.  
switch its support  
from the Sandinistas  
to the Contras in  
Nicaragua?

**Coup in Guatemala** In 1950, the people of Guatemala elected a new president, Jacobo Arbenz, who promised economic reforms. When Arbenz began a land reform program and nationalized foreign industries in his country, the United States became concerned that his government might turn Communist. President Eisenhower and CIA director Allen Dulles devised a two-part strategy to overthrow Arbenz. First, the CIA began a propaganda campaign that turned the people and the army against their leader. Then, in June 1954, a group of CIA-backed troops led a rebellion and forced Arbenz to flee the country. The U.S.-chosen leader of the military coup, Carlos Castillo Armas, assumed control of the government and promoted American interests in Guatemala.

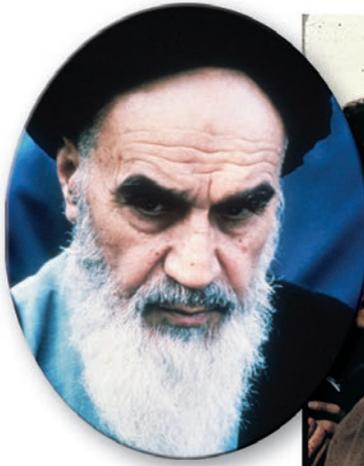
## Confrontations in the Middle East

As the map on page 1146 shows, Cold War confrontations continued to erupt around the globe. The oil-rich Middle East attracted both superpowers.

**Religious and Secular Values Clash in Iran** Throughout the Middle East, oil industry wealth fueled a growing clash between traditional Islamic values and modern Western materialism. In no country was this cultural conflict more dramatically shown than in Iran (Persia before 1935). After World War II, Iran's leader, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi (PAH•luh•vee), embraced Western governments and wealthy Western oil companies. Iranian nationalists resented these foreign alliances and united under Prime Minister Muhammed Mossadeq (moh•sah•DEHK). They nationalized a British-owned oil company and, in 1953, forced the shah to flee. Fearing Iran might turn to the Soviets for support, the United States helped restore the shah to power.

**The United States Supports Secular Rule** With U.S. support, the shah westernized his country. By the end of the 1950s, Iran's capital, Tehran, featured gleaming skyscrapers, foreign banks, and modern factories. Millions of Iranians, however, still lived in extreme poverty. The shah tried to weaken the political influence of Iran's conservative Muslim leaders, known as ayatollahs (eye•uh•TOH•luhz), who opposed Western influences. The leader of this religious opposition, **Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini** (koh•MAY•nee), was living in exile. Spurred by his tape-recorded messages, Iranians rioted in every major city in late 1978. Faced with overwhelming opposition, the shah fled Iran in 1979. A triumphant Khomeini returned to establish an Islamic state and to export Iran's militant form of Islam.

**Khomeini's Anti-U.S. Policies** Strict adherence to Islam was at the core of Khomeini's domestic policies. But hatred of the United States, because of U.S. support for the shah, was at the heart of his foreign policy. In 1979, with the ayatollah's blessing, young Islamic revolutionaries seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran. They took more than 60 Americans hostage and demanded the United States force the shah to face trial. Most hostages remained prisoners for 444 days before being released in January 1981.



Ayatollah Khomeini (inset) supported the taking of U.S. hostages by Islamic militants in Tehran in 1979.

Khomeini encouraged Muslim radicals elsewhere to overthrow their secular governments. Intended to unify Muslims, this policy heightened tensions between Iran and its neighbor and territorial rival, Iraq. A military leader, Saddam Hussein (hoo•SAYN), governed Iraq as a secular state.



War broke out between Iran and Iraq in 1980. The United States secretly gave aid to both sides because it did not want the balance of power in the region to change. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, had long been a supporter of Iraq. A million Iranians and Iraqis died in the war before the United Nations negotiated a ceasefire in 1988.

**The Superpowers Face Off in Afghanistan** For several years following World War II, Afghanistan maintained its independence from both the neighboring Soviet Union and from the United States. In the 1950s, however, Soviet influence in the country began to increase. In the late 1970s, a Muslim revolt threatened to topple Afghanistan's Communist regime. This revolt led to a Soviet invasion in 1979.

