

# The Cold War



## Essential Question

Did anyone win the Cold War?



**About the Photograph:** As anti-Communist feelings rose in America, Senator Joseph McCarthy became a national sensation. He charged that Communists had infiltrated many areas of American life. In this photograph, McCarthy presents his claims to a U.S. Senate subcommittee.

In this module you will learn about the Cold War, a five-decade struggle for world influence between the United States and the Soviet Union.

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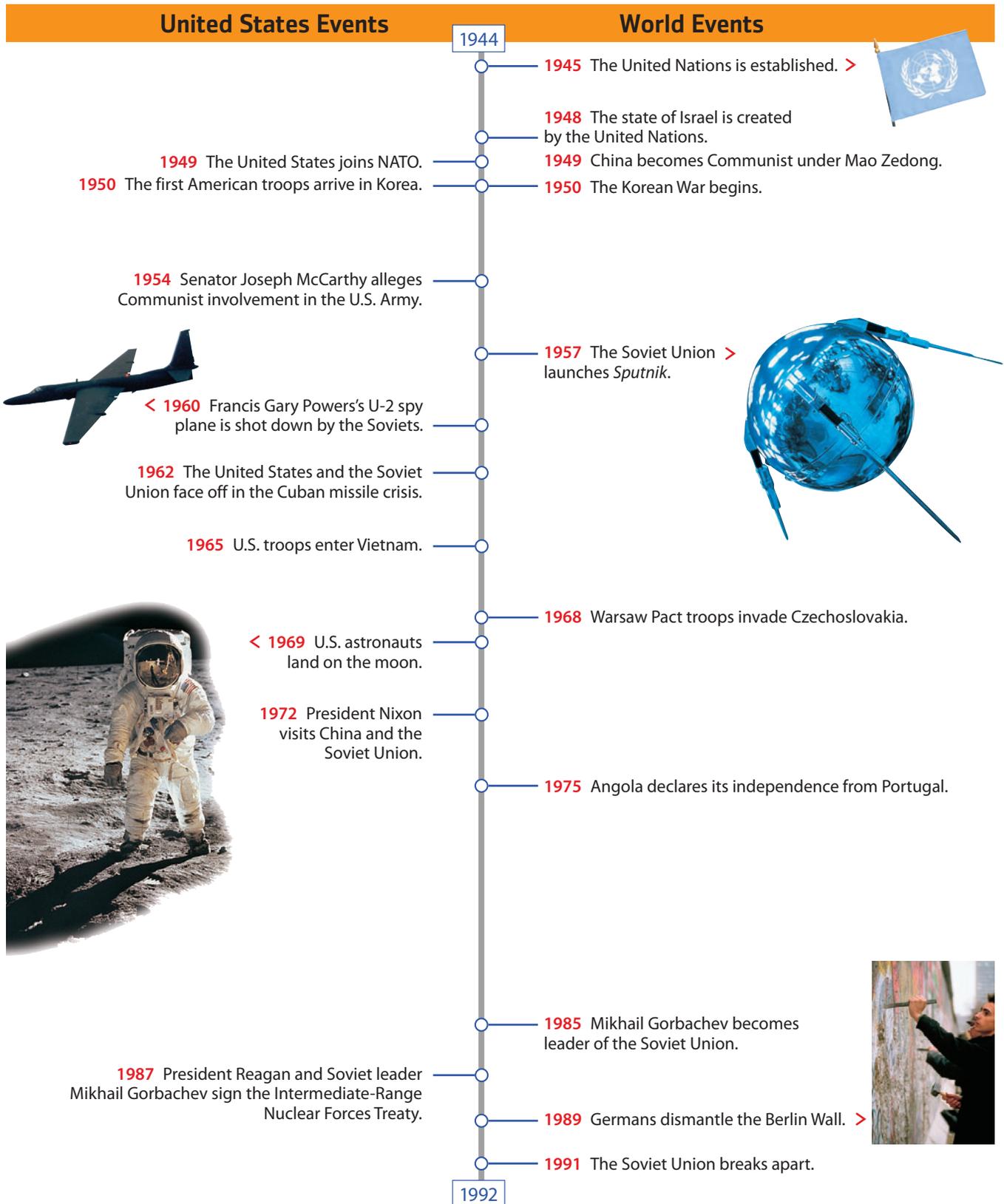
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# The Origins of the Cold War

## The Big Idea

The United States and the Soviet Union emerged from World War II as two “superpowers” with vastly different political and economic systems.

## Why It Matters Now

After World War II, differences between the United States and the Soviet Union led to a Cold War that lasted almost to the 21st century.

## Key Terms and People

Harry S. Truman

satellite nation

iron curtain

Cold War

containment

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

Truman Doctrine

Marshall Plan

Berlin airlift

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

## One American’s Story

Seventy miles south of Berlin, Joseph Polowsky and a patrol of American soldiers were scouting for signs of the Soviet army advancing from the east. As the soldiers neared the Elbe River, they saw lilacs in bloom. Polowsky later said the sight of the flowers filled them with joy.

Across the Elbe, the Americans spotted Soviet soldiers, who signaled for them to cross over. When the Americans reached the opposite bank, their joy turned to shock. They saw to their horror that the bank was covered with dead civilians, victims of bombing raids.

*“Here we are, tremendously exhilarated, and there’s a sea of dead. . . . [The platoon leader] was much moved. . . . He said, ‘Joe, let’s make a resolution with these Russians here and also the ones on the bank: this would be an important day in the lives of the two countries.’ . . . It was a solemn moment. There were tears in the eyes of most of us. . . . We embraced. We swore never to forget.”*

—Joseph Polowsky, quoted in *The Good War*



American and Soviet soldiers meet at the Elbe River in Germany near the end of World War II. A 1996 postage stamp commemorates the historic meeting.

The Soviet and U.S. soldiers believed that their encounter would serve as a symbol of peace. Unfortunately, such hopes were soon dashed. After World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as rival superpowers. Each was strong enough to greatly influence world events.

## Former Allies Clash

At the end of World War II, many once-powerful countries in Europe were devastated militarily and economically. In the wake of this destruction, the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the world's two leading nations. They were superpowers with the might and influence to shape world events. However, the two former allies had very different ambitions for the future. These differences created a climate of icy tension that plunged the two countries into a bitter rivalry.

**POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES** The U.S.-Soviet rivalry stemmed in large part from deep-rooted ideological differences. The two countries represented opposite ends of the political spectrum. In the American democratic system, the people voted to elect a president and a Congress from competing political parties. In the Soviet Union, the Communist Party had removed the czar by force. In his place, it had established a totalitarian government in which no opposing parties were allowed to exist. The Soviets were deeply resentful that the United States had not recognized their Communist government until 16 years after the revolution.

Economically, too, the countries were ideological opposites. Under Soviet communism, the state controlled all property and all economic activity. Individuals were expected to work only for the betterment of the country as a whole. In the American capitalist system, citizens and corporations drove almost all economic activity. Individuals had the right to work as they chose and to potentially become wealthy through their own efforts.

**WARTIME TENSIONS** Events during World War II widened the gap between the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States was furious that Joseph Stalin—the leader of the Soviet Union—had been an ally of Hitler for a time. Stalin had supported the Allies only after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941. In return, Stalin resented the Western Allies' delay in attacking the Germans in Europe. Such an attack, he thought, would have drawn part of the German army away from the Soviet Union.

Relations worsened after Stalin learned that the United States had kept its development of the atomic bomb secret. This revelation came at one of a series of conferences held by the Allied leaders during the last year of World War II. The goal of the conferences was to promote cooperation among the Allies. Instead of cooperation, they resulted in increased tension between President **Harry S. Truman** and Stalin. The American nuclear secret was only the beginning of the growing problem.

Much of the new tension stemmed from Stalin's refusal to allow democracy in Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe. At the Yalta Conference in January 1945, Stalin had agreed to allow free elections after the war. By the time of the Potsdam Conference six months later, however, he had backed off from his promise. The Soviet government banned democratic parties in countries under its control and arrested non-Communist leaders. Truman had hoped to spread democracy into areas that had been under Nazi control. He viewed Stalin's actions as intolerable.

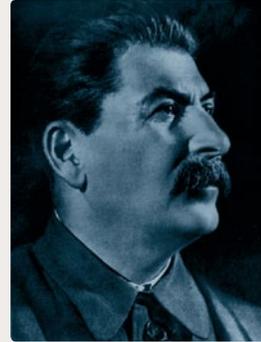
## Harry S. Truman (1884–1972)



Harry S. Truman, the son of a Missouri livestock trader, did not seem destined for greatness. When he graduated from high school in 1901, he drifted from job to job. After World War I, he invested in a men's clothing store, but the business failed.

