

UNIT  
**5**

*Perspectives  
on the Present  
1945–present*





**Black South Africans wait to vote during the nation's first "all-races" election in April 1994. While the present era has been one of struggle and strife, it also has produced events that show people's continuing desire to achieve democracy and justice.**

## Time Line

**CHAPTER 17 1945–PRESENT**

**Restructuring the Postwar World**

1945	1955	1965	1975
<p><b>1945 Yalta</b> Allied leaders meet to plan postwar world</p> <p><b>1946 Soviet Union, U.S.</b> Cold War begins</p> <p><b>1946 China</b> Civil war between Nationalists and Communists resumes</p> <p><b>1950–53 Korea</b> Korean War between North and South Korea</p> <p><b>1953 Iran</b> U.S. restores ousted shah to power</p>	<p><b>1958 China</b> Mao Zedong begins Great Leap Forward</p> <p><b>1959 Cuba</b> Fidel Castro overthrows Batista</p> <p><b>1960 Soviet Union</b> Soviets catch U.S. spy plane in U-2 incident</p> <p><b>1961 Cuba</b> Castro routs U.S.-supported invasion of Bay of Pigs</p>	<p><b>1965 Vietnam</b> U.S. sends troops to Vietnam</p> <p><b>1966 China</b> Red Guards begin Cultural Revolution in China</p> <p><b>1969 Vietnam</b> Nixon begins withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam</p>	

**CHAPTER 18 1945–PRESENT**

**The Colonies Become New Nations**

<p><b>1946 Philippines</b> Philippines gains independence from U.S.</p> <p><b>1947 India</b> Independent India becomes partitioned into India and Pakistan</p> <p><b>1948 Middle East</b> Israel becomes a nation</p> <p><b>1948 India</b> Gandhi is assassinated</p>	<p><b>1957 Ghana</b> Ghana achieves independence from Great Britain</p> <p><b>1962 Algeria</b> Algeria achieves independence from France</p> <p><b>1964 Kenya</b> Jomo Kenyatta becomes president</p>	<p><b>1965 Malaysia</b> Singapore becomes independent</p> <p><b>1967 Indonesia</b> Suharto becomes president</p> <p><b>1971 East Pakistan</b> East Pakistan becomes independent Bangladesh</p> <p><b>1973 Middle East</b> Arab forces attack Israel in the Yom Kippur War</p>	
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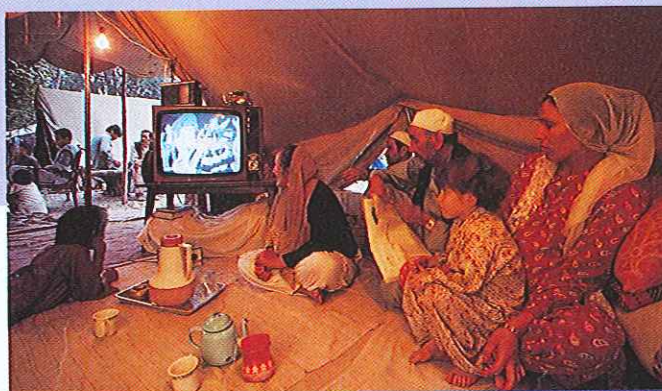
**CHAPTER 19 1945–PRESENT**

**Struggles for Democracy**

<p><b>1946 Argentina</b> Juan Perón is elected president and becomes a dictator</p> <p><b>1948 South Africa</b> National Party sets up apartheid</p>	<p><b>1960 South Africa</b> Police kill 69 demonstrators in Sharpeville Massacre</p> <p><b>1964 Brazil</b> A military government seizes power</p>	<p><b>1966 China</b> Mao Zedong launches Cultural Revolution</p> <p><b>1967 Nigeria</b> Biafra secedes and civil war erupts</p>	
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**CHAPTER 20 1960–PRESENT**

**Global Interdependence**



◀ 1990s Afghanistan

## Living History Unit 5 Portfolio Project

1975 1985 1995 present

**1979 Iran** Shah flees Iran; Muslims take over government

**1979 Nicaragua** U.S. and Soviets support Marxist rebels

**1979 Afghanistan** Soviets invade Afghanistan

**1981 Iran** Islamic revolutionaries free U.S. hostages



1950s China

### THEME Economics

Your portfolio for Unit 5 will show the economic changes within and among nations from World War II to the present. You will trace the growing global interdependence of the economies of all nations of the world.

### Living History Project Choices

Each Chapter Assessment offers you choices of ways to show how the economies of the nations grew or shrank and became tied to the economies of others. Activities include the following:

- Chapter 17** newscast, poster, skit
- Chapter 18** list, chart, magazine article
- Chapter 19** action list, poster, interview
- Chapter 20** poem or song, map graph or chart

**1979 Middle East**  
Camp David Accords signed by Egypt's Sadat and Israel's Begin ends war between Egypt and Israel

**1981 Egypt**  
Anwar Sadat is assassinated

**1984 India**  
Indira Gandhi is assassinated

**1987 Middle East**  
Palestinians begin intifada

**1993 Israel**  
Israel grants Palestinians self-rule in Gaza Strip and West Bank

**1995 Israel**  
Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is assassinated

**1997 Congo**  
Laurent Kabila becomes president of Democratic Republic of the Congo

**1978 China**  
Deng Xiaoping begins Four Modernizations

**1982 Argentina**  
Britain defeats Argentina in war over Falkland Islands

**1989 Germany** Berlin Wall is knocked down

**1989 China** Student demonstrators killed in Tiananmen Square

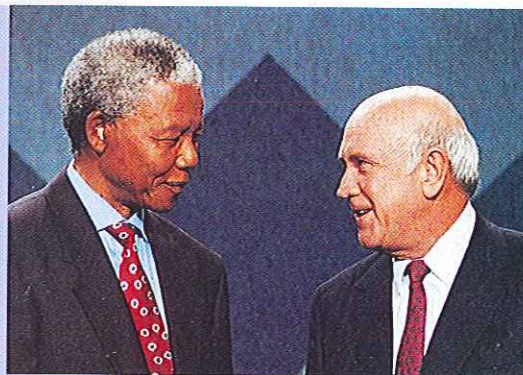
**1991 Soviet Union** Soviet Union breaks up into 15 republics

**1992 Bosnia-Herzegovina**  
Serbs begin war against Muslims and Croats

**1994 South Africa** First all-race election; Nelson Mandela becomes president

**1997 Mexico**  
Single-party control of Mexican congress ends.

**1997 Hong Kong**  
Britain returns Hong Kong to China



1990s South Africa

**1975 Space**  
U.S. *Apollo* docks with Soviet *Soyuz* spacecraft

**1975 Finland**  
Helsinki Accords on Human Rights established

**1986 Space**  
Soviet space station *Mir* established in space

**1990 Middle East**  
Iraq occupies part of Kuwait, provoking Persian Gulf War

**1992 Brazil**  
Earth Summit Environmental Conference held in Rio de Janeiro

**1995 China**  
International Conference on Women held in Beijing

**1995 Worldwide**  
World Trade Organization established

1975 1985 1995 present

CHAPTER  
**17**

# Restructuring the Postwar World, 1945–present

## PREVIEWING THEMES

### Economics

After World War II, two conflicting economic systems—capitalism and communism—competed for influence and power. The major players in this struggle, the United States and the Soviet Union, each tried to win other nations to its side.

### Revolution

In Asia, Latin America, and Eastern Europe, people revolted against repressive governments or rule by foreign powers. These revolutions often became the arenas for conflicts between the United States and the Soviet Union.

### Empire Building

The United States and the Soviet Union used military, economic, and humanitarian aid to extend their control over other countries. They also sought to prevent the other superpower from gaining influence.

## COLD WAR ENEMIES, 1946



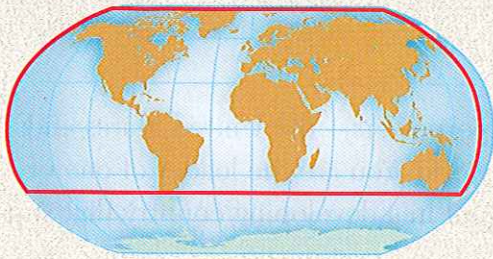
Beginning in the late 1940s, the United States and the Soviet Union faced off in a deadly arms race. Luckily for the world, each side merely stockpiled its weapons, afraid to make the first move.

### INTERNET CONNECTION

Visit us at [www.mcdougallittell.com](http://www.mcdougallittell.com) to learn more about the Cold War and the wars in Korea and Vietnam.

During the late 1970s, Nicaragua became the arena for a U.S. stand against communism. These Communist Nicaraguan rebels fought to end the dictatorship of their country's U.S.-supported regime. But they also supported leftist rebels in El Salvador. In response, the United States backed anti-Communist guerrillas in Nicaragua called Contras.





**PREVIEWING THE CHAPTER**

Section 1	<b>Two Superpowers Face Off</b>	475
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Section 5	<b>The Cold War Thaws</b>	496



Chinese youths waved banners and carried flowers and models of ICBM missiles to celebrate Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's visit to **Beijing**. Despite this enthusiastic welcome, the two Communist giants split in 1959.



In 1975, in the wake of the Vietnam War, this South Vietnamese man fled from his homeland with his family. The war devastated **Vietnam**. It also led to massive popular protests in the United States against U.S. military support for South Vietnam.

## Interact *with* History

**W**orld War II has ended and two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—dominate the world. You are the leader of one of those superpowers. Civil war has broken out in a developing country that supplies you with essential raw materials.

For that reason, it is important for you to help restore peace. The ruler of that country is a brutal dictator who makes life miserable for his people. Rebels are fighting to topple him, but they are backed by your superpower enemy.

Rebel forces are skilled at guerrilla warfare. With weapons supplied by your superpower enemy and their knowledge of the land, they are powerful military opponents.



*Would you support the country's ruler or the rebels?*

The developing country has rich natural resources that both superpowers need.

Life is difficult for the country's people. They suffer even more as the civil war continues.



### EXAMINING *the* ISSUES

- What is most important to you—aiding the people of the developing nation or preventing your enemy from gaining influence there?
- How might competing superpowers use weaker countries in their competition?
- How might being caught in a struggle between superpowers affect a developing nation?

As a class, discuss the effects of the conflict between superpowers on the rest of the world. Think about the experiences of Latin American and other countries under colonialism and how those lessons might be useful.

**As you read** about how the two superpowers divided up the world, notice the part weaker countries played in their conflict.

1

# Two Superpowers Face Off

## TERMS & NAMES

- United Nations
- iron curtain
- containment
- Truman Doctrine
- Marshall Plan
- Cold War
- NATO
- Warsaw Pact
- brinkmanship
- U-2 incident

### MAIN IDEA

The conflicting aims between the United States and the Soviet Union led to global competition.

### WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The conflicts between these two superpowers played a major role in reshaping the modern world.

**SETTING THE STAGE** During World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union joined forces to fight against the Germans. The Soviet army marched west. The Americans marched east to meet them in a defeated Germany. When the Allied soldiers met at the Elbe River, they embraced each other warmly. Their leaders, however, regarded each other much more coolly.

## Former Allies Diverge

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 Union's leader, had signed a nonaggression pact with Adolf Hitler, Germany's leader, in 1939. Later, Stalin blamed the Allies for delaying their invasion of German-occupied Europe until 1944. Driven by these and other conflicts, the two allies began to pursue opposing goals.

**A Joint Postwar Plan** In February 1945, the war was not yet over. But the leaders of the three Allied nations—the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union—met in the Soviet Black Sea resort city 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. Stalin promised that Eastern Europeans would have free elections. Skeptical Winston Churchill recognized this as an empty promise. And he predicted that Stalin would keep his pledge only if the Eastern Europeans followed “a policy friendly to Russia.” In return, Stalin agreed to join the war against Japan, an ally of Germany.

**Creation of the United Nations** 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**. This international organization was intended to protect the members against aggression. It was to be based in New York. The 50 nations that signed the UN charter pledged “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.”