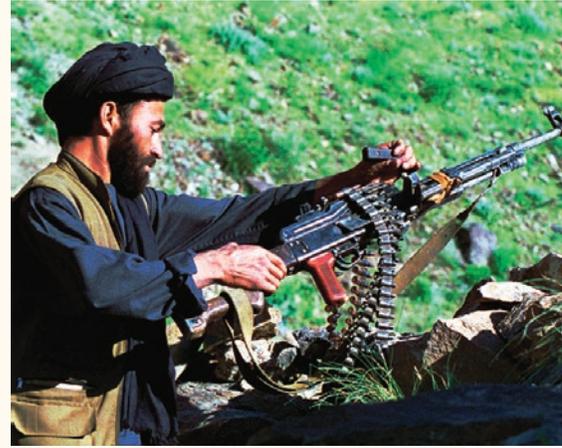
The Soviets expected to prop up the Afghan Communists and quickly withdraw. Instead, just like the United States in Vietnam, the Soviets found themselves stuck. And like the Vietcong in Vietnam, rebel forces outmaneuvered a military superpower. Supplied with American weapons, the Afghan rebels, called *mujahideen*, or holy warriors, fought on.

## Now and Then

### The Taliban

Islamic religious students, or taliban, were among the *mujahideen* rebels who fought the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Various groups of students loosely organized themselves during a civil war among *mujahideen* factions that followed the Soviet withdrawal in 1989.

In 1996, one of these groups, called the Taliban, seized power and established an Islamic government. They imposed a repressive rule especially harsh on women and failed to improve people's lives. They also gave sanctuary to international Islamic terrorists. In 2001, an antiterrorist coalition led by the United States drove them from power. However, they have regrouped and have been fighting NATO forces in Afghanistan since 2006.



### Reading Check

**Contrast** Which leader in Iran pushed for modernization? Which wanted to establish a more traditional culture? How did this lead to tensions within the country?

The United States had armed the rebels because they considered the Soviet invasion a threat to Middle Eastern oil supplies. President Jimmy Carter warned the Soviets against any attempt to gain control of the Persian Gulf. To protest the invasion, he stopped U.S. grain shipments to the Soviet Union and ordered a U.S. boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics. In the 1980s, a new Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachev, acknowledged the war's devastating costs. He withdrew all Soviet troops by 1989. By then, internal unrest and economic problems were tearing apart the Soviet Union itself.

## Lesson 4 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** Which confrontation had the most lasting significance?

Country	Conflict
Cuba	
Nicaragua	
Iran	

2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
3. **Draw Conclusions** What reasons might have prompted Daniel Ortega to permit free elections in Nicaragua in 1990?
4. **Analyze Causes** What differences between the leaders of Iran and Iraq led to war in 1980?
5. **Make Inferences** What advantages and disadvantages might being nonaligned have offered a developing nation during the Cold War?
6. **Compare** What similarities do you see among U.S. actions in Nicaragua, Cuba, and Iran?
7. **Analyze Causes** What were the reasons that Islamic fundamentalists took control of Iran?



# The Cold War Thaws

## The Big Idea

The Cold War began to thaw as the superpowers entered an era of uneasy diplomacy.

## Why It Matters Now

The United States and the countries of the former Soviet Union continue to cooperate and maintain a cautious peace.

## Key Terms and People

Nikita Khrushchev  
Leonid Brezhnev  
John F. Kennedy  
Lyndon Johnson  
détente  
Richard M. Nixon  
SALT  
Ronald Reagan  
Margaret Thatcher

## Setting the Stage

In the postwar years, the Soviet Union kept a firm grip on its satellite countries in Eastern Europe. These countries were Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, and East Germany. (Yugoslavia had broken away from Soviet control in 1948, although it remained Communist.) The Soviet Union did not allow them to direct and develop their own economies. Instead, it insisted that they develop industries to meet Soviet needs. These policies greatly hampered Eastern Europe's economic recovery.