Discouraged by his business failure, Truman sought a career in politics. As a politician, his blunt and outspoken style won both loyal friends and bitter enemies. As president, his decisiveness and willingness to accept responsibility for his decisions ("The Buck Stops Here" read a sign on his desk) earned him respect that has grown over the years.

## Joseph Stalin (1879–1953)



As a young revolutionary, Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili took the name *Stalin*, which means "man of steel" in Russian. His father was a failed shoemaker and an alcoholic. His mother helped support the family by washing clothes.

Stalin is credited with turning the Soviet Union into a world power but at a terrible cost to its citizens. He ruled with terror and brutality and saw enemies everywhere, even among friends and supporters. He subdued the population with the use of secret police and labor camps, and he is believed to have been responsible for the murder of millions of Soviets.

In addition to spreading political freedom, Truman also felt that the United States had a large economic stake in spreading democracy and free trade across the globe. U.S. industry boomed during the war, making the United States the economic leader of the world. To continue growing, American businesses wanted access to raw materials in Eastern Europe. They also wanted to be able to sell goods to Eastern European countries.

**SOVIETS TIGHTEN THEIR GRIP ON EASTERN EUROPE** Like the United States, the Soviet Union had emerged from the war as a nation of enormous economic and military strength. However, unlike the United States, the Soviet Union had suffered heavy devastation on its own soil. Soviet deaths from the war have been estimated at 20 million, half of them civilians. As a result, the Soviets felt justified in laying claim to Eastern Europe. By dominating this region, the Soviets felt they could stop future invasions from the west. Stalin installed Communist governments in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Poland. These countries became known as **satellite nations**, countries dependent upon and dominated by the Soviets.

In a 1946 speech, Stalin announced that communism and capitalism were incompatible—and that another war was inevitable. Therefore, he said, the Soviet Union would concentrate on producing weapons rather than consumer goods. The United States interpreted this speech as a direct challenge.

As tensions mounted, Europe found itself divided into two political and economic regions. One was the mostly democratic and capitalist Western Europe. The other was Communist Eastern Europe. In March 1946 Winston Churchill traveled to the United States. He gave a speech that described the situation in Europe.

*“A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. . . . 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, from “Iron Curtain” speech in Fulton, Missouri, 1946

The phrase **“iron curtain”** came to stand for the division of Europe. When Stalin heard about the speech, he declared Churchill’s words a “call to war.”

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## The Iron Curtain, 1949



**Interpret Maps**

- 1. Location** Which Communist nations were located between the Soviet Union and the iron curtain?
- 2. Human-Environment Interaction** Why did the Soviet Union want to control these nations?

**CONFLICT IN THE UNITED NATIONS** Wars like the one Stalin predicted were supposed to be prevented by the United Nations (UN). That organization had been established in the closing years of World War II to prevent conflict. In theory, the UN gave countries a forum in which to discuss and peacefully resolve disputes. In practice, however, the UN became another sort of battleground in which opposing nations could face off.

The unexpected tensions within the United Nations originated in part from its structure. The UN charter established a General Assembly, in which every member nation has a voice, and several councils. One of these councils, the Security Council, is charged with maintaining global peace and security. It was originally made up of 11 nations—later expanded to 15. Five of these nations have permanent membership. China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States are the permanent members. Each has the power to veto the discussion of any issue brought before the council.

This veto power initially proved counterproductive to the Security Council’s mission. The Soviet Union in particular used its veto to head off discussion on any issue that it felt could hinder the spread of communism or increase support for its opponents. By the end of 1947, the Soviets had blocked discussion of more than 20 issues brought before the council. The issues ranged from complaints about Soviet activity in Eastern Europe to applications from Western European countries to join the UN. No other member of the Security Council used a single veto during that period.

Over the next few decades, the veto stalemate continued in the UN. Although increasing tension between the United States and the Soviet Union threatened to lead to war in hotspots around the world, the UN was kept from intervening. UN assistance was limited largely to conflicts unrelated to U.S.-Soviet tension.

**Reading Check**

**Analyze Causes**

What caused the tension between the Soviet Union and the United States after the war?

**U.S. Aims Versus Soviet Aims in Europe**

The United States wanted to . . .	The Soviet Union wanted to . . .
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Create a new world order in which all nations had the right of self-determination</li> <li>• Gain access to raw materials and markets for its industries</li> <li>• Rebuild European governments to ensure stability and to create new markets for American goods</li> <li>• Reunite Germany, believing that Europe would be more secure if Germany were productive</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Encourage communism in other countries as part of the worldwide struggle between workers and the wealthy</li> <li>• Rebuild its war-ravaged economy using Eastern Europe’s industrial equipment and raw materials</li> <li>• Control Eastern Europe to balance U.S. influence in Western Europe</li> <li>• Keep Germany divided and weak so that it would never again threaten the Soviet Union</li> </ul>

**Interpret Tables**

1. Which aims involved economic growth of the United States?
2. Which Soviet aims involved self-protection?

## New Foreign Policies

The conflicting U.S. and Soviet aims in Eastern Europe led to the **Cold War**. This was a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union in which neither nation directly confronted the other on the battlefield. The Cold War would dominate global affairs—and U.S. foreign policy—from 1945 until the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991.

**UNITED STATES ESTABLISHES A POLICY OF CONTAINMENT** Faced with the Soviet threat, American officials decided it was time, in Truman’s words, to stop “babying the Soviets.” This changed stance toward the Soviet Union required the development of a new foreign policy. In February 1946 George F. Kennan, an American diplomat in Moscow, proposed a policy he called **containment**. By containment, he meant taking measures to prevent any extension of Communist rule to other countries. In Kennan’s plan, such measures would mostly include diplomatic outreach and financial assistance to countries to help them resist Soviet influence.

Under the containment policy, assistance generally first went to countries near existing Communist states, where Communist influence was likely to be strongest. As a result, Western Europe was the first region to receive U.S. aid. This was a result of fears that communism would creep into the area from Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe. Billions of dollars in loans and material assistance flowed across the Atlantic into Western Europe.

As time passed, however, the containment policy came to depend more on military intervention than on purely financial assistance. When the Soviet Union also began sending aid to its allies and exerting influence in various parts of the world, the United States reacted. American troops and funds went to Asia, Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere in hopes of keeping communism in check.

## American and Soviet Uses of Force

Location	Number of Uses	
	United States 1946–1975	Soviet Union 1946–1979
Latin America	61	5
Western Europe	20	36
Eastern Europe	26	56
Middle East/North Africa	39	36
Sub-Saharan Africa/South Asia	11	15
Southeast/East Asia	61	42

### Totals

218

190

### Interpret Tables

Based on this table, how did proximity influence American and Soviet military activity?

The idea of containment began to guide the Truman administration's foreign policy. Naturally, this placed the United States directly in opposition to the Soviet Union on the world stage. Several times over the next few decades, the United States intervened in conflicts around the globe in support of those who sought to keep Communists out of their homelands. In addition, the country would pour billions of dollars of economic aid into building up and supporting democratic governments. All of these efforts were focused on stopping the advance of communism.

**UNITED STATES CREATES AN INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY** Increasingly complex foreign relations during the Cold War required the United States to develop a more complex bureaucracy. In particular, the country needed more intelligence-gathering organizations. These organizations would collect information about Communist activity, both in Europe and at home. The core of this new bureaucracy was formed in 1947 when President Truman signed the National Security Act.

The 1947 act created two new intelligence agencies to help the president formulate the country's foreign policy and to prevent future surprises like the attack on Pearl Harbor. The National Security Council (NSC) was created as a coordinating agency. It sorted through reports and diplomatic dispatches to identify potential national security concerns. Its members included the president, vice-president, secretary of state, and others. They met regularly to address both immediate and long-term issues. The act also established the **Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)**. The CIA gathered intelligence from the military and the state department. It also performed covert, or secret, operations in foreign countries.

In addition to creating an intelligence community, the National Security Act reorganized the U.S. military. The goal was to streamline military decision making. Three existing departments—the War Department, Navy Department, and Department of the Air Force—were combined into the new Department of Defense. Each branch of the military still had its own secretary, but the new secretary of defense oversaw all of them.

## Efforts to Rebuild Europe

Truman's new containment policy was tested almost immediately in Europe. The heavy destruction caused by World War II had left much of the continent in financial ruin. Economic devastation led to political instability and talk of revolution in some countries. Truman and his advisers feared that these circumstances could lead to increased Soviet influence and the establishment of new Communist regimes.

**THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE** The United States first tried to contain Soviet influence in Greece and Turkey. For years, Britain had been financially supporting both nations' resistance to growing Communist influence in the region. However, Britain's economy had been badly hurt by the war. The formerly wealthy nation could no longer afford to give aid. It asked the United States to take over the responsibility.



### Reading Check

#### Analyze Motives

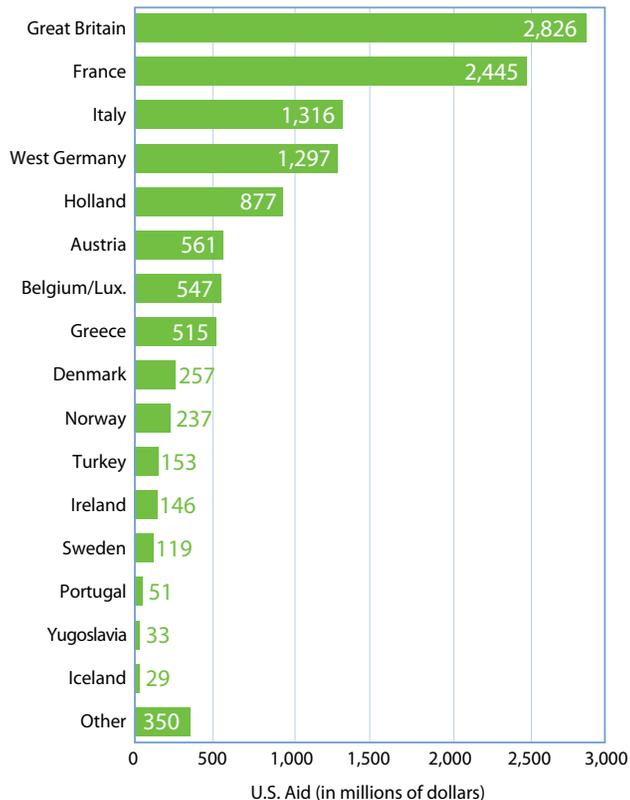
What was Truman's goal in establishing the policy of containment and creating new intelligence agencies?

**Vocabulary**  
subjugation  
bringing under control

President Truman accepted the challenge. On March 12, 1947, Truman asked Congress for \$400 million in economic and military aid for Greece and Turkey. In his statement, he expressed what became known as the **Truman Doctrine**. He declared that the United States would be supporting people around the world who were fighting against outside forces trying to take over their governments. Congress agreed with Truman. It decided that the doctrine was essential to keep Soviet political and economic influence from spreading. Between 1947 and 1950, the United States sent \$400 million in aid to Turkey and Greece. This greatly reduced the danger of Communist subjugation in those nations.

**THE MARSHALL PLAN** Like post-war Greece, Western Europe was in chaos. Most of its factories had been bombed or looted. Millions of people were living in refugee camps while European governments tried to figure out where to resettle them. To make matters worse, the winter of 1946–1947 was the bitterest in several centuries. The weather severely damaged crops and froze rivers, cutting off water transportation and causing a fuel shortage.

The Marshall Plan



Source: *Problemes Economiques*, No. 306

#### Interpret Graphs

1. Which two countries received the most aid?
2. Why do you think these countries received so much aid?

## The Truman Doctrine

In a 1947 speech to Congress, President Truman announced a significant change in U.S. foreign policy. With isolation no longer feasible and communism posing a threat around the world, Truman explained why he supported taking action to contain Soviet influence.

*“I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.*

*I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.*

*I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is*

*essential to economic stability and orderly political processes. . . .*

*Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence. . . .”*

—Harry S. Truman, from a speech to a joint session of Congress, March 12, 1947

### Analyze Historical Sources

How does Truman intend to help other countries resist Communist influence?

### Background

The Marshall Plan also benefited America. U.S. farm and factory production increased to supply Europe with goods, and the wartime economic boom continued.

### Reading Check

#### Summarize

What was the U.S. response to tensions with the Soviets in the late 1940s?

In June 1947 Secretary of State George Marshall proposed that the United States provide aid to all European nations that needed it. He said that this move was directed “not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos.” The **Marshall Plan** revived European hopes. Over the next four years, 16 countries received some \$13 billion in aid. Marshall’s original plan even offered assistance to the Soviet Union and its allies. Stalin, however, refused to accept any assistance from the United States.

By 1952 Western Europe was flourishing, and the Communist Party had lost much of its appeal to voters. In addition, the economic aid had helped the United States build strong alliances with the nations of Western Europe. These alliances would prove valuable in the coming years as the struggle against communism continued.

## Superpowers Struggle over Germany

As Europe began to get back on its feet, the United States and its allies clashed with the Soviet Union over the issue of German reunification. At the Potsdam Conference near the end of World War II, Allied leaders agreed to leave Germany divided into four zones occupied by the United States, Great Britain, and France in the west and the Soviet Union in the east. In 1948 Britain,

France, and the United States decided to combine their three zones into one nation. The western part of Berlin, which had been occupied by the French, British, and Americans, was surrounded by Soviet-occupied territory.

Although the three nations had a legal right to unify their zones, they had no written agreement with the Soviets guaranteeing free access to Berlin. Stalin saw this loophole as an opportunity. If he moved quickly, he might be able to take over the part of Berlin held by the three Western powers. In June 1948 Stalin closed all highway and rail routes into West Berlin. As a result, no food or fuel could reach that part of the city. The 2.1 million residents of the city had only enough food to last for approximately five weeks.

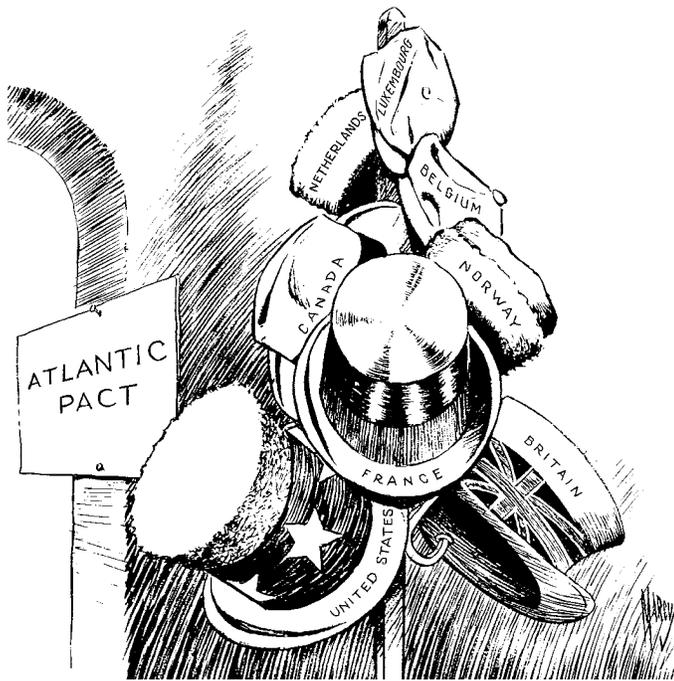
**THE BERLIN AIRLIFT** The resulting situation was dire. In an attempt to break the blockade, American and British officials started the **Berlin airlift** to fly food and supplies into West Berlin. For 327 days, planes took off and landed every few minutes, around the clock. In 277,000 flights, they brought in 2.3 million tons of supplies—everything from food, fuel, and medicine to Christmas presents that the planes' crews bought with their own money.

West Berlin survived because of the airlift. In addition, the mission to aid Berlin boosted American prestige around the world, while causing Soviet prestige to drop. By May 1949 the Soviet Union realized it was beaten and lifted the blockade.

In the same month, the western part of Germany officially became a new nation, the Federal Republic of Germany, also called West Germany. It included West Berlin. A few months later, from its occupation zone, the Soviet Union created the German Democratic Republic, called East Germany. It included East Berlin.



Beginning in June 1948 planes bringing tons of food and other supplies to West Berlin landed every few minutes.



This cartoon depicts the nations that signed the North Atlantic Pact, which created NATO in 1949. The nations, shown as hats, are arranged in a pyramid to show the bigger countries on the bottom supporting the smaller, weaker nations on top.

### Reading Check

#### Analyze Effects

What were the effects of the Berlin airlift?

isolationism. Greece and Turkey joined NATO in 1952, and West Germany joined in 1955. By then, NATO kept a standing military force of more than 500,000 troops as well as thousands of planes, tanks, and other equipment.