The charter for the new peacekeeping organization established a large body called the General Assembly. This was like an international town meeting. Each UN member nation could cast its vote on a broad range of issues, including membership. An 11-member body called the Security Council had the real power to investigate and settle disputes, though. The five permanent members of the Security Council were Britain, China,

## SPOTLIGHT ON

### Yalta Conference

When the leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain met at Yalta, their goals were noble ones:

- to promote world peace
- to provide emergency relief
- to help form interim governments based on the will of the people.

Prime Minister Winston Churchill (left) was optimistic about “the broad sunlight of victorious peace.”

But “victorious peace” meant very different things to Stalin (right) and Roosevelt (center). The Soviet leader wanted a strong Communist state and protection against renewed invasion from the West. The ailing U.S. president wanted a democratic world led by his country. And those conflicting views made continuing peace impossible.





France, the United States, and the Soviet Union. Each could veto any Security Council action. This provision was intended to prevent any members of the Council from voting as a bloc to override the others.

**Differing U.S. and Soviet Goals** Despite their agreement at Yalta and their mutual presence on the UN Security Council, the United States and the Soviet Union split sharply after the war ended. The war had affected these two superpowers very differently. The United States, the world's richest and most powerful country at that time, suffered 400,000 deaths. Its cities and factories remained intact, however. The Soviet Union experienced at least 50 times as many fatalities. One in four Soviets was wounded or killed. In addition, many Soviet cities were demolished. These contrasting situations, as well as striking political and economic differences, affected the two countries' postwar goals. As the following chart shows, their aims in postwar Europe were contradictory.

Superpower Aims in Europe	
United States	Soviet Union
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Encourage democracy in other countries to help prevent the rise of Communist governments</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Encourage communism in other countries as part of a worldwide workers' revolution</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gain access to raw materials and markets to fuel booming industries</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rebuild its war-ravaged economy using Eastern Europe's industrial equipment and raw materials</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rebuild European governments to promote stability and create new markets for American goods</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Control Eastern Europe to protect Soviet borders and balance the U.S. influence in Western Europe</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reunite Germany to stabilize it and increase the security of Europe</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Keep Germany divided to prevent its waging war again</li> </ul>

**SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts**

1. Which Soviet aims involved self-protection?
2. Which U.S. and Soviet aims in Europe conflicted?

**THINK THROUGH HISTORY**

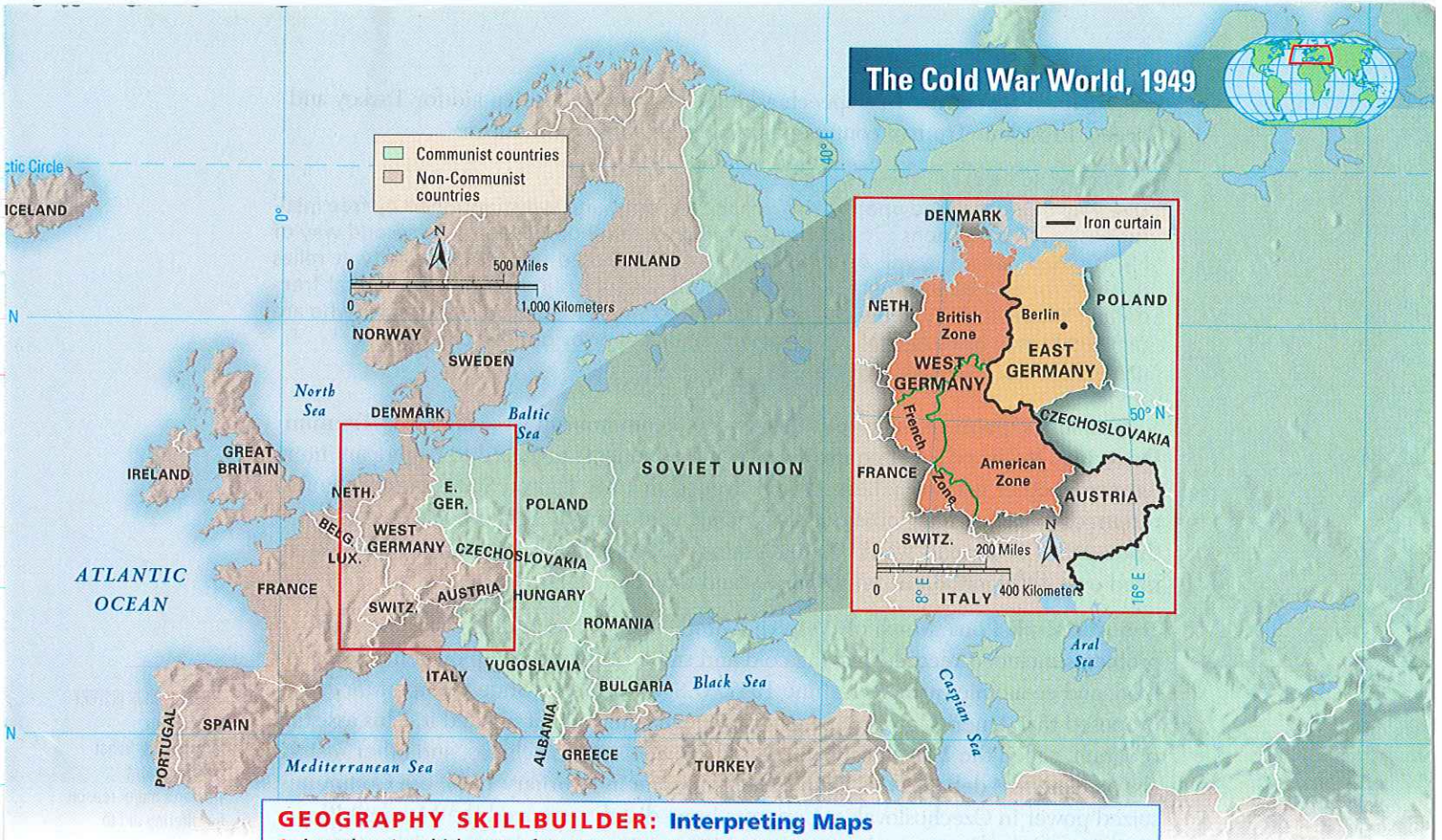
**A. Summarizing**  
Why did the United States and the Soviet Union split after the war?

## The Soviet Union Corrals Eastern Europe

With the end of World War II, a major goal of the Soviet Union was to shield itself from another invasion from the west. Even before the devastation of World War II, 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 War I.

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

The Soviet leader's American partner at Yalta, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, had died on April 12, 1945. Roosevelt's successor, President Harry S. Truman, was a tougher adversary for Stalin. To the new president, Stalin's reluctance to allow free elections in Poland and other Eastern European nations represented a clear violation of those countries' rights. Truman, Stalin, and Churchill met at Potsdam, Germany, in July 1945. There, President Truman pressed Stalin to permit free elections in Eastern Europe. The Soviet leader refused. In a speech in early 1946, Stalin declared that



**GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps**

1. Location In which part of Germany was Berlin located?
2. Place Which countries separated the Soviet Union from Western Europe?

communism and capitalism could not exist in the same world. He said that war between the United States and the Soviet Union was certain.

**The Iron Curtain Divides East and West** Europe now lay divided between East and West. Germany's postwar fate, which had been decided at Yalta, left the country split into two sections. The Soviets controlled the eastern part, including half of Germany's capital, Berlin. Under a Communist government, East Germany was named the German Democratic Republic. The western zones became the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949. Winston Churchill described the division of Europe:

**A VOICE FROM THE PAST**

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

**THINK THROUGH HISTORY**

**B. Analyzing Causes**

What events led to the division of Europe?

Churchill's phrase "**iron curtain**" came to represent Europe's division between a mostly democratic Western Europe and a Communist Eastern Europe. From behind the iron curtain, Stalin termed Churchill's words a "call to war."

**United States Counters Soviet Expansion**

Soviet-American relations continued to worsen in 1946 and 1947. An increasingly worried United States sought to offset the growing Soviet threat in Eastern Europe. President Truman declared that it was time to stop "babying the Soviets." He adopted a foreign policy called **containment**. Containment was a policy directed at blocking Soviet influence and preventing the expansion of communism. Containment policies included creating alliances and helping weak countries resist Soviet advances.

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

#### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

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 who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

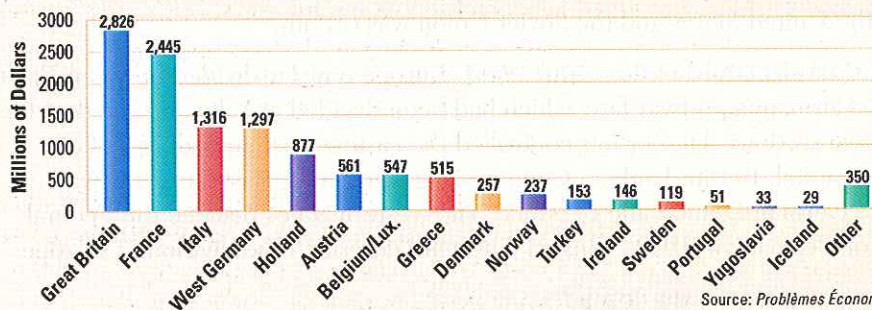
HARRY S. TRUMAN, speech to Congress, March 12, 1947

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 lacked the resources to carry on a global crusade against communism. Still others pointed out that some U.S. support would go to dictators. Congress, however, immediately authorized over \$400 million in aid to Turkey and Greece.

**The Marshall Plan** Much of Western Europe lay in ruins after the war. Europe's problems included record-breaking cold and snow, postwar unemployment, lack of food, and economic turmoil. In June 1947, U.S. Secretary of State George Marshall proposed that America give aid to any European country that needed it. This assistance program, called the **Marshall Plan**, would provide food, machines, and other materials. As Congress debated the \$12.5 billion program in February 1948, the Communists seized power in Czechoslovakia. Congress immediately approved the Marshall Plan. The plan achieved spectacular success in Western Europe and in Yugoslavia.

**THINK THROUGH HISTORY**  
**C. Making Inferences** What was President Truman's major reason for offering aid to other countries?

### The Marshall Plan



Source: *Problèmes Économiques* No. 306

#### SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts

1. Which country received the most aid from the United States?
2. Why do you think Great Britain and France received so much aid?

**The Berlin Airlift** While Europe began rebuilding, the United States and its allies clashed with the Soviet Union over Germany. The Soviets meant to keep their former enemy weak and divided. In 1948, France, Britain, and the United States decided to withdraw their forces from Germany. They would allow their three 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. Since no supplies could get in, the city faced starvation. Stalin gambled that the threat would frighten Western countries. He hoped it would force them to surrender West Berlin or give up their idea of reunifying Germany.

The Soviet leader lost his gamble. To break the blockade, American and British officials flew food and supplies into West Berlin. For nearly 11 months, planes took



**THINK THROUGH HISTORY**  
**D. Analyzing Issues**  
What Soviet actions were the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the Berlin airlift responses to?

off and landed every three minutes. In 277,000 flights, pilots brought in 2.3 million tons of supplies—food, fuel, medicine, and even Christmas presents. The Soviet Union, admitting defeat, lifted the Berlin blockade in May 1949.

## The Cold War and a Divided World

These increasing conflicts were the beginnings of the **Cold War**. This was a state of diplomatic hostility that developed between the two superpowers. 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 dictated not only U.S. and Soviet foreign policy. It influenced world alliances as well.

**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. This alliance was called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (**NATO**). These nations promised to meet an attack on any NATO member with armed force. For the United States, NATO membership marked the country's first peacetime military commitment.

The Soviet Union viewed NATO as a threat. In response, the Soviets developed an alliance system in 1955 as part of their own containment policy. It was known as the **Warsaw Pact**. This alliance included the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania.

In the 1950s, the United States also organized several other alliances to fight the threat of communism. In 1955 SEATO—Southeast Asia Treaty Organization—was formed to stabilize that area after open military aggression occurred in Korea and Indochina.

**Nuclear Threat** As these alliances were forming, the Cold War threatened to heat up enough to destroy the world. The United States already had atomic bombs. As early as 1949, the Soviet Union exploded its own atomic weapon. The superpowers had both become nuclear powers.