## Soviet Policy in Eastern Europe and China

More moderate Soviet leaders came to power after Stalin's death in 1953. They allowed satellite countries somewhat more independence, as long as they remained allied with the Soviet Union. During the 1950s and 1960s, however, growing protest movements in countries such as Poland (in 1952), Hungary (in 1956), and Czechoslovakia (in 1968) threatened the Soviet grip on the region. The Soviets clamped down hard on these protests. In addition, increasing tensions with China also diverted Soviet attention and forces.

**Destalinization and Rumblings of Protest** After Stalin died, **Nikita Khrushchev** became the dominant Soviet leader. In 1956, the shrewd, tough Khrushchev denounced Stalin for jailing and killing loyal Soviet citizens. His speech signaled the start of a policy called *destalinization*, or purging the country of Stalin's memory. Workers destroyed monuments to the former dictator. Khrushchev called for "peaceful competition" with capitalist states.

But this new Soviet outlook did not change life in the satellite countries. Their resentment at times turned to active protest. In October 1956, for example, the Hungarian army



10.9.3; 10.9.4; 10.9.5; 10.9.8

joined protesters in an attempt to overthrow Hungary's Soviet-controlled government. Storming through the capital, Budapest, mobs waved Hungarian flags with the Communist hammer-and-sickle emblem cut out. "From the youngest child to the oldest man," one protester declared, "no one wants communism."

A popular and liberal Hungarian Communist leader named Imre Nagy (IHM•ray-nahj) formed a new government. Nagy promised free elections and demanded Soviet troops leave. In response, Soviet tanks and infantry entered Budapest in November. Thousands of Hungarian freedom fighters armed themselves with pistols and bottles but were overwhelmed. A pro-Soviet government was installed, and Nagy was eventually executed.

**The Revolt in Czechoslovakia** Despite the show of force in Hungary, Khrushchev lost prestige in his country as a result of the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. In 1964, party leaders voted to remove him from power. His replacement, **Leonid Brezhnev**, quickly adopted repressive domestic

## BIOGRAPHY



*Imre Nagy*  
(1896–1958)

Imre Nagy was born into a peasant family in Hungary. During World War I, he was captured by the Soviets and recruited into their army. He then became a Communist.

Nagy held several posts in his country's Communist government, but his loyalty remained with the peasants. Because of his independent approach, he fell in and out of favor with the Soviet Union. In October 1956, he led an anti-Soviet revolt. After the Soviets forcefully put down the uprising, they tried and executed Nagy.

In 1989, after Communists lost control of Hungary's government, Nagy was reburied with official honors.



Czech demonstrators fight Soviet tanks in 1968.



*Alexander Dubček*  
(1921–1992)

Alexander Dubček was the son of a Czech Communist Party member. He moved rapidly up through its ranks, becoming party leader in 1968.

Responding to the spirit of change in the 1960s, Dubček instituted broad reforms during the so-called Prague Spring of 1968. The Soviet Union reacted by sending tanks into Prague to suppress a feared

revolt. The Soviets expelled Dubček from the party. He regained political prominence in 1989, when the Communists agreed to share power in a coalition government. When Czechoslovakia split into two nations in 1992, Dubček became head of the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia.

policies. The party enforced laws to limit such basic human rights as freedom of speech and worship. Government censors controlled what writers could publish. Brezhnev clamped down on those who dared to protest his policies. For example, the secret police arrested many dissidents, including Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, winner of the 1970 Nobel Prize for literature. They then expelled him from the Soviet Union.

Brezhnev made clear that he would not tolerate dissent in Eastern Europe either. His policy was put to the test in early 1968. At that time, Czech Communist leader Alexander Dubček (DOOB•chehk) loosened controls on censorship to offer his country socialism with “a human face.” This period of reform, when Czechoslovakia’s capital bloomed with new ideas, became known as Prague Spring. However, it did not survive the summer. On August 20, armed forces from the Warsaw Pact nations invaded Czechoslovakia. Brezhnev justified this invasion by claiming the Soviet Union had the right to prevent its satellites from rejecting communism, a policy known as the Brezhnev Doctrine.