**THE NATO ALLIANCE** The Berlin blockade increased Western European fear of Soviet aggression. As a result, ten Western European nations—Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal—joined with the United States and Canada on April 4, 1949, to form a defensive military alliance called the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. The 12 members of NATO pledged military support to one another in case any member was attacked. By signing the North Atlantic Treaty, the United States also pledged to help the countries of Western Europe rebuild their defense capabilities. In the year following the creation of NATO, Congress authorized more than \$1 billion to help restore European military power.

For the first time in its history, the United States had entered into a military alliance with other nations during peacetime. The Cold War had ended any hope of a return to U.S. isolationism.

## Lesson 1 Assessment

### 1. Organize Information

Use a table to describe the U.S. actions and the Soviet actions that contributed most to the Cold War.

U.S. Actions	Soviet Actions

Write a paragraph explaining which country was more responsible for increased tension and why you think so.

**2. Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

**3. Evaluate** People who had served as aides to President Franklin Roosevelt worried that Truman was not qualified to handle world leadership. Considering what you learned in this section, evaluate Truman as a world leader.

#### Think About:

- his behavior toward Stalin
- his economic support of European nations
- his support of West Berlin

**4. Make Inferences** Which of the two superpowers do you think was more successful in achieving its aims during the period 1945–1949? Support your answer by referring to historical events.

**5. Analyze Motives** What were Stalin's motives in supporting Communist governments in Eastern Europe?

**6. Summarize** What steps did the United States take to help rebuild Western Europe after the war?

# The Cold War Heats Up

## The Big Idea

After World War II, China became a Communist nation and Korea was split into a Communist north and a democratic south.

## Why It Matters Now

Ongoing tensions with China and North Korea continue to involve the United States.

## Key Terms and People

Chiang Kai-shek

Mao Zedong

Taiwan

38th parallel

Korean War

## One American's Story

First Lieutenant Philip Day Jr. vividly remembers his first taste of battle in Korea. On the morning of July 5, 1950, Philip Day spotted a column of eight enemy tanks moving toward his company.

*"I was with a 75-mm recoilless-rifle team. 'Let's see,' I shouted, 'if we can get one of those tanks.' We picked up the gun and moved it to where we could get a clean shot. I don't know if we were poorly trained, . . . but we set the gun on the forward slope of the hill. When we fired, the recoilless blast blew a hole in the hill which instantly covered us in mud and dirt. . . . When we were ready again, we moved the gun to a better position and began banging away. I swear we had some hits, but the tanks never slowed down. . . . In a little less than two hours, 30 North Korean tanks rolled through the position we were supposed to block as if we hadn't been there."*



American soldiers in Korea, November 1950

—Philip Day Jr., quoted in *The Korean War: Pusan to Chosin*

Only five years after World War II ended, the United States became embroiled in a war in Korea. The policy of containment had led the United States into battle to halt Communist expansion. In this conflict, however, the enemy was not the Soviet Union, but North Korea and China.

## China Becomes a Communist Country

American involvement in Korea grew out of events that took place during World War II and the early years of the Cold War. For more than a decade before the war, Chinese Communists had struggled against the nationalist government of **Chiang Kai-shek** (chǎng' kī'shěk'). When the Japanese invaded China in 1937, though, the two sides temporarily interrupted their civil war and joined in the common cause against the invader. The Communists led the struggle in the north. The Nationalists under Chiang fought in the south. The United States supported Chiang.

**CHINA UNDER CHIANG** Many Americans were impressed by Chiang Kai-shek and admired the courage and determination that the Nationalists showed resisting the Japanese. However, U.S. officials who dealt with Chiang held a different view. They found his government inefficient and hopelessly corrupt. They noted that his policies actually weakened support for his own party. For example, the Nationalists collected a grain tax from farmers even during the famine of 1944. When city dwellers demonstrated against a 10,000 percent increase in the price of rice, Chiang's secret police opened fire on them.

In contrast, the Communists, led by **Mao Zedong** (mou' dzǔ'dǒng'), gained strength throughout the country. In the areas they controlled, Communists worked to win peasant support. They encouraged peasants to learn to read, and they helped to improve food production. As a result, more and more recruits flocked to the Communists' Red Army. By 1945 much of northern China was under Communist control.

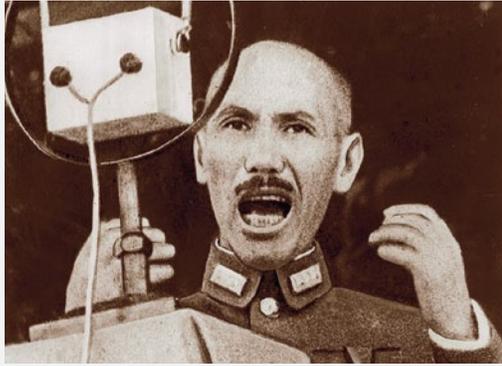
**RENEWED CIVIL WAR** As soon as the defeated Japanese left China at the end of World War II, cooperation between the Nationalists and the Communists ceased. Civil war erupted again between the two groups. In spite of the problems in the Nationalist regime, American policy favored the Nationalists because they opposed communism.

From 1944 to 1947 the United States played peacemaker between the two groups while still supporting the Nationalists. However, U.S. officials repeatedly failed to negotiate peace. Truman also refused to commit American soldiers to back up the Nationalists, although the United States did send \$2 billion worth of military equipment and supplies.

The aid wasn't enough to save the Nationalists, whose weak military leadership and corrupt, abusive practices drove many peasants to the Communist side. In May 1949 Chiang and the remnants of his demoralized government fled to the island of **Taiwan**, which Westerners called Formosa. There, about 100 miles from the Chinese mainland, the United States helped set up a Nationalist government—the Republic of China. From 1949 through the 1960s, the United States poured millions of dollars of aid into the Taiwanese economy. However, Chiang had not attained his goal. After more than 20 years of struggle, the Communists ruled all of mainland China. They established a new government, the People's Republic of China, which the United States refused to accept as China's true government.

## Nationalists Versus Communists, 1945

Chiang Kai-shek,  
Leader of the Nationalists



- Ruled in southern and eastern China
- Relied heavily on aid from United States
- Struggled with inflation and a failing economy
- Suffered from weak leadership and poor morale

Mao Zedong,  
Leader of the Communists



- Ruled in northern China
- Relied heavily on financial aid from Soviet Union
- Attracted peasants with promises of land reform
- Benefited from experienced guerrilla army and a highly motivated leadership

**AMERICA REACTS TO THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER** The American public was stunned that China had become Communist. Containment had failed. In Congress, conservative Republicans and Democrats attacked the Truman administration for supplying only limited aid to Chiang. If containing communism was important in Europe, they asked, why was it not equally important in Asia?

The State Department replied by saying that what had happened in China was a result of internal forces. The United States had failed in its attempts to influence these forces, such as Chiang's inability to retain the support of his people. Trying to do more would only have started a war in Asia—a war that the United States wasn't prepared to fight.

Some conservatives in Congress rejected this argument as a lame excuse. They claimed that the American government was riddled with Communist agents. Like wildfire, American fear of communism began to burn out of control, and the flames were fanned even further by events in Korea the following year.

### The Korean War

As part of its imperialist expansion, Japan had taken over Korea in 1910. During World War II, some 300,000 Japanese troops had occupied the Korean peninsula, and millions of Koreans were forced into military service or into hard labor. When the war ended in 1945, Japanese troops in northern Korea, north of the **38th parallel** (38° N latitude), surrendered to the Soviets. Japanese troops south of the parallel surrendered to the Americans. As in Germany, two nations developed, one Communist and one democratic.

#### Reading Check

##### Analyze Causes

What factors led to the Communist takeover in China?



South Korean president Syngman Rhee (center, wearing a suit) meets with U.S. General James Van Fleet in 1952.

**TWO NATIONS** In 1948 the Republic of Korea, usually called South Korea, was established in the zone that had been occupied by the United States. Its government, headed by Syngman Rhee, was based in Seoul, Korea's traditional capital. Simultaneously, the Communists formed the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the north. Kim Il Sung led its government, which was based in Pyongyang. Both Kim and Rhee were devoted Nationalists who wanted to reunite the two halves of Korea. However, they strongly disagreed about how the unified country should be governed.

By 1949, under a UN agreement, both the United States and the Soviet Union had withdrawn their troops from Korea, although both nations left advisers in place. Negotiations intended to reunite the peninsula went nowhere, leaving the two new nations glaring at each other across the 38th parallel. Each government claimed the sole right to rule all of Korea.