President Truman was determined to develop an even more deadly weapon before the Soviets did. He authorized work on a thermonuclear weapon in January 1950. This

Children in West Berlin in 1948 welcome planes that landed every few minutes with supplies to break the Soviet blockade of the city.

### Background

The East Germans built a wall in 1961 to separate East and West Berlin. This Berlin Wall symbolized the division of the world into rival camps.

hydrogen or H-bomb would be thousands of times more powerful than the A-bomb. Its power came from the fusion, or joining together, of atoms, rather than from the splitting of atoms, as in the A-bomb. In November 1952, the United States successfully tested the first H-bomb. By August of the following year, the Soviets had exploded their own thermonuclear weapon.

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. In response, the Soviet Union made its own collection of nuclear bombs. This arms race 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. This was a true intercontinental ballistic missile, or ICBM. On October 4, the Soviets used an ICBM to push the first unmanned satellite above the earth’s atmosphere.

The launching of this Soviet satellite, *Sputnik I*, made Americans feel as if they had fallen behind in science and technology. In response, the U.S. government poured huge amounts of money into education, especially in science, mathematics, and foreign languages. Within months, by January 1958, the United States had successfully launched its own satellite.

In 1960, the skies provided the arena for an even more serious showdown between the superpowers. Five years earlier, President Eisenhower proposed an “open skies” policy. This policy stated that the United States and the Soviet Union could fly freely over each other’s territory to guard against surprise nuclear attacks. The Soviet Union rejected Eisenhower’s proposal. In response, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) authorized 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. The Soviets sentenced him to ten years in prison but released him after 19 months. This **U-2 incident** brought mistrust and tensions between the superpowers to a new height.

While Soviet Communists were squaring off against the United States, Communists in China were fighting an internal battle for control of that country.

The Cold War took to the skies as the United States and the Soviet Union raced to produce ICBMs. Missiles like this one were capable of inflicting destruction from great distances.



**THINK THROUGH HISTORY**

**E. Recognizing Effects** How did the U.S. policy of brinkmanship contribute to the arms race?

**Section 1 Assessment**

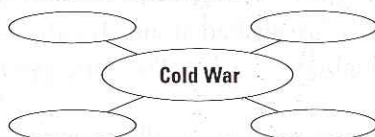
**1. TERMS & NAMES**

Identify

- United Nations
- iron curtain
- containment
- Truman Doctrine
- Marshall Plan
- Cold War
- NATO
- Warsaw Pact
- brinkmanship
- U-2 incident

**2. TAKING NOTES**

Using a web diagram like the one below, list the causes of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union.



Which cause was a direct result of World War II? Explain.

**3. ANALYZING MOTIVES**

What were Stalin’s objectives in supporting Communist governments in Eastern Europe?

**THINK ABOUT**

- the effects of World War II
- the location of the Soviet Union
- U.S. aims in Europe

**4. THEME ACTIVITY**

**Economics** Draw a cartoon that shows either capitalism from the Soviet point of view or communism from the U.S. point of view.



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.” Unable to let this challenge go unanswered, the United States began beefing up its own space program. Its first attempts failed, however, and became known as “Stayputnik” or “Flopnik.”

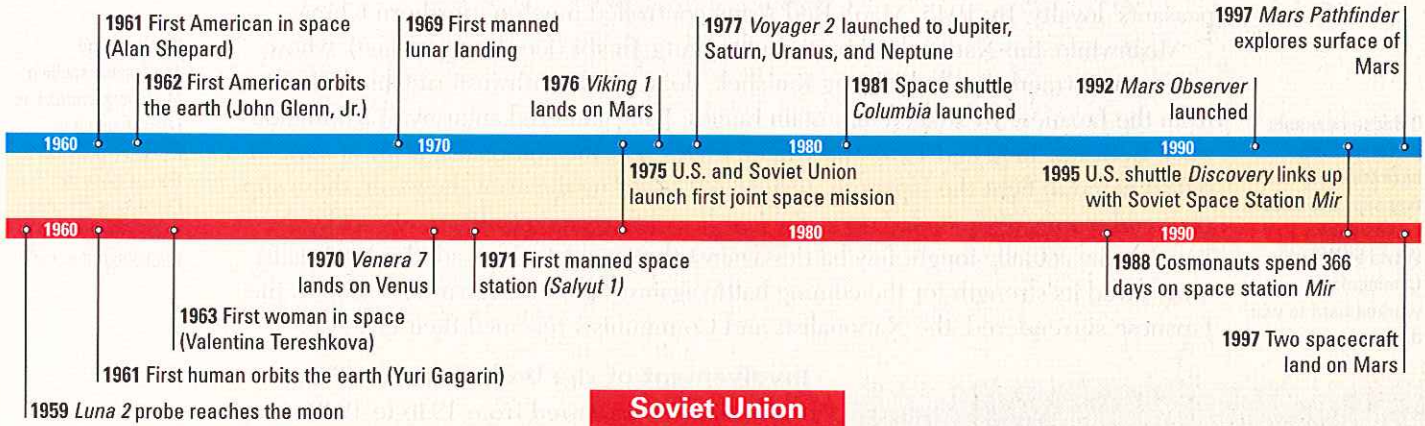
# The Space Race

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 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.

In a major technological triumph, the United States put human beings on the moon on July 20, 1969. In this historic “giant leap for mankind,” astronaut Buzz Aldrin plants the U.S. flag and leaves his footprints on the lunar surface.



## United States



This view of the Soviet spacecraft *Soyuz* taken from the window of the U.S. *Apollo* in 1975 shows the curve of the earth beneath them. It symbolizes the superpowers' realization that they would have to coexist in space as well as on earth.



### Connect to History

**Comparing** Which destinations in space did both the United States and the Soviet Union explore?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE 654

### Connect to Today

**Making Inferences** What role might space continue to play in achieving world peace?

# Communists Triumph in China

## TERMS & NAMES

- Mao Zedong
- Jiang Jieshi
- commune
- Red Guards
- Cultural Revolution

### MAIN 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 player on the world stage.

**SETTING THE STAGE** In World War II, China fought on the side of the victorious Allies. During the war, however, Japan's occupation armies devastated China's major cities. China's civilian death toll alone was in the millions. This vast country suffered casualties second only to those of the Soviet Union.

## Civil War in China

When the Japanese invaded China in 1937, a bitter civil war was raging between the Nationalists and the Communists. During World War II, the political opponents temporarily united to fight the Japanese. With the war's end, however, they resumed their fight for control of the country.

**Internal Struggles** Under their leader, **Mao Zedong** (mow dzuh-dahng), the Communists held a stronghold in northwestern China. From there, they mobilized Chinese peasants for guerrilla war against the Japanese in the northeast. Thanks to their efforts to teach literacy and improve food production, the Communists won the peasants' loyalty. By 1945, Mao's Red Army controlled much of northern China.

Meanwhile, the Nationalist forces under **Jiang Jieshi** (jee-ahng jee-shee), whose name was formerly spelled Chiang Kai-shek, dominated southwestern China. Protected from the Japanese by rugged mountain ranges, Jiang gathered an army of 2.5 million men. Between 1942 and 1945, the United States sent the Nationalist army 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. In addition, 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. As soon as the Japanese surrendered, the Nationalists and Communists resumed their civil war.

Chinese peasants performed the backbreaking labor that supported the country. After World War II, the Communists worked hard to win their support.

### Background

The Japanese had controlled Manchuria in northeast China since 1931. In 1937, they launched an all-out attack.

### Background

The English spelling of Chinese words has been changed to make the pronunciation as close to Chinese as possible and to standardize it throughout the world.

**Involvement of the United States** That renewed civil war lasted from 1946 to 1949. At first, the Nationalists enjoyed a considerable advantage. Their army outnumbered the Communists' army by as much as three to one. And the United States provided nearly \$2 billion more in aid.

The Nationalist forces, however, did little to win popular support. With China's economy collapsing, thousands of Nationalist soldiers deserted to the Communists. In spring 1949, China's major cities fell to the Red forces one by one. Mao's troops were well trained in guerrilla warfare. But they were also enthusiastic about his promised return of 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





## 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
Ineffective, corrupt leadership and poor morale	<b>MILITARY ORGANIZATION</b>	Experienced, motivated guerrilla army

### SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts

1. Which party's domestic policy appealed more to Chinese peasants?
2. Which aspect of the Communist approach do you think was most responsible for Mao's victory?

#### THINK THROUGH HISTORY

**A. Recognizing Effects** How did the outcome of the Chinese civil war contribute to Cold War tensions?

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 only grew after the Chinese and Soviets signed a treaty of friendship in February 1950. Many people in the United States viewed the takeover of China as another step in a Communist campaign to conquer the world.

## Two Chinas and 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. They called it the Republic of China. The Soviets gave financial, military, and technical aid to the Communist People's Republic of China. In addition, the Chinese and the Soviets pledged to come to each other's defense if either country were attacked.

The United States responded by attempting to enlarge its own sphere of influence in Asia. For example, the United States limited the Soviet Union's occupation of Japan to only the few small islands it had gained at the Yalta talks. The two superpowers divided up Korea into a Soviet-supported Communist north and a U.S.-supported south.

**Communist China Continues to Expand** In the early years of Mao's reign, Chinese troops expanded into southern, or Inner Mongolia, Tibet, and India. Northern, or Outer, Mongolia, which bordered the Soviet Union, remained in the Soviet sphere. After declaring Inner Mongolia an "Autonomous Area," China challenged that autonomy. It took control of the country.

In a brutal assault in 1950 and 1951, China also took control of Tibet. This was another so-called Autonomous Area. The Chinese promised autonomy to Tibetans, who followed the religious leader, the Dalai Lama. When China's control over Tibet tightened in the late 1950s, however, the Dalai Lama fled to India. Tibetans responded by rioting.

**Vocabulary**  
autonomous:  
self-governing.



India welcomed the Dalai Lama and other Tibetan refugees after Tibet's failed revolt in 1959. As a result, resentment between India and China grew. In 1962, when India trespassed across the two countries' unclear border into China's territory, Mao unleashed his forces. China held its border, but resentment continued.

## Transformation and Revolution

For decades China had been either at war with or occupied by Japan. Mao and the Communists moved rapidly to strengthen their rule over China's 550 million people. The Communists claimed to have a new "Mandate of Heaven." And they aimed to restore China as a powerful nation.

**Transformation Under Mao Zedong** After taking power, the Chinese Communists began to tighten their hold on the country. The party's 4.5 million members made up just one percent of the Chinese population. But they were a highly disciplined group. Like the Soviets, the Chinese Communists set up two parallel organizations. These were the Communist party and the national government. Until 1959, Mao ruled as both chairman of the Communist party and head of state.

### HISTORY MAKERS



**Mao Zedong**  
1893–1976

Born to a poor, but increasingly wealthy 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 a 1927 report, 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 the widespread support of the peasants by reducing rents and promising to redistribute land.

**Mao's Marxist Socialism** Mao determined to reshape China's economy based on Marxist socialism. Eighty percent of the population still lived in rural areas. But most Chinese farmers owned no land. Instead, ten 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. He then divided them among the peasants. His forces killed more than a million landlords who resisted this policy.

To further his socialist principles, between 1953 and 1957, Mao's government forced the peasants to join collective farms. These farms each consisted of 200 to 300 households. The Chinese Communists also eagerly embraced Marxist ideas about women and the family. They made women fully equal in the home and in the workplace. They also instituted state-sponsored child care.

Mao's changes also transformed industry and business. Gradually, the government nationalized all private companies, or brought them under government ownership. In 1953, Mao launched a Soviet-style five-year plan that set high production targets for industry. The plan succeeded. By 1957, China's output of coal, cement, and electricity had doubled. Steel production had quadrupled.

**Mao's Communes** To expand the success of the first five-year plan in industry, Chinese leaders planned another ambitious program. Early in 1958, Mao proclaimed the "Great Leap Forward." This plan called for still larger collective farms, or **communes**. By the end of 1958, the government had created about 26,000 communes. The average commune sprawled over 15,000 acres and supported over 25,000 people.