**The Soviet-Chinese Split** While many satellite countries resisted Communist rule, China was committed to communism. In fact, to cement the ties between Communist powers, Mao and Stalin had signed a 30-year treaty of friendship in 1950. Their spirit of cooperation, however, ran out before the treaty did.

The Soviets assumed the Chinese would follow Soviet leadership in world affairs. As the Chinese grew more confident, however, they resented being in Moscow’s shadow. They began to spread their own brand of communism in Africa and other parts of Asia. In 1959, Khrushchev punished the Chinese by refusing to share nuclear secrets. The following year, the Soviets ended technical economic aid. The Soviet-Chinese split grew so wide that fighting broke out along their common border. After repeated incidents, the two neighbors maintained a fragile peace.

## From Brinkmanship to Détente

In the 1970s, the United States and the Soviet Union finally backed away from the aggressive policies of brinkmanship that they had followed during the early postwar years. The superpowers slowly moved to lower tensions.

**Brinkmanship Breaks Down** The brinkmanship policy followed during the presidencies of Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson led to one terrifying crisis after another. Though these crises erupted all over the world, they were united by a common fear. Nuclear war seemed possible. It was never certain, however, whether the possibility of nuclear attack was a real threat or was being used as a means to deter the other side from attacking.

In 1960, the U-2 incident prevented a meeting between the United States and the Soviet Union to discuss the buildup of arms on both sides. Then, during the administration of **John F. Kennedy** in 1962, the Cuban Missile Crisis made the superpowers’ use of nuclear weapons a real

### Reading Check

#### Analyze Issues

Why was Nikita Khrushchev removed from power in 1964?

possibility. The crisis ended when Soviet ships turned back to avoid a confrontation at sea. “We’re eyeball to eyeball,” the relieved U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, said, “and I think the other fellow just blinked.” Luckily, the United States and the world had avoided the potential for a major war that Kennedy’s CIA Director John McCone predicted might occur:

*“Consequences of action by the United States will be the inevitable ‘spilling of blood’ of Soviet military personnel. This will increase tension everywhere and undoubtedly bring retaliation against U.S. foreign military installations, where substantial U.S. casualties would result. . . .”*

—John McCone, CIA director, in memo to President Kennedy

Tensions remained high. After the assassination of Kennedy in 1963, **Lyndon Johnson** assumed the presidency. Committed to stopping the spread of communism, President Johnson escalated U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam.

**The United States Turns to Détente** Widespread popular protests wracked the United States during the Vietnam War. And the turmoil did not end with U.S. withdrawal. As it tried to heal its internal wounds, the United States backed away from its policy of direct confrontation with the Soviet Union. **Détente**, a policy of lessening Cold War tensions, replaced brinkmanship under **Richard M. Nixon**.

President Nixon’s move toward détente grew out of a philosophy known as *realpolitik*. This term comes from the German word meaning “realistic politics.” In practice, *realpolitik* meant dealing with other nations in a practical and flexible manner. While the United States continued to try

to contain the spread of communism, the two superpowers agreed to pursue détente and to reduce tensions.

**Nixon and Brezhnev Sign SALT and ABM Treaties** Nixon’s new policy represented a personal reversal as well as a political shift for the country. His rise in politics in the 1950s was largely due to his strong anti-Communist position. Twenty years later, he became the first U.S. president to visit Communist China. The visit made sense in a world in which three, not just two, superpowers eyed each other suspiciously. “We want the Chinese with us when we sit down and negotiate with the Russians,” Nixon explained.

Three months after visiting Beijing in February 1972, Nixon visited the Soviet Union. After a series of meetings called the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (**SALT**), Nixon and

**Vocabulary**  
détente a French word meaning “a loosening”



U.S. President Nixon visits China in 1972, accompanied by Chinese premier Zhou Enlai (left).