**NORTH KOREA ATTACKS SOUTH KOREA** On June 25, 1950, North Korean forces swept across the 38th parallel in a surprise attack on South Korea. Supported by money and materials from the Soviet Union, the North Koreans intended to take control of all of Korea through one quick strike. The conflict that followed became known as the **Korean War**.

Within a few days, North Korean troops had penetrated deep into South Korea. South Korea called on the United Nations to stop the North Korean

#### ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE

##### India's Viewpoint

Nonaligned nations such as India were on neither side of the Cold War and had their own perspectives. In 1951 the prime minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, had this to say about the Korean War:

"This great struggle between the United States and Soviet Russia is hardly the proper role in this world for those great powers. . . . Their role should be to function in their own territories and not be a threat to others."

invasion. When the matter came to a vote in the UN Security Council, the Soviet Union was not there. The Soviets were boycotting the council in protest over the UN's decision to recognize the Nationalist government in Taiwan rather than Communist China. Thus, the Soviets could not veto the UN's plan of military action. In their absence, the United States pushed for intervention on behalf of South Korea. American leaders feared that allowing communism to spread in the south would pose a threat to the free world and its security. The vote passed.

On June 27, in a show of military strength, President Truman ordered troops stationed in Japan to support the South Koreans. He also sent an American fleet into the waters between Taiwan and China. According to the Constitution, however, the power to declare war lies with the legislative branch, and Congress never voted to declare war in Korea. Therefore, Truman's critics cried that he had overstepped his

constitutional authority by sending troops to Asia. Truman countered that he was acting in response to a call for action by the United Nations, which he claimed lay within his powers as Commander in Chief. As a result, the United States was never officially at war in Korea, but instead was involved in a United Nations "police action."

In all, 16 nations sent some 520,000 troops to aid South Korea. Over 90 percent of these troops were American. South Korean troops numbered an additional 590,000. The combined forces were placed under the command of General Douglas MacArthur, former World War II hero in the Pacific.

##### Reading Check

Analyze Events  
How did Korea become a divided nation after World War II?

## The United States Fights in Korea

At first, North Korea seemed unstoppable. Driving steadily south, its troops captured Seoul. After a month of bitter combat, the North Koreans had forced UN and South Korean troops into a small defensive zone around Pusan in the southeastern corner of the peninsula.

**MACARTHUR'S COUNTERATTACK** To stop the North Korean advance, MacArthur launched a counterattack with tanks, heavy artillery, and fresh troops from the United States. On September 15, 1950, his troops made a surprise amphibious landing behind enemy lines at Inchon, on Korea's west coast. Other troops moved north from Pusan. Trapped between the two attacking forces, about half of the North Korean troops surrendered; the rest fled back across the 38th parallel. MacArthur's plan had saved his army from almost certain defeat. His brilliant strategy and phenomenal success—both in Korea and in World War II—made him a hero to the American public.

The UN army chased the retreating North Korean troops across the 38th parallel into North Korea. In late November, UN troops approached the Yalu River, the border between North Korea and China. It seemed as if Korea was about to become a single country again.

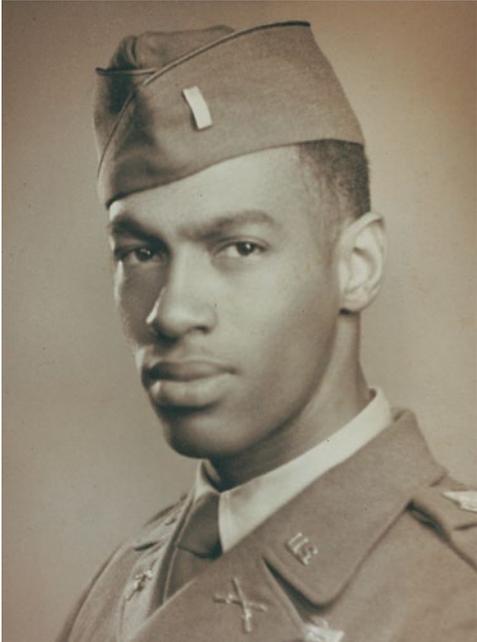
**THE CHINESE FIGHT BACK** The Chinese, however, had other ideas. Communist China's foreign minister, Zhou Enlai, warned that his country would not stand idly by and "let the Americans come to the border"—meaning the Yalu River, the boundary between North Korea and China. In late November 1950, 300,000 Chinese troops joined the war on the side of North Korea. The Chinese wanted North Korea as a Communist buffer state to protect the northeastern region of Manchuria. They also felt threatened by the American fleet that lay off their coast. The fight between North Korea and South Korea had escalated into a war in which the main opponents were the Chinese Communists and the Americans.

**Vocabulary**  
**amphibious** capable of traveling both on land and on water

American paratroopers comb through a village in North Korea on October 20, 1950, during the Korean War.



By sheer force of numbers, the Chinese quickly drove the UN troops southward. At some points along the battlefield, the Chinese outnumbered UN forces ten to one. By early January 1951 all UN and South Korean troops had been pushed out of North Korea. The Chinese advanced to the south, once again capturing the South Korean capital, Seoul. “We face an entirely new war,” declared MacArthur.



Beverly Scott

For two years, the two sides fought bitterly to obtain strategic positions in the Korean hills, but neither side was able to make important advances. One officer remembered the standoff.

*“Our trenches . . . were only about 20 meters in front of theirs. We were eyeball to eyeball. . . . We couldn’t move at all in the daytime without getting shot at. Machine-gun fire would come in, grenades, small- arms fire, all from within spitting distance. It was like World War I. We lived in a maze of bunkers and deep trenches. . . . There were bodies strewn all over the place. Hundreds of bodies frozen in the snow.”*

—Beverly Scott, quoted in *No Bugles, No Drums: An Oral History of the Korean War*

**Vocabulary**  
**conspirator** a person who takes part in secretly planning something unlawful

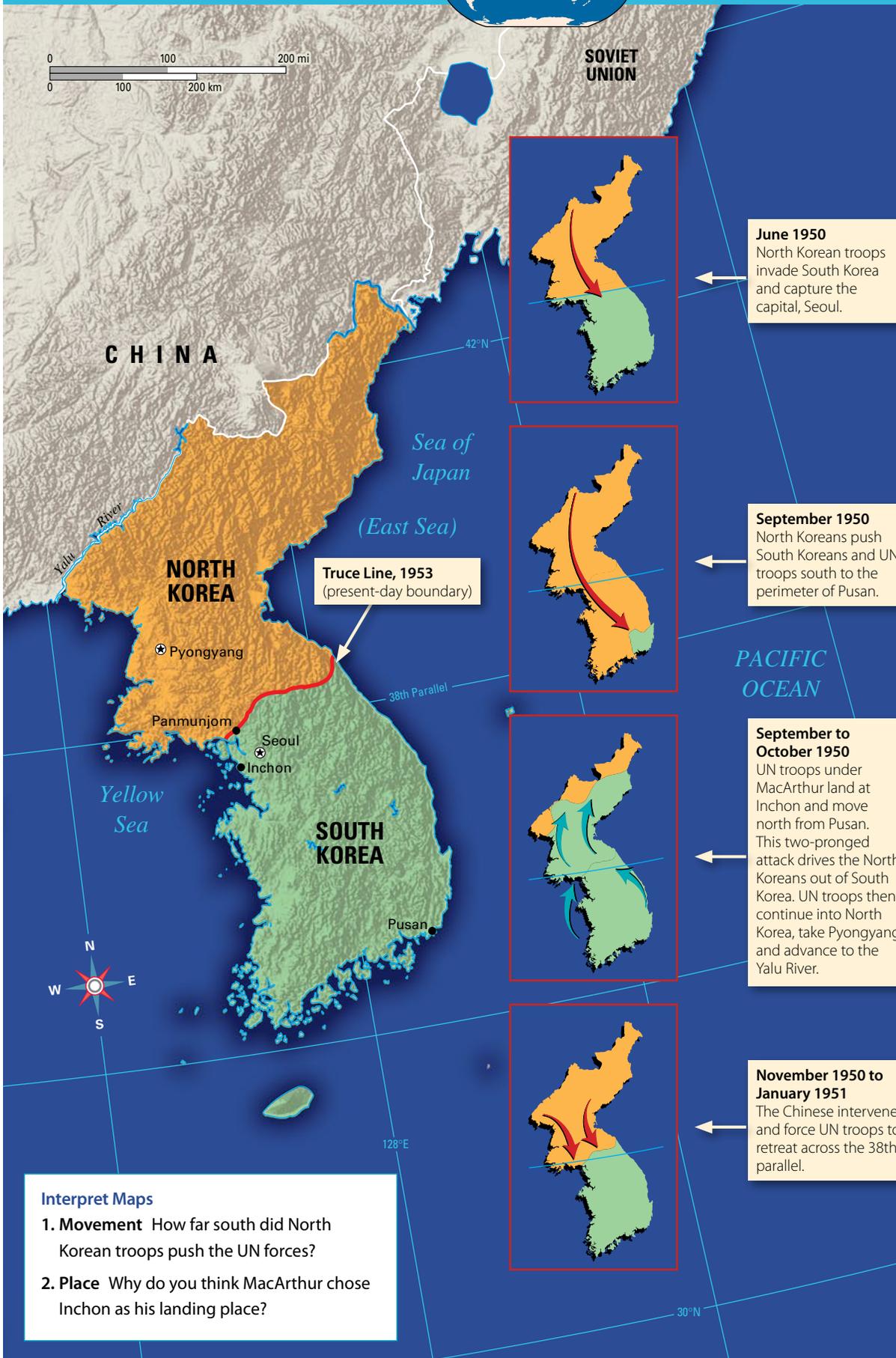
**MACARTHUR RECOMMENDS ATTACKING CHINA** To halt the bloody stalemate, in early 1951 MacArthur called for an extension of the war into China. Convinced that Korea was the place “where the Communist conspirators have elected to make their play for global conquest,” MacArthur called for a blockade of the Chinese coast and the use of nuclear weapons. He also wanted to use Chiang Kai-shek’s troops to invade southern China.