In the strictly controlled life of the communes, peasants organized into "production battalions." Under the leadership of company and squad leaders, they 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. Most of them hated living in the huge, impersonal communes.

The Great Leap Forward proved to be a great leap backward for China. Poor planning and inefficient "backyard" industries hampered growth. Worst of all, crop failures between 1958 and 1961 unleashed a famine that killed approximately 20 million people. The government officially discontinued the program in 1961.

**THINK THROUGH HISTORY**  
**B. Analyzing Issues**  
What aspects of Marxist socialism did Mao try to bring to China?

**New Policies and Mao's Response** 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 began to fade. Each sought to lead the worldwide Communist movement. They also shared the longest border in the world. And they faced numerous territorial disputes. In 1960, the Soviets halted economic aid to China.

After the failure of the Great Leap Forward and the split with the Soviet Union, Mao reduced his role in the government. Other leaders moved away from Mao's strict socialist ideas. Under the new leaders, for example, farm families could live in their own homes. They also could sell crops they grew on small private plots. Factory workers could compete for wage increases, bonuses, and promotions.

Mao disapproved of China's new economic policies, believing that they weakened the Communist goal of social equality. Determined to revive the revolution, Mao launched a new campaign in 1966. He urged China's young people to "learn revolution by making revolution." Millions of high school and college students responded to Mao's call. They left their classrooms and formed militia units called **Red Guards**.

**The Cultural Revolution** The Red Guards led a major uprising known as the **Cultural Revolution**. The goal of the Cultural Revolution 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. The life of the mind—intellectual and artistic activity—was considered useless and dangerous. To help stamp out this threat, the Red Guards shut down colleges and schools. They lashed out at professors, government officials, factory managers, and even their own parents. They targeted anyone who seemed to have special privileges or who resisted the regime. Exiled intellectuals had to "purify" themselves by doing hard labor in remote villages. Thousands of people were executed or died in jail.

The resulting widespread chaos closed down factories and threatened farm production. Civil war seemed possible. By 1976, even Mao admitted that the Cultural Revolution had to stop. With Mao's approval, the army dissolved the Red Guards. Zhou Enlai (joh eh-n-leye), one of the founders of the Chinese Communist party and premier since 1949, began to restore order.

While China was struggling to become stable, the Cold War continued to rage. Between the 1950s and the 1970s, two full-scale wars broke out—in Korea and in Vietnam.



## Daily Life

### The Cultural Revolution

The Cultural Revolution started in 1966, when Chihua Wen was eight years old. For the next decade, his world, and that of every other Chinese child, was turned inside out.

Wen's neighbors were well-known revolutionary writers and loyal members of the Communist Party. Their loyalty became meaningless, however, the night the Red Guards (shown above) stormed into their apartment. There was the sound of breaking glass and a child's scream. Then the teenaged Guards carried a sack of books out to the yard and set them on fire.

They returned to the apartment and emerged carrying two heavy sacks. As they raced off with the sacks in the back of the truck, Wen heard sounds of gagging. "No one ever saw the couple or their child again," he said. And Wen never forgot what he had seen.

**THINK THROUGH HISTORY**  
**C. Making Inferences** Why did the Cultural Revolution fail?

## Section 2 Assessment

### 1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify

- Mao Zedong
- Jiang Jieshi
- commune
- Red Guards
- Cultural Revolution

### 2. TAKING NOTES

Using a chart like the one below, summarize the reforms Mao Zedong proposed for China.

Mao Zedong's Reforms

Aspect of Life	Reform
Agriculture	
Industry	
Family	

Create a propaganda poster supporting one of these reforms.

### 3. IDENTIFYING PROBLEMS

What circumstances prevented Mao's Great Leap Forward from bringing economic prosperity to China?

**THINK ABOUT**

- Mao's strict socialism
- life in a commune
- environmental problems

### 4. ANALYZING THEMES

**Revolution** What policies or actions enabled the Communists to defeat the Nationalists in their long civil war?

**THINK ABOUT**

- the goals of each group
- the leaders of the Communists and the Nationalists
- foreign support

# War in Korea and Vietnam

## TERMS & NAMES

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

### MAIN 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.

**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 the Soviets. South of this line, the Japanese surrendered to the Americans. As in Germany, two nations developed. One was the Communist industrial north. The other was the non-Communist rural south.

## 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, the 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 what Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese had done in the 1930s. His policy of containment was being put to the test. And Truman resolved to help South Korea resist Communist influence.

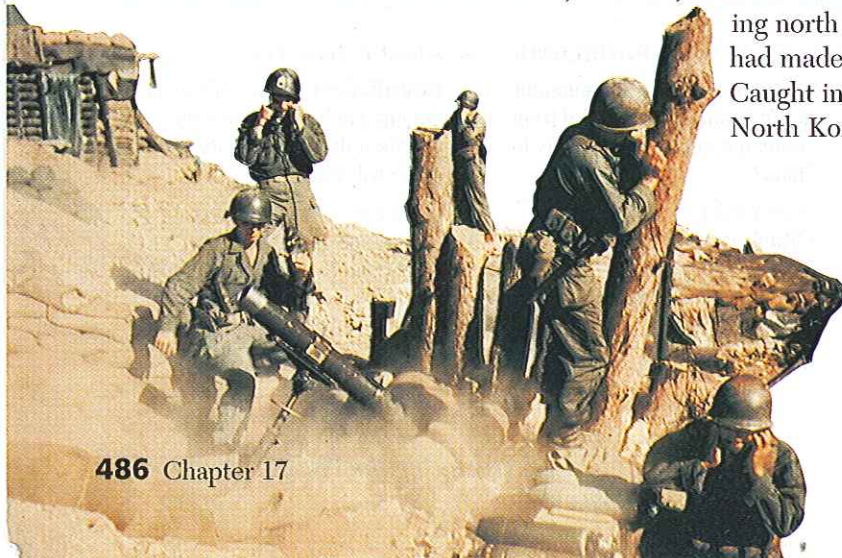
South Korea also asked the United Nations to intervene. When the matter came to a vote in the Security Council, the Soviets were absent. They had boycotted the council to protest the seating of Nationalist China (Taiwan) rather than mainland China. The Soviet Union thus forfeited its chance to veto the UN's plan of action. This plan was to send an international force to Korea to stop the invasion. A total of 15 nations, including Britain and Canada, participated under the leadership of General **Douglas MacArthur**.

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 up 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 army pursued the retreating North Korean troops across the 38th parallel into North Korea. By late November, UN troops had pushed the North Koreans almost to the Yalu River at the border with China. These troops were mostly from the United States.

U.S. infantry troops fire heavy mortar shells at Communist strongholds in North Korea in 1950.



### Vocabulary

**boycotted:** refused to take part in.

Then, in October 1950, the Chinese felt threatened by the American fleet off their coast. They sent 300,000 troops to aid North Korea. The fight between North and South Korea had grown into a war between the Chinese and the Americans.

Greatly outnumbering the UN forces, the Chinese drove them southward. By early January 1951, they had pushed all UN and South Korean troops out of North Korea. The Chinese then moved south. They finally captured the South Korean capital, Seoul.

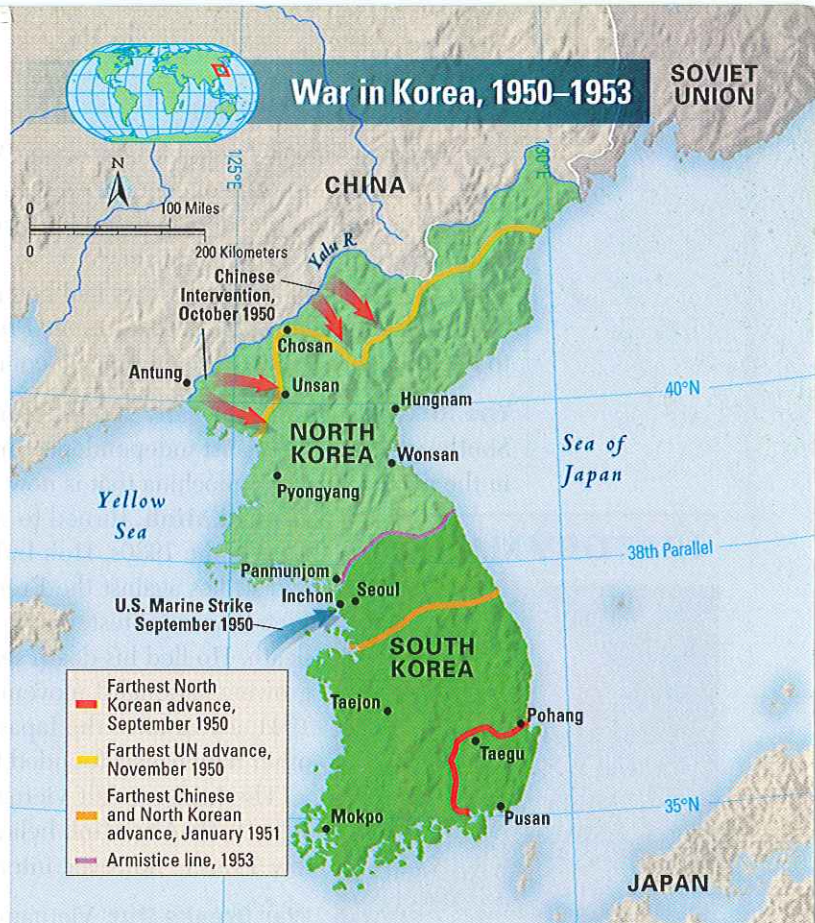
"We face an entirely new war," declared General MacArthur. And he called for a nuclear attack against Chinese cities. President Truman disagreed, viewing MacArthur's proposals as reckless. "We are trying to prevent a world war, not start one," the president explained. MacArthur tried to go over the president's head by taking his case to Congress and to the press. In response, Truman fired him.

Over the next two years, UN forces continued to fight to drive the North Koreans back to the 38th parallel. By 1952, UN troops had recaptured Seoul and regained control of South Korea. Finally, in July 1953, the UN forces and North Korea signed a cease-fire agreement. After three years of fighting, the border between the two Koreas was set near the 38th parallel. This was almost where it had been before the war started. But approximately 5 million soldiers and civilians had died.

**Aftermath and Legacy of the War** After the war, Korea remained divided into two countries. In North Korea, the Communist dictator Kim Il Sung established collective farms, developed heavy industry, and built up the country's military power. At Kim's death in 1994, his son Kim Jong Il ascended to power. Under Kim Jong Il's rule, Communist North Korea developed nuclear weapons. Although the country is well-armed, it has serious economic problems. It continues to struggle with shortages of energy and food.

On the other hand, South Korea prospered, thanks to massive aid from the United States and other countries. In the 1960s, South Korea concentrated on developing its industry and boosting 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 early 1990s, South Korea claimed one of the highest economic growth rates in the world.

Political differences keep the two Koreas apart, despite periodic discussions of reuniting the country. In a show of force in 1996, for example, North Korea sent troops into the demilitarized zone that separates the two nations. And the United States still maintains 37,000 troops in South Korea. In 1997, however, South Korea joined several other countries in sending food to North Korea. Although talks continue, the Communist North Koreans remain firmly opposed to reunification.



**GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER:**  
**Interpreting Maps**

- 1. Movement** What was the northernmost Korean city UN troops had reached by November 1950?
- 2. Movement** Did North or South Korean forces advance further into the other's territory?

**THINK THROUGH HISTORY**  
**A. Recognizing Effects** What effects did the Korean war have on the Korean people and nation?

## War in Vietnam

Like America's involvement in the Korean War, its involvement in Vietnam stemmed from its Cold War policy of containment. Beginning after World War II, many Americans and their leaders had one foreign policy goal. They were committed to halting the spread of communism.

By the 1950s, the United States had begun providing financial aid, advisers, and finally, half a million soldiers to a former French colony, Vietnam. America's aim was to keep Southeast Asia from embracing communism as China had done.