Brezhnev signed the SALT I Treaty. This five-year agreement limited to 1972 levels the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched missiles each country could have. The two sides also negotiated a treaty regulating the number of antiballistic missiles (ABMs) each country could maintain. ABMs could be used to destroy incoming ICBMs. The idea behind the ABM treaty was that with only a limited number of missiles, each country could protect only part of its territory. This would keep both sides fearful of each other and thus serve as a deterrent to nuclear war. In 1975, 33 nations joined the United States and the Soviet Union in signing a commitment to détente and cooperation, the Helsinki Accords.

## The Collapse of Détente

Under Presidents Nixon and Gerald Ford, the United States improved relations with China and the Soviet Union. In the late 1970s, however, President Jimmy Carter was concerned over harsh treatment of protesters in the Soviet Union. This threatened to prevent a second round of SALT negotiations. In 1979, Carter and Brezhnev finally signed the SALT II agreement. When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan later that year, however, the U.S. Congress refused to ratify SALT II. Concerns mounted as more nations, including China and India, began building nuclear arsenals.



Ronald Reagan's 1980 political button highlights the strong patriotic theme of his campaign.

**Reagan Takes an Anti-Communist Stance** A fiercely anti-Communist U.S. president, **Ronald Reagan**, took office in 1981. His election was a high point in a new period in American politics known as the New Conservative or New Right era. The New Conservatives were opposed not only to communism but also to a variety of social and economic issues ranging from abortion to affirmative action (special treatment for minority members and women) to any increases in taxes.

Under Reagan, the United States continued to move away from détente. Reagan increased defense spending, putting both economic and military pressure on the Soviets. In 1983, Reagan also announced the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), a program to protect against enemy missiles. It was not put into effect but remained a symbol of U.S. anti-Communist sentiment. British prime minister **Margaret Thatcher**, who served as England's leader from 1979 to 1990, supported Reagan's policy. Her anti-Communist stance was so strong that Soviet reporters nicknamed her the "Iron Lady." Soon people in Great Britain also began using the nickname for their strong-willed leader.

Tensions increased as U.S. activities such as arming Nicaragua's Contras pushed the United States and Soviet Union further from détente. However, a change in Soviet leadership in 1985 brought a new policy toward the United States, economic and political changes in the Soviet Union, and

### Reading Check

**Contrast** In what ways did Nixon's and Reagan's policies toward the Soviet Union differ?

the beginnings of a final thaw in the Cold War. This new policy, known as *perestroika* [pehr•ih•STROY•kuh], a Russian word meaning “restructuring,” led to a reduction of the power of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union and an expansion of economic opportunities for private businesses there. The country even allowed Soviet republics to establish their own congresses and hold elections with a choice of candidates. Within a few years the Soviet Union would disband, and the Cold War would end. Meanwhile, developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America continued their own struggles for independence.

## Lesson 5 Assessment

- 1. Organize Information** What do you consider the most significant reason for the collapse of détente?  

I. Soviet Policy in Eastern Europe and China  
A.  
B.

II. From Brinkmanship to Detente
- 2. Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- 3. Draw Conclusions** Why did protests of Soviet satellite countries probably begin after Stalin's death and not before?
- 4. Analyze Motives** Why was the policy of brinkmanship replaced?
- 5. Develop Historical Perspective** In view of Soviet policies toward Eastern Europe in the postwar era, what reasons did people in Eastern Europe have for resistance?
- 6. Evaluate Decisions** Do you think it was a wise political move for President Nixon to visit Communist China and the Soviet Union? Why or why not?
- 7. Recognize Effects** What was the result of Reagan's move away from détente?

# Module 15 Assessment

## Key Terms and People

For each term or name below, briefly explain its connection to the restructuring of the postwar world since 1945.

1. containment
2. Cold War
3. Mao Zedong
4. Cultural Revolution
5. 38th parallel
6. Vietnamization
7. Fidel Castro
8. Nikita Khrushchev
9. détente
10. SALT

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## Main Ideas

Use your notes and the information in the module to answer the following questions.

### Cold War: Superpowers Face Off

1. What problems did the Americans and British have to overcome to carry out the Berlin Airlift?
2. Why did some Americans oppose the Truman Doctrine?
3. How did the Soviet Union respond to the U.S. policy of brinkmanship?