Truman rejected MacArthur’s request. The president did not want the United States involved in a massive land war in Asia. He preferred to fight a limited war, focusing only on containing Communist forces, not destroying communism outright. Plus, the Soviet Union had a mutual-assistance pact with China. Attacking China could set off World War III. As General Omar N. Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said, an all-out conflict with China would be “the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy.”

Instead of attacking China, the UN and South Korean forces began to advance once more, using the U.S. Eighth Army, led by Matthew B. Ridgway, as a spearhead. By April 1951 Ridgway had retaken Seoul and had moved back up to the 38th parallel. The situation was just what it had been before the fighting began.

**MACARTHUR VERSUS TRUMAN** Not satisfied with the recapture of South Korea, MacArthur continued to urge the waging of a full-scale war against China. Certain that his views were correct, MacArthur tried to go over the president’s head. He spoke and wrote privately to newspaper and magazine publishers and, especially, to Republican leaders.

# The Korean War, 1950–1953



**June 1950**  
North Korean troops invade South Korea and capture the capital, Seoul.

**September 1950**  
North Koreans push South Koreans and UN troops south to the perimeter of Pusan.

**September to October 1950**  
UN troops under MacArthur land at Incheon and move north from Pusan. This two-pronged attack drives the North Koreans out of South Korea. UN troops then continue into North Korea, take Pyongyang, and advance to the Yalu River.

**November 1950 to January 1951**  
The Chinese intervene and force UN troops to retreat across the 38th parallel.

**Interpret Maps**

- 1. Movement** How far south did North Korean troops push the UN forces?
- 2. Place** Why do you think MacArthur chose Incheon as his landing place?



General Douglas MacArthur and President Truman strongly disagreed about how best to proceed in the Korean War.

MacArthur's superiors informed him that he had no authority to make decisions of policy. Despite repeated warnings to follow orders, MacArthur continued to criticize the president. President Truman, who as president was Commander in Chief of the armed forces and thus MacArthur's boss, was just as stubborn as MacArthur. Truman refused to stand for this kind of behavior. He wanted to put together a settlement of the war and could no longer tolerate a military commander who was trying to sabotage his policy. On April 11, 1951, Truman made the shocking announcement that he had fired MacArthur.

Many Americans were outraged over their hero's downfall. A public opinion poll showed that 69 percent of the American public backed General MacArthur. When MacArthur returned to the United States, he gave an address to Congress, an honor usually awarded only to heads of government. New York City honored him with a ticker-tape parade. In his closing remarks to Congress, MacArthur said, "Old soldiers never die, they just fade away."

Throughout the fuss, Truman stayed in the background. After MacArthur's moment of public glory passed, the Truman administration began to make its case. Before a congressional committee investigating MacArthur's dismissal, a parade of witnesses argued the case for limiting the war. The committee agreed with them. As a result, public opinion swung around to the view that Truman had done the right thing. As a political figure, MacArthur did indeed fade away.

**CONFLICT ENDS IN STALEMATE** As the MacArthur controversy died down, the Soviet Union unexpectedly suggested a cease-fire on June 23, 1951. Truce talks began in July 1951. The opposing sides reached agreement on two points: the location of the cease-fire line at the existing battle line and the establishment of a demilitarized zone between the opposing sides. Negotiators spent another year wrangling over the exchange of prisoners. Finally, in July 1953 the two sides met in the town of Panmunjom and signed an armistice ending the war.

At best, the agreement was a stalemate. On the one hand, the North Korean invaders had been pushed back, and communism had been contained without the use of atomic weapons. On the other hand, Korea was still two nations rather than one.

On the home front, the war had affected the lives of ordinary Americans in many ways. It had cost 54,000 American lives and \$67 billion in expenditures. The high cost of this unsuccessful war was one of many factors leading Americans to reject the Democratic Party in 1952 and to elect a Republican administration under World War II hero Dwight D. Eisenhower.

### Vocabulary

**demilitarize** to ban military forces in an area or region

## The Two Koreas

Korea was split into North Korea and South Korea at the end of World War II. Today, more than 60 years later, the peninsula is still divided. South Korea is booming economically, while North Korea, still Communist, struggles with severe food and energy shortages.

Periodically, discussions about reuniting the two countries resume. In 2000 South Korean president Kim Dae-jung, pictured here, won the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to improve ties with North Korea. The two nations met in North



Korea for the first time since the nations were established in 1948. Although economic and political differences continue to keep the two countries apart, there is hope that one day Korea will become a united nation.

### Reading Check

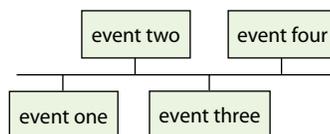
#### Compare

How did Truman and MacArthur differ over strategy in the Korean War?

In addition, the Korean War had long-lasting effects on U.S. foreign policy. The hostilities put further strain on already tense relations between the United States and China. After the Communist takeover and the Korean War, it seemed unlikely that the two countries would find any sort of diplomatic accord. At the same time, the repulsion of communism from South Korea convinced U.S. officials that containment was a workable foreign policy. As a result, the United States began to station more troops in Asia in efforts to prevent any further Communist advances. Many of those troops were stationed along the North Korea–South Korea border as a deterrent to further military action in that area. Increased anti-Communist sentiment also had repercussions at home, as government officials began a hunt for Americans who might be blamed for the Communist gains.

## Lesson 2 Assessment

- Organize Information** Use a timeline to list the major events of the Korean War.



Choose two events and explain how one event led to the other.

- Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- Analyze Events** Many Americans have questioned whether fighting the Korean War was worthwhile. What is your opinion? Why?
- Analyze Effects** What were the effects of the Korean War on U.S. foreign policy?
- Predict** What might have happened if MacArthur had convinced Truman to expand the fighting into China? How might today's world be different?
- Evaluate** At the end of China's civil war, the United States refused to accept the Communist People's Republic of China as China's true government. What were the advantages of such a policy? What were the disadvantages? Do you agree with this decision? Why or why not?

#### Think About:

- the loss of American lives
- the fear of communism that enveloped the country at the time
- the stalemate that ended the war

# The Cold War at Home

## The Big Idea

During the late 1940s and early 1950s, fear of communism led to reckless charges against innocent citizens.

## Why It Matters Now

Americans today remain vigilant about unfounded accusations.

## Key Terms and People

House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)

Hollywood Ten

blacklist

Alger Hiss

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg

Joseph McCarthy

McCarthyism

## One American's Story

Tony Kahn made the neighbors uncomfortable because they thought his father, Gordon Kahn, was a Communist. In 1947 Gordon Kahn was a successful screenwriter. However, when a congressional committee began to investigate Communists in Hollywood, Kahn was deemed unfit to hire. Later, in 1951, he was scheduled to testify before the committee himself.