**The Road to War** In the early 1900s, France controlled most of resource-rich Southeast Asia. Nationalist independence movements, however, had begun to develop in the part of French Indochina that is now Vietnam. 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, the party's leader, to death. Ho fled his death sentence but continued to inspire Vietnam's growing nationalist movement from exile. Ho returned to Vietnam in 1941, a year after the Japanese seized control of his country. He and other nationalists founded the Vietminh (Independence) League.

The Japanese left Vietnam in 1945, after their defeat in World War II. Ho Chi Minh believed that independence would surely follow. France, however, intended to regain its former colony.

**War Breaks Out** Vietnamese Nationalists and Communists joined to fight the French armies. While the French held most of the major cities, they remained powerless in the countryside. There the Vietminh had widespread peasant support. The Vietminh used hit-and-run tactics to confine the French to the cities.

The French people began to doubt that maintaining their colony in Vietnam 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 the French in Vietnam. With the defeat of the French, the United States saw a rising threat to the rest of Asia. U.S. 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.

After France's defeat, an international peace conference met in Geneva to discuss the future of Indochina. Based on these talks, Vietnam was divided at 17° north latitude. 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 dihnh D'YEM).

**Vietnam—A Divided Country** Diem, an unpopular leader, ruled the south as a dictator. In contrast, Ho Chi Minh began a popular program of land redistribution in the north. The United States sensed that an election might lead to victory for the Communists. So it supported Diem's cancellation of the elections.

Vietnamese opposition to Diem's corrupt 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.

### HISTORY MAKERS



**Ho Chi Minh**  
1890–1969

When he was young, the poor Vietnamese Nguyen That (uhng-wihn thaht) Thanh worked as a cook on a French steamship. In visiting American cities where the boat docked, such as Boston and New York, he learned about both American culture and ideals.

He later took a new name—Ho Chi Minh, meaning “He who enlightens.” But he held onto those American ideals. Though a Communist, in announcing Vietnam's independence from France in 1945, he declared, “All men are created equal.”

His people revered him and fondly called him Uncle Ho. However, Ho Chi Minh did not put his democratic ideals into practice. From 1954 to 1969, he ruled North Vietnam by crushing all opposition.

#### THINK THROUGH HISTORY

**B. Making Inferences** What actions might the United States have justified by the domino theory?

In 1963, backed by the United States, a group of South Vietnamese generals planned a coup. Meeting almost no resistance, they overthrew and assassinated Diem. The new leaders, however, were no more popular than Diem had been. A takeover by the Communist Vietcong with the backing of North Vietnam seemed inevitable.

### The United States Gets Involved

Faced with this possibility, the United States decided to escalate, or increase, its involvement. Americans had been serving as advisers to the South Vietnamese since the late 1950s. But their numbers steadily grew. The United States also sent increasing numbers of planes, tanks, and other military equipment to South Vietnam.

In August 1964, U.S. President Lyndon Johnson told Congress that North Vietnamese patrol boats had attacked two American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. As a result, Congress authorized the president to send American troops into Vietnam. By late 1965, more than 185,000 American soldiers were fighting on Vietnamese soil, although war had not officially been declared. American planes had also begun to bomb North Vietnam. By 1968, more than half a million American soldiers were in combat there.

The United States boasted the best-equipped, most advanced army in the world. Yet the Americans faced two major difficulties. First, they were fighting a guerrilla war in unfamiliar jungle terrain. Second, the South Vietnamese government they were defending was becoming steadily more unpopular. At the same time, popular support for the Vietcong grew. Ho Chi Minh also strongly supported the Vietcong with troops and munitions, as did the Soviet Union and China.

Unable to win a decisive victory on the ground, the United States turned to air power. American forces bombed millions of acres of farmland and forest in an attempt to destroy enemy hideouts. This bombing strengthened peasants' opposition to the South Vietnamese government.

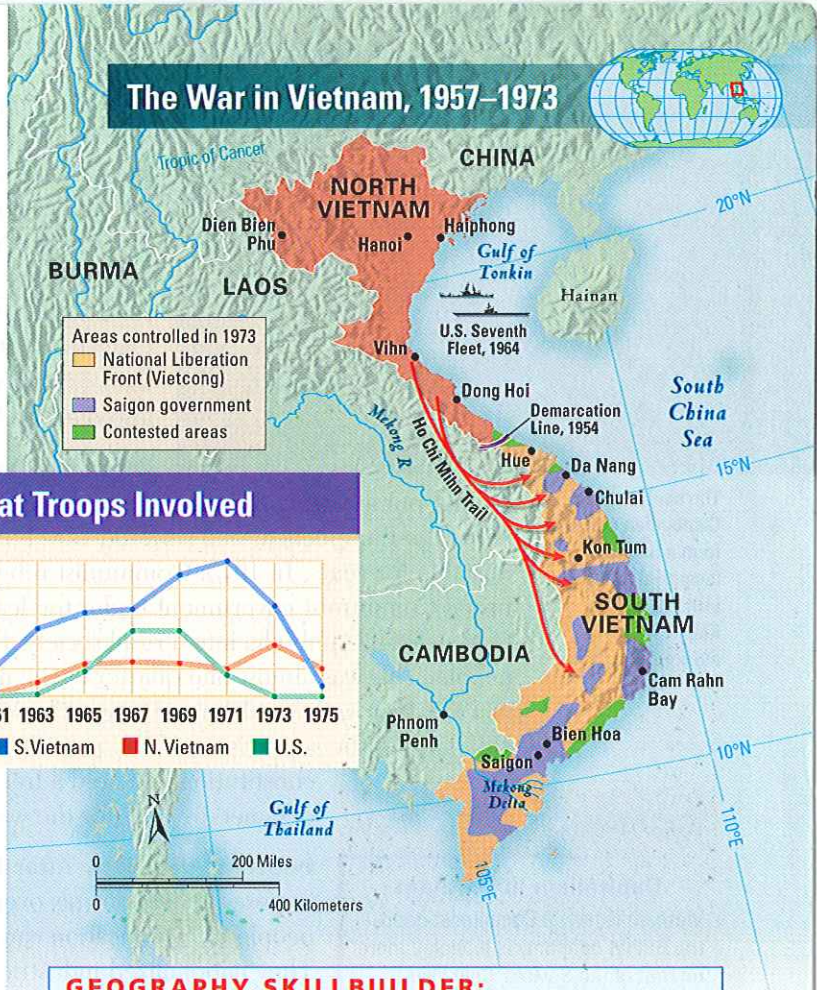
**The United States Withdraws** During the late 1960s, the war grew increasingly unpopular in the United States. Dissatisfied youth began to protest the tremendous loss of life in an unpopular conflict on the other side of the world. Bowing to intense public pressure, President Richard Nixon began withdrawing U.S. troops from Vietnam in 1969. Nixon's plan was called **Vietnamization**. It allowed for U.S. troops to gradually pull out, while the South Vietnamese increased their combat role. Nixon wanted to pursue Vietnamization while preserving the South Vietnamese government. So he authorized a massive bombing campaign against North Vietnamese bases and supply routes. The president also authorized bombings in neighboring Laos and Cambodia to wipe out Vietcong hiding places.

#### Background

The Chinese sent more than 300,000 troops to support the North Vietnamese during the war. Soviet pilots joined the Chinese in shooting down U.S. planes.

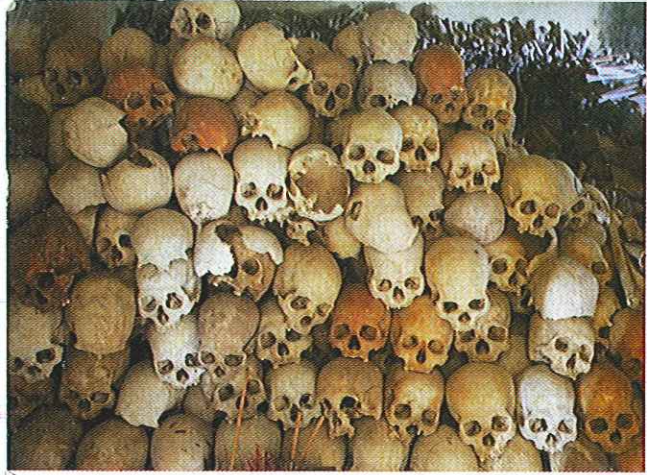
#### Background

Guerrilla warfare is carried out by small bands of local fighters, often in harsh terrain. It is characterized by surprise attacks, ambushes, and hit-and-run tactics.



### GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps

- Human-Environment Interaction** Did the Saigon government or the Vietcong control more of South Vietnam in 1973?
- Movement** Which country committed the most troops to the war in Vietnam?



The skulls of Cambodian citizens form a haunting memorial to the brutality of the Khmer Rouge during the 1970s.

Under continued popular protest and political pressure at home, President Nixon kept withdrawing U.S. troops. The last forces left in 1973. The North Vietnamese overran South Vietnam two years later because the South Vietnamese could not fend off the North Vietnamese on their own. The Communists renamed Saigon, the former capital of the South, Ho Chi Minh City to honor their dead leader. But more than 1.5 million Vietnamese and 58,000 Americans had also died during the war.

**THINK THROUGH HISTORY**  
**C. Recognizing Effects** Why did Vietnamization fail?

**Ongoing Turmoil in Cambodia** The end of the war did not put an end to bloodshed and chaos in Southeast Asia, however. Cambodia (also known as Kampuchea) had suffered U.S. bombing during the war. And it remained unstable for years. 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 rural society, Pol Pot's followers slaughtered 2 million people. This was almost one quarter of the nation's population. A Vietnamese invasion in 1978 overthrew the Khmer Rouge. The Vietnamese finally withdrew in 1989. In 1993, under the supervision of UN peacekeepers, Cambodia adopted a democratic constitution and held a free election. Pol Pot was captured and detained in 1997 for the war crimes he had committed.

## CONNECT to TODAY

### Capitalism in Vietnam

Vietnam is now a Communist country. But its economy is modeled more on that of the Soviets' Cold War enemy, the United States. In 1997, a travel magazine claimed that Hanoi, the capital of Vietnam, "jumps with vitality, its streets and shops jammed with locals and handfuls of Western tourists and businesspeople."

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

**Postwar Vietnam** After 1975, the victorious North Vietnamese imposed strict controls over the South. Officials sent thousands of people to "reeducation camps" for training in Communist thought. They nationalized industries and strictly controlled businesses.

Communist oppression also caused 1.5 million people to flee from Vietnam. Most refugees escaped in dangerously overcrowded ships. More than 200,000 of these "boat people" died at sea. The survivors often spent long months in crowded refugee camps scattered across Southeast Asia. About 70,000 Vietnamese refugees eventually settled in the United States or in Canada.

Though Communists still govern Vietnam, the country now welcomes foreign investment. Much of that investment comes from Vietnam's old enemy, the United States. America lifted its trade embargo against Vietnam in 1994 and is moving toward official recognition of the country.

While the Cold War superpowers were struggling for power in the Korean and Vietnam wars, they also were using economic and diplomatic means to bring other countries under their control.

## Section 3 Assessment

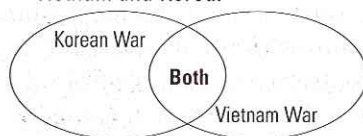
### 1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify

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

### 2. TAKING NOTES

Using a Venn diagram like the one below, compare and contrast the causes and effects of the wars in Vietnam and Korea.



Do you think the similarities or the differences between the two wars are more striking? Why?

### 3. FORMING OPINIONS

Do you think U.S. involvement in Vietnam was justified? Why or why not?

**THINK ABOUT**

- the U.S. policy of containment
- the domino theory
- U.S. public opinion

### 4. THEME ACTIVITY

**Empire Building** Create a propaganda poster for either the United States or the Soviet Union supporting its involvement in Asia.

# Cold War Around the World

## TERMS & NAMES

- Third World
- nonaligned nations
- Fidel Castro
- Anastasio Somoza
- Daniel Ortega
- Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi
- Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini

### MAIN IDEA

The Cold War 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.