### Communists Take Power in China

4. Whom did the superpowers support in the Chinese civil war?
5. What were the results of Mao Zedong's Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution?

### Wars in Korea and Vietnam

6. What effects did the Korean War have on Korea's land and its people?
7. What difficulties did the U.S. Army face fighting the war inside Vietnam?
8. What happened in Cambodia during and after the Vietnam War?

### The Cold War Divides the World

9. Why did developing nations often align themselves with one of the two superpowers?
10. How did the Soviet Union respond to the Bay of Pigs invasion?
11. Why did the Ayatollah Khomeini have strong feelings against the United States government?

### The Cold War Thaws

12. In what ways did Soviet actions hamper Eastern Europe's economic recovery after World War II?
13. What policies characterized realpolitik?
14. Which leaders were in office in the U.S. and Great Britain when détente collapsed in the 1980s?

# Module 15 Assessment, continued

## Critical Thinking

1. **Compare** In what ways were the United States and the Soviet Union more similar than different?
2. **Hypothesize** How might the Cold War have proceeded differently if the United States had been economically and physically damaged in World War II?
3. **Draw Conclusions** Which two Cold War events do you think had the greatest impact on the U.S. decision to pursue détente?
4. **Make Inferences** Why do you think the United States and the Soviet Union chose cooperation in space after years of competition?
5. **Compare and Interpret Maps** Find a map that shows the borders of present-day European countries. Compare the map to the one in Lesson 1 showing borders of countries following World War II. Which countries' borders have changed significantly? In which regions do countries appear on the present-day map that did not exist in the late 1940s?

## Engage with History

In Lesson 1, you saw a 1948 political cartoon predicting the negative impact of the Iron Curtain on Czechoslovakia. Then, in Lesson 5, you saw a visual image of Soviet repression of Czech protesters in 1968, 20 years later. Now that you have read the module, consider how people in countries in Europe and the rest of the world were impacted by the spread of communism during the Cold War.

Consider the following questions:

- Which countries were taken over by Communists against their people's wills?
- Which countries turned to Communist leaders to replace dictators or unpopular leaders?
- Which countries were divided as a result of Communist intervention?
- Which countries eventually chose to break from Communist control or influence?

Discuss these questions with a small group.

## Focus on Writing

Study the information in the infographic on page 587 describing how the Cold War was fought. Write a two-page persuasive essay on which strategy was the most successful for the United States and which was the most successful for the Soviet Union. Consider the following:

- who received foreign aid
- whether propaganda was successful
- how strong the military alliances were
- what was gained in surrogate wars

## Multimedia Activity

### Create an Interactive Timeline

In October 1962, President John F. Kennedy and his advisers had to defuse a potentially devastating nuclear standoff with the Soviet Union. Using books, the Internet, and other resources, create an interactive timeline of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Use graphics software to add maps and photographs. In addition to noting key dates, use the timeline to address some of the following:

- Who were members of Kennedy's inner circle during the crisis?
- What did Kennedy say about the events in his first public address to the nation?
- How did Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev approach the crisis in Cuba?
- Which details did Americans learn only after the crisis had been resolved?

## OCTOBER FURY: THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS



**The Cuban missile crisis was perhaps the most dangerous event of the Cold War period.** For several days in October 1962, the United States and the Soviet Union stood on the brink of nuclear war. The crisis began when the Soviet Union sent weapons, including nuclear missiles, to Cuba. It deepened when the United States blockaded Cuba to prevent the Soviets from delivering more missiles. With Soviet ships sailing toward the