To save himself, Gordon Kahn simply had to name others as Communists, but he refused. Rather than face the congressional committee, he fled to Mexico. Tony Kahn remembers how the Cold War hurt him and his family.

*“The first time I was called a Communist, I was four years old. . . . I’ll never forget the look in our neighbors’ eyes when I walked by. I thought it was hate. I was too young to realize it was fear.”*

—Tony Kahn, from *The Cold War Comes Home*



Tony Kahn

The members of the Kahn family were among thousands of victims of the anti-Communist hysteria that gripped this country in the late 1940s and early 1950s. By the end of the period, no one was immune from accusations.

## Fear of Communist Influence

In the early years of the Cold War, many Americans believed that there was good reason to be concerned about the security of the United States. The Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and the Communist takeover of China shocked the American public. These events fueled a fear that communism would spread around the world. In addition, at the height of World War II, about 80,000 Americans claimed membership in the Communist Party. Some people feared that the first loyalty of these American Communists was to the Soviet Union. Their fears led to a new Red Scare, an anti-Communist movement similar to the one that had gripped the United States after World War I.



**LOYALTY REVIEW BOARD** As U.S.-Soviet tensions increased after World War II, strongly anti-Communist Republicans began to accuse Truman of being soft on communism. They feared that Communists had infiltrated the federal government and held positions of authority. Consequently, in March 1947 President Truman issued an executive order setting up the Federal Employee Loyalty Program. This program included the Loyalty Review Board. Its purpose was to investigate government employees and to dismiss those who were found to be disloyal to the U.S. government. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), a national law enforcement agency, was responsible for the first round of screening. Under the leadership of director J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI conducted extensive background checks of all federal employees and applicants for federal jobs. Those found to have Communist ties were dismissed, although they could appeal their cases to the Loyalty Review Board. In addition, the U.S. attorney general drew up a list of 91 “subversive” organizations. Membership in any of these groups was grounds for suspicion.

From 1947 to 1951 government loyalty boards investigated 3.2 million employees and dismissed 212 as security risks. Another 2,900 resigned because they did not want to be investigated or felt that the investigation violated their constitutional rights. Individuals under investigation were not allowed to see the evidence against them.

**THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE** Other agencies investigated possible Communist influence, both inside and outside the U.S. government. The most famous such agency was the **House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)**. HUAC first made headlines in 1947, when it began to investigate Communist influence in the movie industry. The committee believed that Communists were sneaking propaganda into films. The committee pointed to the pro-Soviet films made during World War II when the Soviet Union had been an ally of the United States.

HUAC subpoenaed 43 witnesses from the Hollywood film industry in September 1947. Many of the witnesses were “friendly,” supporting the accusation that Communists had infiltrated the film industry. For example, the movie star Gary Cooper said he had “turned down quite a few scripts because I thought they were tinged with Communistic ideas.” However, when asked which scripts he meant, Cooper couldn’t remember their titles.

Ten “unfriendly” witnesses were called to testify but refused. These men, known as the **Hollywood Ten**, decided not to cooperate with HUAC because they believed that the hearings were unconstitutional. They argued that the hearings violated their rights of freedom of speech and assembly and the right of accused persons to be fully informed of the nature of accusations against them. Because the Hollywood Ten refused to answer the committee’s questions, they were sent to prison.

In response to the hearings, Hollywood executives instituted a **blacklist**. This was a list of people whom they condemned for having a Communist background. Approximately 500 actors, writers, producers, and directors were blacklisted. Their careers were ruined because they could no longer work. For example, in 1950 actor and singer Paul Robeson refused to sign an affidavit indicating whether he had ever been a member of the Communist Party. As a result, he was blacklisted and could not find work at home. In addition, the State Department revoked his passport for eight years. He was unable to travel abroad to perform. His income fell from \$150,000 a year to \$3,000 a year.

**THE MCCARRAN ACT** As Hollywood tried to rid itself of Communists, Congress decided that Truman’s Loyalty Review Board did not go far enough in protecting the nation’s security. In 1950 it passed the McCarran Internal Security Act. This act required all Communist organizations in the United States to register with the federal government. It also made it unlawful to plan any action that might lead to the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship in the United States. Immigrants suspected of promoting communism or totalitarianism could be barred from entering the country or—if already living in the United States—deported. Truman vetoed the bill, saying, “In a free country, we punish men for the crimes they commit, but never for the opinions they have.” But Congress enacted the law over Truman’s veto.

## Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

### “It’s OK—We’re Hunting Communists”

The fear of Communist subversion affected the entire society. People were so suspicious that almost any unusual opinion might be labeled “un-American.” The climate of suspicion was most severe in the years 1947–1954, but it lasted throughout the 1950s. Loyalty boards questioned federal employees about their memberships and the books they read.

#### Analyze Historical Sources

1. What organization does the car represent?
2. What does the cartoon imply about the methods of this organization?

A 1947  
Herblock  
Cartoon,  
copyright by  
the Herb Block  
Foundation



**Reading Check**  
Analyze Causes  
Why was Hollywood  
a target of anti-  
Communist  
investigations by  
Congress?

**THE VENONA PROJECT** In 1943 the U.S. Army Signal Intelligence Service began the Venona Project. This organization was a predecessor of the National Security Agency (NSA). The project's goal was to decode messages sent by Soviet intelligence agencies. Analysts soon decoded enough to learn that Soviet spies had infiltrated all levels of the U.S. government.

The 3,000 decoded messages that make up the Venona Papers were declassified in 1995. They confirm that 349 U.S. residents had secret relationships with the Soviet Union. It is clear that these individuals delivered classified information to the Soviets. That information hindered U.S. efforts during the Cold War. The suspicions that HUAC and others had about Communist spies in the United States were in fact well founded. However, their extreme investigative methods and scare tactics intensified the fear and tension of the era.

## Spy Cases Stun the Nation

Two spy cases added to the fear that was spreading across the country. One case involved a former State Department official named Alger Hiss.

**ALGER HISS** In 1948 a former Communist spy named Whittaker Chambers accused **Alger Hiss** of spying for the Soviet Union. To support his charges, Chambers produced microfilm of government documents. He claimed that the documents had been typed on Hiss's typewriter. Too many years had passed for government prosecutors to charge Hiss with espionage. However, a jury convicted him of perjury—lying about passing the documents—and sent him to jail. A young conservative Republican congressman named Richard Nixon gained fame for pursuing the charges against Hiss. Within four years of the highly publicized case, Nixon was elected vice-president.

Hiss claimed that he was innocent and that Chambers had forged the documents used against him. However, in the 1990s Soviet cables released by the National Security Agency seemed to prove Hiss's guilt.



Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were executed in June 1953 despite numerous pleas to spare their lives.

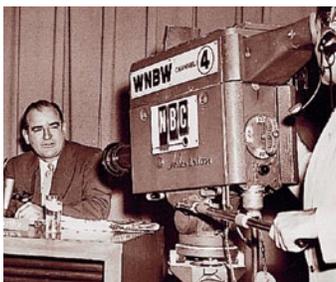
**THE ROSENBERGS** Another spy case rocked the nation even more than the Hiss case, in part due to international events. On September 3, 1949, Americans learned that the Soviet Union had exploded an atomic bomb. Most American experts had predicted that it would take the Soviets three to five more years to make the bomb. People began to wonder if Communist supporters in the United States had leaked the secret of the bomb.

This second spy case seemed to confirm that suspicion. In 1950 German-born physicist Klaus Fuchs admitted giving the Soviet Union information about America's atomic bomb. The information probably enabled Soviet scientists to develop their own atomic bomb years earlier than they would have otherwise.

## Television: Making News

Some historians of popular culture believe that the early 1950s were the best years of television. Most programs were filmed live and had a fresh, unrehearsed look. Along with variety shows, early television presented some of the best serious drama of the age.

Since the 1950s, television has also become a major vehicle for reporting the news. Not only does television report the news, it also has increasingly helped shape it.



**1954**

In 1954 Communist-hunting senator Joseph McCarthy, in U.S. Senate hearings that were televised live, accused the U.S. Army of “coddling Communists.” As many as 20 million Americans watched the combative senator malign people who had no chance to defend themselves.



**1960**

In the 1960 presidential election, a major factor in John Kennedy's victory over Richard Nixon was a series of four televised debates, the first televised presidential debates in history. An estimated 85 million to 120 million Americans watched one or more of the debates, which turned the tide in favor of Kennedy.



**1967**

By 1967 American support for the Vietnam War had plummeted as millions of TV viewers witnessed the horrors of war on the nightly news. Images of dead and wounded soldiers helped turn some against the war effort.