**SETTING THE STAGE** Vietnam was just one of many countries that attempted to shake off colonial rule after World War II. Local battles for independence provided yet another arena for competition between the Cold War superpowers.

## Confrontations over Developing Nations

Following World War II, the world's nations were grouped politically into three "worlds." The First World was the United States and its allies. The Second World included the Soviet Union and its allies. The **Third World** consisted of developing nations, often newly independent, who were not aligned with either superpower.

These Third World countries in Latin America, Asia, and Africa experienced terrible poverty and political instability. This was largely due to a long history of imperialism. They also suffered from ethnic conflicts and lack of technology and education. Each desperately needed a political and economic system around which to build its society. Soviet-style communism and U.S.-style free-market democracy were the countries' 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. These competing superpowers sponsored or backed wars of revolution, liberation, or counterrevolution. The U.S. and Soviet spy agencies—the CIA and the KGB—engaged in a variety of covert, or secret, activities. These activities ranged from spying to assassination attempts. The United States also provided military aid, built schools, set up programs to combat poverty, and sent volunteer workers to developing nations in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. The Soviets offered military and technical assistance, mainly to India and Egypt.

**Association of Nonaligned Nations** Other developing nations also had pressing needs for assistance. They became important players in the Cold War competition between the United States, the Soviet Union, and also China.

Not all Third World countries wished to play such a role, however. India, for example, vowed to remain neutral in the Cold War. Indonesia, a populous island nation in Southeast Asia, also struggled to stay uninvolved. In 1955, Indonesia hosted the leaders of Asian and African countries in the Bandung Conference. They met to form what they called a "third force" of such independent countries, or **nonaligned nations**.

Nations such as India and Indonesia remained neutral. But other countries took sides with the superpowers or played the competing sides off against each other.

### Background

In the 1970s, the three worlds were redefined in economic terms. The small but prosperous First World was at the top of a pyramid and the large, poverty-stricken Third World was at the bottom.

The flour provided by U.S. aid helped keep these Colombian children alive. They also learned to make the flour sacks into clothing in a school run by missionaries.



### THINK THROUGH HISTORY

#### A. Making Inferences

What advantages and disadvantages might being nonaligned have offered a developing nation?



## Postwar Face-off in Latin America

Long before World War II, American businesses dominated Latin American politics. They backed leaders who often oppressed their people but who protected U.S. interests. After the war, a lingering gap between the rich and the poor led Latin American nations to seek aid from both superpowers. Communism and nationalistic feelings inspired revolutionary movements in parts of Latin America. These revolutionary movements found enthusiastic Soviet support. In response, the United States provided military support and economic assistance to anti-Communist dictators.

For example, in 1970 Salvador Allende, an admitted Marxist, was freely elected the president of Chile. The United States government feared the expansion of communism in the area. Through the CIA, it helped forces opposed to Allende topple his government in 1973. His replacement, Augusto Pinochet, was a military dictator who used brutal tactics to maintain order in the country. Since he was not a communist, he had United States support and remained in power. Cold war struggles in other areas of Latin America occupied the United States from the 1950s through the 1990s.



### HISTORY MAKERS

**Fidel Castro**  
1927–

The son of a wealthy Spanish-Cuban farmer, Fidel Castro became involved in politics while enrolled at the University of Havana. He first attempted to overthrow the Cuban dictator, Batista, in 1953. He was imprisoned, but vowed not to give up 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 became a staunch Soviet ally and has been dictator of Cuba for over 30 years.

**Cuban Revolution** Throughout the 1950s, U.S. support maintained Cuba's unpopular dictator, Fulgencio Batista. 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 reforms to Cuba and improving the economy, literacy, health care, and conditions for women. Yet Castro was a harsh dictator. He suspended elections, jailed or executed his opponents, and strangled the press with tight government controls.

When Castro nationalized the Cuban economy, he took over U.S.-owned sugar mills and refineries. In response, President Eisenhower ordered an embargo on all trade with Cuba. As relations with the United States deteriorated, Castro turned to the Soviets for the economic and military aid he needed.

In 1960, the CIA planned an invasion of Cuba and began to train anti-Castro Cuban exiles to carry it out. In April 1961, these exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba. The new president, Kennedy, approved the invasion but refused to send U.S. planes to support it. Castro's forces defeated the invaders, humiliating the United States.

**The Cuban Missile Crisis** The failed Bay of Pigs invasion convinced the Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, that the United States would not resist Soviet expansion in Latin America. Consequently, in July 1962, Khrushchev secretly began to build 42 missile sites in Cuba. In October, an American spy plane discovered the sites. The

U.S. President, John F. Kennedy, declared that missiles so close to the U.S. mainland were a threat. He demanded that the Soviets remove the missiles. Kennedy also announced a quarantine, or blockade, of Cuba to prevent the Soviets installing more missiles. Castro protested his country's being used as a tool in the Cold War:

#### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

Cuba did not and does not intend to be in the middle of a conflict between the East and the West. Our problem is above all one of national sovereignty. Cuba does not mean to get involved in the Cold War.

FIDEL CASTRO, quoted in an interview October 27, 1962

Nevertheless, Cuba was deeply involved. Kennedy's demand for the removal of Soviet

#### THINK THROUGH HISTORY

**B. Contrasting**  
What differing U.S. and Soviet aims led to the Cuban missile crisis?

missiles put the United States and the Soviet Union on a collision course. U.S. troops assembled in Florida, ready to invade Cuba. People around the world began to fear that this standoff would lead to World War III and a nuclear disaster. Fortunately, Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles in return for a U.S. promise not to invade Cuba.

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. Approximately 36,000 Cubans fought in Angola's war against colonialism in the 1970s. 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. The country still suffers a scarcity of vital supplies. But the aging Castro refuses to adopt economic reforms or to give up power. An equally stubborn United States refuses to lift its trade embargo.

**Civil War in Nicaragua** Just as the United States had supported the unpopular Batista in Cuba, it had funded the Nicaraguan dictatorship of **Anastasio Somoza** and his family since 1933. In 1979, Communist Sandinista rebels toppled the dictatorship of 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, had aided other socialist rebels in nearby El Salvador. To help the El Salvadoran government fight those rebels, the United States supported Nicaraguan anti-Communist rebel forces. These rebels were called *Contras* or *contrarevolucionarios*.

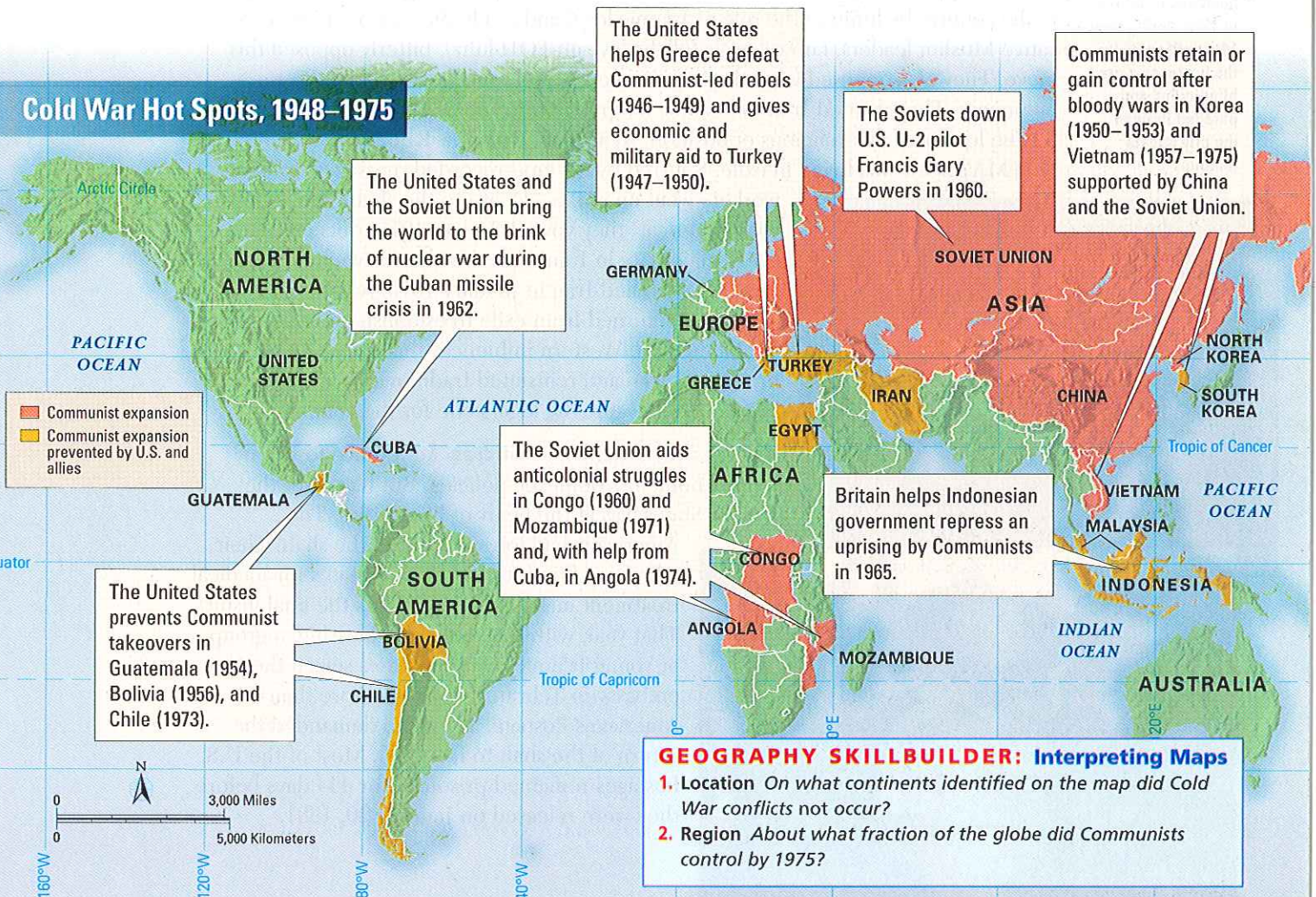
The civil war in Nicaragua lasted over a decade and seriously weakened the country's economy. Finally, in 1990, President Ortega agreed to hold free elections. He was defeated by Violeta Chamorro. In 1997, José Lacayo was elected president.

**THINK THROUGH HISTORY**

**C. Analyzing**

**Motives** Why did the U.S. switch its support from the Sandinistas to the Contras?

**Cold War Hot Spots, 1948–1975**



## Confrontations in the Middle East

As the map on the previous page shows, Cold War confrontations continued to erupt around the globe. (For more information about African conflicts, see Chapter 18.) With its rich supplies of oil, the Middle East lured both the United States and the Soviet Union.

**Religious and Secular Values Clash in Iran** Throughout the Middle East, wealth from the oil industry fueled a growing conflict between traditional Islamic values and modern Western materialism. In no country did the clash between cultures erupt more dramatically than in the former Persia, or Iran.



After World War II, Iran's leader, **Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi** (PAH-luh-vee), embraced Western governments and wealthy Western oil companies. Angry Iranian national-

ists resented these foreign alliances. They united under the leadership of Prime Minister Muhammad Mossaddeq (moh-sah-DEHK). They seized and nationalized a British-owned oil company and, in 1953, forced the shah to flee. Fearing that Mossaddeq might turn to the Soviets for support, the United States had him arrested. It then restored 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. And the shah's secret police brutally punished anyone who dared to oppose him. The shah also tried to weaken the political influence of religion in the country by limiting the role of Islamic legal and academic experts. Iran's conservative Muslim leaders, known as ayatollahs (eye-uh-TOH-luhz), bitterly opposed this move. They also opposed what they saw as socially and morally corrupting Western influences. They wanted Iran to become a republic ruled strictly by Islamic law.