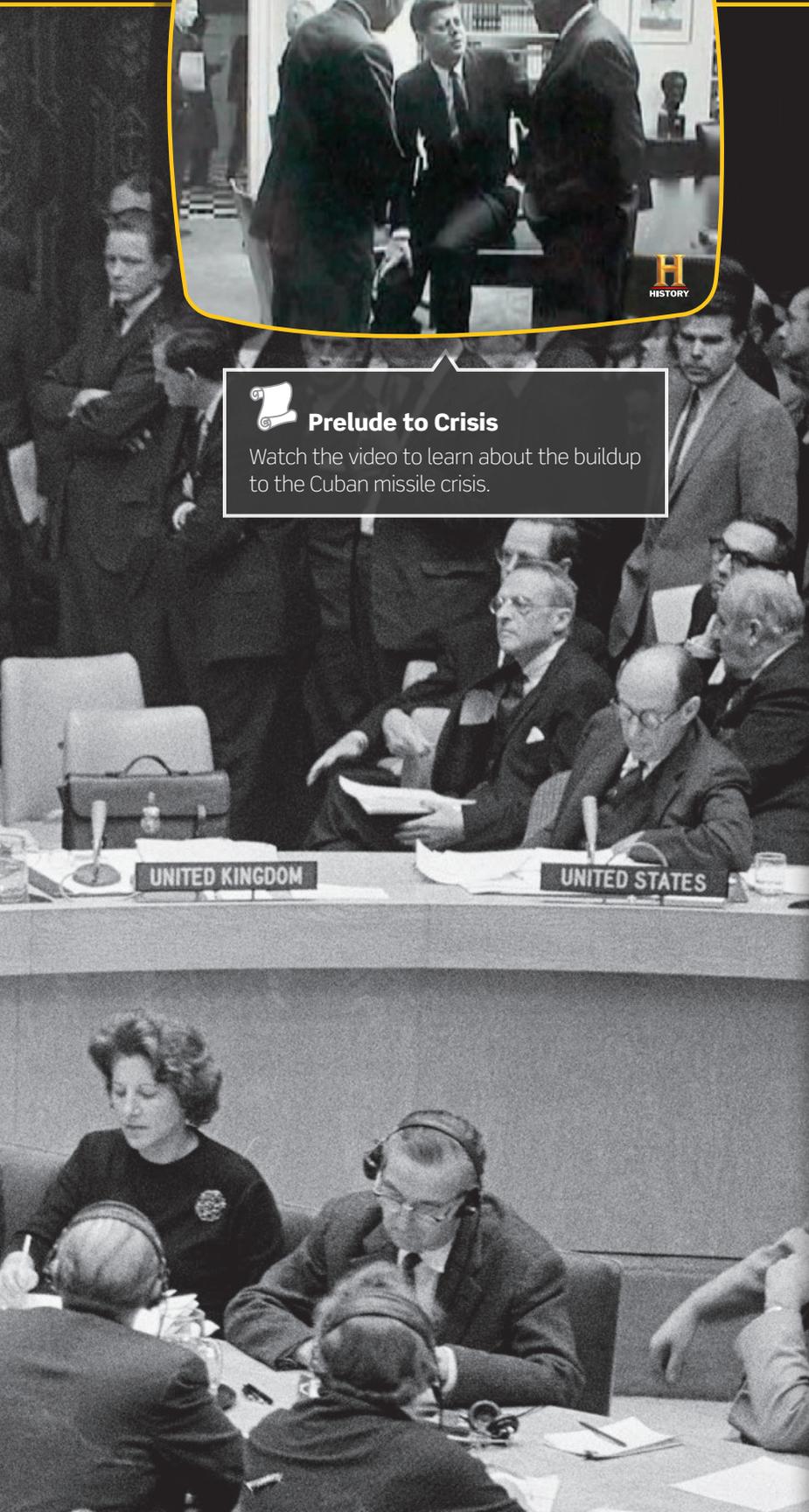
blockade, a confrontation seemed inevitable. However, at the last moment, the Soviet ships turned back and war was averted.

Explore the development and resolution of the Cuban missile crisis online. You can find a wealth of information, video clips, primary sources, activities, and more through your online textbook.



### Prelude to Crisis

Watch the video to learn about the buildup to the Cuban missile crisis.



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### Getting Ready for War

Watch the video to see how the missiles in Cuba created tension between the United States and the Soviet Union.



### Crisis Averted?

Watch the video to see how the Cuban missile crisis brought the United States and the Soviet Union to the brink of nuclear war.



### Lessons Learned

Watch the video to learn about the impact of the Cuban missile crisis.

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