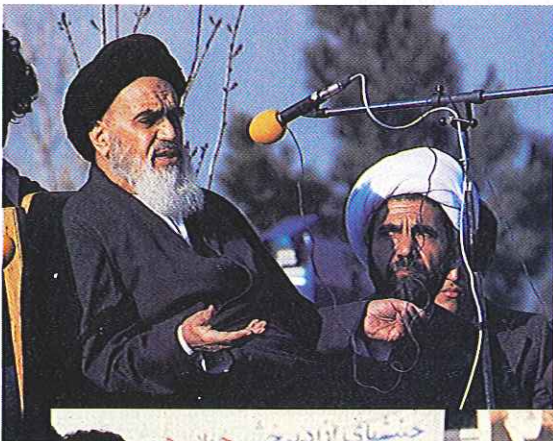
The leader of this religious opposition, **Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini** (koh-MAY-nee), was living in exile. Spurred by his tape-recorded messages, Iranian

workers went on strike. "Death to the shah!" and "Down with America!" they vowed. In late 1978, riots erupted in every major city in Iran. Faced with overwhelming opposition, the shah fled Iran in January 1979. A triumphant Khomeini returned from exile to establish an Islamic state. He banned the Western influences that the shah had brought to Iran and reinstated traditional Muslim values. Islamic law became the legal code for the country.

**Khomeini's Anti-U.S. Policies** Adherence to Islam ruled Khomeini's domestic policies. But hatred of the United States was at the heart of his politics. The

Americans had long supported the shah. Their admitting him into the United States for medical treatment in 1979, however, was the final insult. That year, with the ayatollah's blessing, a group of young Islamic revolutionaries seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran. They took more than 60 Americans hostage. They also demanded the return of the shah to face trial. Most of the U.S. hostages remained prisoners for 444 days before they were released on January 20, 1981.

Ayatollah Khomeini (top) supported the taking of U.S. hostages in Tehran in 1979. During their 14-month captivity, the hostages were blindfolded and paraded through the city streets (bottom).



**THINK THROUGH HISTORY**  
**D. Analyzing Motives** Why did the United States support the Shah of Iran?

### Background

The Shi'i and Sunni Muslims had been in conflict since they split over religious practice and beliefs in the 7th century A.D.

Khomeini also encouraged Muslim fundamentalists, or strict believers, in other countries to overthrow their secular governments. Intended to be a means of unifying Muslims, this policy only heightened tensions between Iran and its neighbor, Iraq. While the Iranians were Shi'a, the Iraqis belonged to the rival Sunni Muslim sect. In addition, a military leader, Saddam Hussein (hoo-SAYN), governed Iraq as a secular state.

War broke out between the two countries in 1980. For eight years, Muslim killed Muslim in a territorial struggle. Caught in the middle, the United States secretly sold weapons to Iran in an effort to get their hostages released. A million Iranians and Iraqis died before a UN ceasefire ended the hostilities in 1988.

**The Superpowers Face Off in Afghanistan** Iran was not the only country in the Middle East in which Cold War tensions erupted. For several years following World War II, Afghanistan maintained its independence from both the neighboring Soviet Union and 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 triggered a Soviet invasion in December 1979.

The Soviets expected to prop up the Afghan Communists quickly and withdraw.

Instead, just as the United States had gotten mired in Vietnam in the 1960s, the Soviets found themselves stuck in Afghanistan. And like the Vietcong in Vietnam, determined Afghan rebel forces outmaneuvered and overpowered a military superpower. Soviet helicopter rocket attacks secured the cities. They failed to dislodge the rebels, called *mujahideen*, from their mountain strongholds, however. Supplied with American weapons, the *mujahideen* fought on.

The United States had armed the rebels because they considered the Soviet invasion a threat to the rich Middle Eastern oil supplies. U.S. President Jimmy Carter sternly warned the Soviets that any attempt to gain control of the Persian Gulf would be "repelled by any means necessary, including military force." No threat developed, though. Therefore, the United States limited its response to an embargo of grain shipments to the Soviet Union. It also boycotted the 1980 summer Olympic games in Moscow.

In the 1980s, a new Soviet regime acknowledged the war's devastating costs to both Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. After a ten-year occupation—as long as U.S. involvement in Vietnam—President Mikhail Gorbachev ordered his forces to withdraw. The last Soviet troops left Afghanistan in February 1989. By then, internal unrest and economic problems were tearing the Soviet Union itself apart.

### THINK THROUGH HISTORY

**E. Comparing** In what ways were U.S. involvement in Vietnam and Soviet involvement in Afghanistan similar?

## SPOTLIGHT ON

### Boycott of 1980 Olympics

Sixty-two nations, including Japan, West Germany, and Canada, joined the U.S. boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics. In sympathy, 16 of the 81 teams who did participate refused to carry their national flags in the opening ceremony.

U.S. athletes had trained for years to compete in the Olympics. They received Congressional Olympic medals as a consolation for their dashed hopes and disappointment.

Disappointed athletes and other critics suggested that future games should be played in a neutral location. This move would help separate international sports competition from politics.

## Section 4 Assessment

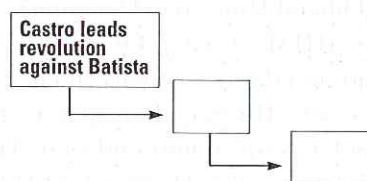
### 1. TERMS & NAMES

#### Identify

- Third World
- nonaligned nations
- Fidel Castro
- Anastasio Somoza
- Daniel Ortega
- Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi
- Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini

### 2. TAKING NOTES

Using a flow chart like the one below, fill in the main events of U.S. involvement in Cuba.



Write a newspaper headline for one of the events you listed.

### 3. COMPARING

What similarities do you see among U.S. actions in Nicaragua, Cuba, and Iran?

#### THINK ABOUT

- the type of leader the United States supported in each country
- U.S. interests in these countries

### 4. ANALYZING THEMES

**Economics** Today, Cuba suffers a severe shortage of vital supplies, largely due to the U.S. trade embargo that has lasted for almost 40 years. Do you think the United States should lift that embargo? Why or why not?

#### THINK ABOUT

- Castro's leadership
- prior U.S. conflicts with Cuba
- human suffering

**TERMS & NAMES**

- Nikita Khrushchev
- destalinization
- Leonid Brezhnev
- John F. Kennedy
- Lyndon Johnson
- détente
- Richard M. Nixon
- SALT
- Ronald Reagan
- Star Wars

**MAIN 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.

**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, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, and East Germany. It 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.

## The Soviets Dominate Eastern Europe

After Stalin died, a new, more moderate group of Soviet leaders came to power. These new leaders allowed their satellite countries a taste of independence, as long as they remained firmly Communist and allied with the Soviet Union. During the 1950s and 1960s, however, growing protest movements in Eastern Europe threatened the Soviet Union's grip over the region. Increasing tensions with Communist China also diverted Soviet attention and forces.

**Destalinization and Rumbblings of Protest** Joseph Stalin died on March 5, 1953. Shortly after his death, a loyal member of the Communist party named **Nikita Khrushchev** became the dominant Soviet leader. The shrewd, tough Khrushchev publicly denounced Stalin for jailing and killing loyal Soviet citizens. His speech signaled the beginning of a policy called **destalinization**, or purging the country of Stalin's memory. Workers destroyed monuments of the former dictator and reburied his body outside the Kremlin wall. Khrushchev also called for "peaceful competition" with the capitalist states.

A toppled statue of Stalin lies in Moscow, a stark symbol of Khrushchev's policy of destalinization.

This new Soviet outlook did not change life in the satellite countries, however. Their resentment occasionally turned into active protest. In October 1956, for example, the Hungarian army joined with protesters to overthrow Hungary's Soviet-controlled government. Storming through the capital, Budapest, angry 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."

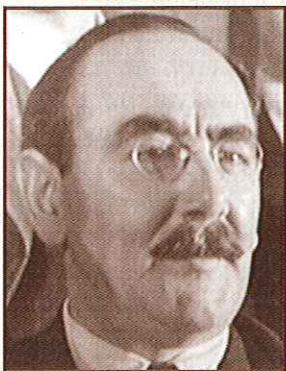
A popular and liberal Hungarian Communist leader named Imre Nagy (IHM-ray nahj) formed a new government. Nagy promised free elections and demanded that Soviet troops leave Hungary. In response, in early November, Soviet tanks rolled into Budapest. They were backed by infantry units. Thousands of Hungarian freedom fighters armed themselves with pistols and bottles. The Soviets overpowered them, however. The invaders replaced the Hungarian government with pro-Soviet leaders and eventually executed Nagy.

**THINK THROUGH HISTORY**

**A. Recognizing Effects** What effects did destalinization have on Soviet satellite countries?



## The Victim



### Imre Nagy (1896–1958)

Of peasant background, Imre Nagy was captured by the Soviets during World War I and recruited into their army. He became a Communist and lived in Moscow until 1944, when he returned to Soviet-occupied Hungary.

Although he held several posts in his country's Communist government, his loyalty remained with the peasants. Because of his independent approach, he fell in and out of favor with the Soviet regime. He led the anti-Soviet revolt in October 1956.

The Soviets forcefully put down the uprising and deported Nagy. They then brought him back to Hungary, where they tried and executed him. He remained in disgrace until the Hungarian Supreme Court cleared his name in 1989.

## Faces of Protest



Soviet tanks move into Prague in 1968 to stamp out Czech reforms.

## The Survivor



### Alexander Dubček (1921–1992)

Alexander Dubček was the son of a member of the Czech Communist Party and moved rapidly up through the Communist ranks in Czechoslovakia.

In response to the spirit of change in the 1960s, Dubček instituted broad reforms in the 1968 Prague Spring. Not surprisingly, Soviet officials reacted negatively. Tanks rolled into Prague to suppress a feared revolt.

The Soviets expelled Dubček from the Communist Party in 1970. He survived, though. He regained political prominence in 1989, when the Communists agreed to share power in a coalition government. When the new nation of Slovakia was formed in 1992, Dubček became head of its Social Democratic Party.

### Background

Nikita Khrushchev was the first Soviet leader to leave office alive.

**Brezhnev and the Revolt in Czechoslovakia** Despite this show of force in Hungary, Khrushchev lost prestige in his country as a result of the Cuban missile crisis. In 1964, Communist party leaders voted to remove him from power. His replacement, **Leonid Brezhnev**, quickly adopted repressive domestic policies. The Communist party strictly enforced laws to limit such basic human rights as freedom of speech and worship. Government censors carefully controlled what writers could publish. And Brezhnev clamped down on those who dared to protest his government's 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 it 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.

Prague Spring, however, 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 right to prevent its satellites from rejecting communism.

**Split with China** While many of the Soviet satellite countries resisted Communist rule, China seemed firmly committed to communism. In fact, to cement the ties between their 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 that the Chinese would follow Soviet leadership in world affairs. As the Chinese grew more confident, however, they came to resent being Moscow's junior partner. They began to spread their own brand of communism in Africa and other parts of Asia. In 1959, Khrushchev punished the Chinese for their independence by refusing to share nuclear secrets with them. The following year, the Soviets ended technical economic aid to China. This split eventually grew so wide that fighting broke out along the long Chinese-Soviet border. After repeated incidents, the two neighbors today maintain 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 they had followed during the early postwar years. The superpowers slowly moved toward a period of lowered tensions.

**Brinkmanship Breaks Down** The brinkmanship policy that the United States followed during the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations resulted in one terrifying crisis after another. Though these crises erupted all over the world, they were united by a common fear. Nuclear war seemed possible.

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 presidency of **John F. Kennedy** in the early 1960s, the Cuban missile crisis made the superpowers' use of nuclear weapons a very real possibility. (See pages 492–493.) The crisis ended when the 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.” President Kennedy’s Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, however, admitted just how close the world had come to disaster:

### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

In the face of an air attack [on Cuba] and in the face of the probability of a ground attack, it was certainly possible, and I would say probable, that a Cuban sergeant or Soviet officer in a missile silo, without authority from Moscow, would have launched one or more of those intermediate-range missiles, equipped with a nuclear warhead, against one or more of the cities on the East Coast of the United States.

ROBERT McNAMARA, quoted in *Inside the Cold War*

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

**The United States Embraces 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 began backing away from its policy of direct confrontation with the Soviet Union. **Détente**, a policy of lessened Cold War tensions, finally replaced brinkmanship during the administration of President **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 contain the spread of communism, the two superpowers agreed to pursue détente and to reduce tensions.

Nixon’s new policy represented a dramatic personal reversal as well as a political shift for the

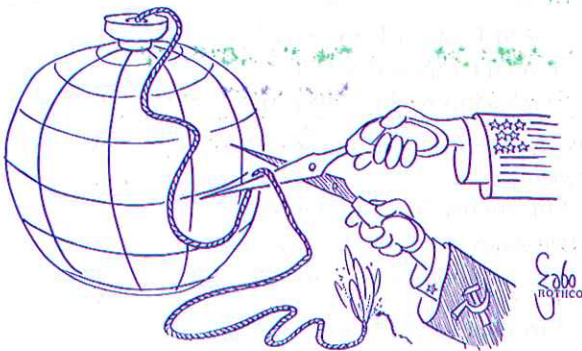
### Vocabulary

détente: a French word meaning “a loosening”

### THINK THROUGH HISTORY

**B. Recognizing Bias** Do you think that Robert McNamara’s view of the Soviet threat in Cuba was justified or was due to a biased U.S. fear of the Soviet Union? Explain.

In a spirit of cooperation and détente, the U.S. and the Soviet Union try to prevent their conflicts from destroying the world.



(C) J.G. SZABO - ROTHCO CARTOONS

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**THINK THROUGH HISTORY**

**C. Analyzing**

**Causes** Why did the United States begin pursuing a policy of détente?

country. His rise in politics in the 1950s was largely due to his strong anti-Communist position. Twenty years later, he became the first American president after World War II to visit Communist China. The visit made sense in a world in which three—rather than just two—superpowers eyed each other suspiciously. “We want the Chinese with us when we sit down and negotiate with the Russians,” Nixon explained.

**Nixon Visits the Communist Superpowers** Three months after visiting Beijing in February 1972, President Nixon made history again by becoming the first American president to visit the Soviet Union. After a series of meetings called the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), Nixon and Brezhnev signed the SALT I Treaty. This five-year agreement limited to 1972 levels the number of intercontinental ballistic and submarine-launched missiles each country could have. In 1975, 33 nations joined the United States and the Soviet Union in signing a commitment to détente and cooperation, the Helsinki Accords.

**Détente Cools**

Under Presidents Nixon and Gerald Ford, the United States gradually improved relations with China and the Soviet Union. In the late 1970s, however, President Jimmy Carter’s concern over harsh treatment of Soviet protesters threatened to prevent a second round of SALT negotiations. In June 1979, Carter and Brezhnev finally signed the SALT II agreement. When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in December of that year, however, the U.S. Congress refused to ratify SALT II. Tensions continued to mount as increasing numbers of European and Asian countries began building nuclear arsenals.



U.S. President Jimmy Carter and Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev optimistically mark the signing of the SALT II treaty in Vienna, Austria, in 1979. Carter, however, remained concerned over Soviet violations of its citizens’ human rights.

**Ronald Reagan Abandons Détente** The fiercely anti-Communist U.S. president **Ronald Reagan** took office in 1981. He continued his country’s retreat from détente. In 1983, he announced a program—the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)—to protect America against enemy missiles. The program, called **Star Wars** after a popular movie, was never put into effect. It remained a symbol of U.S. anti-Communist sentiment, however.

Tensions increased as U.S. activities such as arming Nicaragua’s Contras pushed the two countries even farther from détente. A transfer of power in the Soviet Union in 1985, however, brought a new policy toward the United States and the beginnings of a final thaw in the Cold War.

The Cold War between the two superpowers ebbed and flowed. Meanwhile, as you will learn in the next chapter, developing countries continued their own struggles for independence from colonialism.

**THINK THROUGH HISTORY**

**D. Contrasting**

In what ways did Presidents Nixon’s and Reagan’s policies toward the Soviet Union differ?

**Section 5 Assessment**

**1. TERMS & NAMES**

*Identify*

- Nikita Khrushchev
- destalinization
- Leonid Brezhnev
- John F. Kennedy
- Lyndon Johnson
- détente
- Richard M. Nixon
- SALT
- Ronald Reagan
- Star Wars

**2. TAKING NOTES**

In a chart like the one below, indicate each U.S. president’s contribution to Cold War tensions by writing his name in the correct column.

Tensions Increased	Tensions Decreased
Eisenhower	

Write a paragraph summarizing the policies and actions of one of these presidents.

**3. EVALUATING DECISIONS**

Do you think it was a wise political move for Nixon to visit Communist China and the Soviet Union? Why or why not?

**THINK ABOUT**

- the Cuban missile crisis
- realpolitik
- public sentiment after the Vietnam War

**4. THEME ACTIVITY**

**Revolution** Write a poem or song lyrics expressing a Hungarian or Czech citizen’s protest against Communist rule.



# Chapter 17 Assessment

## TERMS & NAMES

Briefly explain the importance of each of the following in reconstructing 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

## REVIEW QUESTIONS

SECTION 1 (pages 475–480)

### Two Superpowers Face Off

11. Why did some Americans oppose the Truman Doctrine?
12. How did the Soviet Union respond to the U.S. policy of brinkmanship?

SECTION 2 (pages 482–485)

### Communists Triumph in China

13. Which sides did the superpowers support in the Chinese internal struggle for control of the country?
14. What were the results of Mao Zedong's Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution?

SECTION 3 (pages 486–490)

### War in Korea and Vietnam

15. What effects did the Korean War have on Korea's land and people?
16. What major difficulties did the U.S. Army face in fighting the war in Vietnam?

SECTION 4 (pages 491–495)

### Cold War Around the World

17. Why did developing nations often align themselves with one or the other superpower?
18. How did the Soviet Union respond to the U.S.-supported Bay of Pigs invasion?

SECTION 5 (pages 496–499)

### The Cold War Thaws

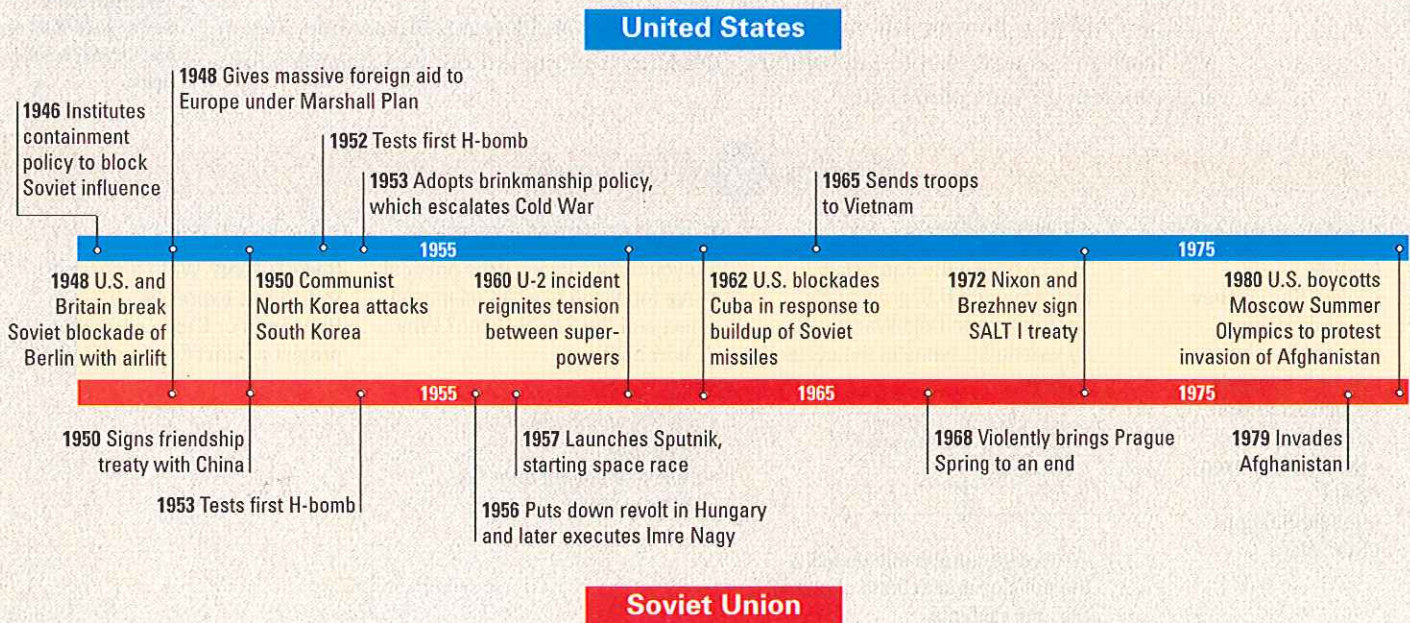
19. In what ways did Soviet actions hamper Eastern Europe's economic recovery after World War II?
20. What policies characterized realpolitik and how did they affect the course of the Cold War?

### Interact with History

On page 474, you considered what action you would take in a civil war in a developing country that both the United States and the Soviet Union were interested in. Now that you have learned more about the Cold War, would your decision change? Discuss your ideas with a small group.

## Visual Summary

## Cold War, 1946–1980



## CRITICAL THINKING

### 1. COLD WAR MANEUVERS

Using a web like the one below, indicate various tactics the Soviet Union and the United States used during the Cold War.



### 2. RECOGNIZING THE ENEMY

American cartoonist Walt Kelly once said, "We have met the enemy, and he is us." In what sense do you think this saying applies to the Cold War superpowers? In what specific ways were the United States and the Soviet Union more similar than they were different?

### 3. FROM WORLD WAR TO COLD WAR

**THEME EMPIRE BUILDING** The Soviet Union emerged from World War II economically and physically devastated. How do you think the development of the Cold War would have proceeded if the United States had been in that position?

### 4. ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

The following poem by Ho Chi Minh was broadcast over Hanoi Radio on January 1, 1968. Read the poem and answer the questions that follow.

#### A VOICE FROM THE PAST

This Spring far outshines the previous Springs,  
Of victories throughout the land come happy tidings.

South and North, rushing heroically together,  
shall

smite the American invaders!

Go Forward!

Total victory shall be ours.

HO CHI MINH, quoted in *America and Vietnam*

- In Ho's opinion, who was the enemy in the Vietnam War?
- What purpose might the North Vietnamese have had in broadcasting this poem?

## CHAPTER ACTIVITIES

### 1. LIVING HISTORY: Unit Portfolio Project

**THEME ECONOMICS** Your unit portfolio project focuses on the ways economic factors influence history. For Chapter 17, you might use one of the following ideas to add to your portfolio.

- Ask classmates to think about what life would be like for peasants in a Communist satellite country. Then stage an interview in which you ask them to discuss their feelings about communism and capitalism. Audiotape your interviews and add a commentary to create an "objective" newscast.
- Create a poster to teach elementary school students about the differences between capitalism and communism.
- Working in a small group, develop and perform a five- to ten-minute skit that pokes fun at communism or capitalism.

### 2. CONNECT TO TODAY: Cooperative Learning

**THEME REVOLUTION** During the Cold War, the superpowers played a part in many revolutions or upheavals in developing nations. This unrest continues today as countries struggle to develop suitable political and economic systems.

Working with a team, create an oral presentation about a current political struggle or revolution.



Using the Internet or magazines, research a current political conflict. Investigate the beliefs, programs, tactics, and popular support of the rival factions. Determine which side is in power and what the outcome of the struggle appears to be.

- Collect photographs, charts, artifacts, or other visual aids to illustrate the issues involved in the struggle.
- If possible, interview people from that country who have immigrated to the United States and include their viewpoints in your presentation.

### 3. INTERPRETING A TIME LINE

Look back at the unit time line on pages 470–471. Which two events during the Cold War do you think had the greatest impact on the U.S. decision to pursue a policy of détente?

## FOCUS ON GEOGRAPHY

Cold War tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union were fed by the fear of nuclear war.

- What does this map projection suggest about the distance between the countries?
- Which country had more ICBM bases?

**Connect to History**  
How did the United States and the Soviet Union avoid a nuclear confrontation?