**1974**

The Watergate scandal that toppled Richard Nixon's presidency in 1974 played to a rapt TV audience. During the Senate hearings in 1973, the televised testimony of John Dean, the president's counsel, and other prominent government officials convinced two out of three Americans that the president had committed a crime.



**2000**

During the 2000 presidential election, the TV networks first projected that Al Gore would win Florida. Later, George W. Bush was declared the winner of Florida. This declaration led Al Gore to concede. Then, when the Florida vote became too close to call, Gore retracted his concession. That “election muddle” blurred even more the already unclear line between reporting the news and making it.



**2011**

With the rise of online communication in the 21st century, fewer Americans depend on television news broadcasts for information. When President Barack Obama appeared on television to announce the death of terrorist Osama bin Laden, the news had already been leaked and spread across the country via social media.

**Ethel and Julius Rosenberg**, minor activists in the American Communist Party, were implicated in the Fuchs case. The Rosenbergs were asked if they were Communists. They denied the charges against them and cited their Fifth Amendment right not to incriminate themselves. They claimed they were being persecuted both for being Jewish and for holding radical beliefs. The Rosenbergs were found guilty of espionage and sentenced to death. In pronouncing their sentence, Judge Irving Kaufman declared their crime “worse than murder.” To him, they were directly responsible for one of the deadliest clashes of the Cold War.

*“I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea. . . .”*

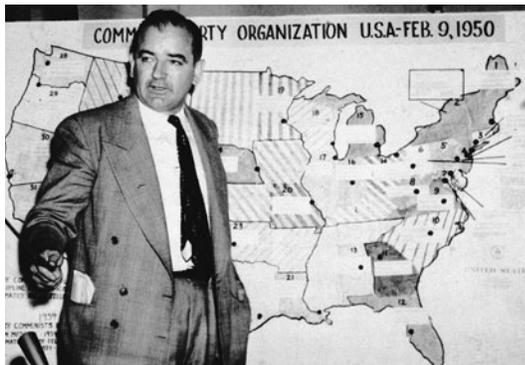
—Irving Kaufman, quoted in  
*The Unquiet Death of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*

People from all over the world appealed for clemency for the Rosenbergs. Many considered the evidence and the testimony too weak to justify the death sentence. The case was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, but the Court refused to overturn the conviction. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg died in the electric chair in June 1953, leaving behind two sons. They became the first U.S. civilians executed for espionage.

### Reading Check

#### Analyze Causes

Why did the cases of Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs heighten the anti-Communist mood of Americans?



Senator Joseph McCarthy claimed to have evidence of Communist influence across the country.

## McCarthy Launches His “Witch Hunt”

The most famous anti-Communist activist was Senator **Joseph McCarthy**, a Republican from Wisconsin. During his first three years in the Senate, he had gained a reputation for being an ineffective legislator. By January 1950 he realized that he needed a winning issue in order to be reelected in 1952. Looking for such an issue, McCarthy charged that Communists were taking over the government.

**MCCARTHY’S TACTICS** Taking advantage of people’s concerns about communism—especially after Mao’s rise in China—McCarthy made one unsupported accusation after another. At various times, McCarthy claimed to have in his hands the names of 57, 81, and 205 Communists in the State Department. (He never actually produced a single name.) He also charged that the Democratic Party was guilty of “20 years of treason” for allowing Communist infiltration into the government.

McCarthy’s style of attacking suspected Communists in the early 1950s became known as **McCarthyism**. (Since that time, *McCarthyism* has referred to the unfair tactic of accusing people of disloyalty without providing evidence.) When challenged, McCarthy simply launched more accusations. He was always careful to do his name-calling only in the Senate, though. There, he had legal immunity that protected him from being sued for slander.

### Vocabulary

**infiltration** the act of penetrating a group or organization without being noticed for purposes such as spying

However, McCarthyism’s tactics quickly spread beyond the Senate. The fear they inspired also spread. Proof of a Communist Party connection was no longer required. The FBI and other investigators compiled lists of people who held questionable political views. Lists also included people who had refused to cooperate with their investigations. These investigations spread to other branches of the government, universities, labor unions, and private businesses. Americans feared that if they did not take action against the listed individuals, they might be labeled “soft on communism.” As a result, thousands of Americans lost their jobs for political reasons.

The Republicans did little to stop the attacks of McCarthy and his allies. Republicans believed they would win the 1952 presidential election if the public saw them ridding the nation of Communists. But one group of six senators, led by Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, did speak out.

*“I speak as a Republican. I speak as a woman. I speak as a United States senator. I speak as an American. . . . I am not proud of the way in which the Senate has been made a publicity platform for irresponsible sensationalism. I am not proud of the reckless abandon in which unproved charges have been hurled from this side of the aisle.”*

—Margaret Chase Smith, from *Declaration of Conscience*

Few Americans shared Smith’s willingness to denounce McCarthy, or her legal protections as a senator. Across the country, people hesitated to criticize McCarthy or any aspect of the government. People were afraid of being called Communists or Communist sympathizers. Americans were particularly cautious about speaking out against Cold War foreign policy. Such opposition could make one an easy target. McCarthyism had, in effect, made many American people wary of their own government.

## Causes and Effects of McCarthyism

Causes	Effects
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Soviets successfully establish Communist regimes in Eastern Europe after World War II.</li> <li>• Soviets develop the atomic bomb more quickly than expected.</li> <li>• Korean War ends in a stalemate.</li> <li>• Republicans gain politically by accusing Truman and Democrats of being soft on communism.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Millions of Americans are forced to take loyalty oaths and undergo loyalty investigations.</li> <li>• Activism by labor unions goes into decline.</li> <li>• Many people are afraid to speak out on public issues.</li> <li>• Anti-communism continues to drive U.S. foreign policy.</li> </ul>

### Interpret Tables

1. How did world events help lead to McCarthyism?
2. How did McCarthyism affect the behavior of individual Americans?

**OTHER ANTI-COMMUNIST MEASURES** Others besides Joseph McCarthy made it their mission to root communism out of American society. By 1953, 39 states had passed laws making it illegal to advocate the violent overthrow of the government, even though such laws clearly violated the constitutional right of free speech. Across the nation, cities and towns passed similar laws.

At times, the fear of communism seemed to have no limits. In Indiana, professional wrestlers had to take a loyalty oath. In experiments run by newspapers, pedestrians on the street refused to sign petitions that quoted the Declaration of Independence because they were afraid the ideas were Communist. The government investigated union leaders, librarians, newspaper reporters, and scientists. It seemed that no profession was safe from the hunt for Communists.

**MCCARTHY'S DOWNFALL** Finally, in 1954 McCarthy made accusations against the U.S. Army. This resulted in a nationally televised Senate investigation. The audience watched as McCarthy bullied witnesses. This behavior alienated the audience and cost him public support. The Senate criticized him for improper conduct that “tended to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute.” Three years later, Joseph McCarthy, suffering from alcoholism, died a broken man.

**Reading Check**

Summarize What tactics did McCarthy use in his campaign against Communists?

**Lesson 3 Assessment**

- 1. Organize Information** Use a web diagram to fill in events that illustrate the anti-Communist fear in the United States.



Which event had the greatest impact on the country?

- 2. Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- 3. Form Opinions** If you had lived in this period and had been accused of being a Communist, what would you have done?

**Think About:**

- the Hollywood Ten, who refused to answer questions
- the Rosenbergs, who pleaded the Fifth Amendment

- 4. Analyze Motives** Choose one of the following roles: Harry Truman, a member of HUAC, Judge Irving Kaufman, or Joseph McCarthy. As the person you have chosen, explain your motivation for opposing communism.
- 5. Analyze Primary Sources** What does this cartoon suggest about McCarthy's downfall?



"I Can't Do This To Me!" a 1954 Herblock Cartoon, copyright by the Herb Block Foundation.

# Two Nations Live on the Edge

## The Big Idea

During the 1950s the United States and the Soviet Union came to the brink of nuclear war.

## Why It Matters Now

The Cold War continued into the following decades, affecting U.S. policies in Cuba, Central America, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East.

## Key Terms and People

H-bomb

arms race

Dwight D. Eisenhower

massive retaliation

mutually assured destruction

John Foster Dulles

brinkmanship

Warsaw Pact

Eisenhower Doctrine

Nikita Khrushchev

Francis Gary Powers

U-2 incident

## One American's Story

Writer Annie Dillard was one of thousands of children who grew up in the 1950s with the chilling knowledge that nuclear war could obliterate their world in an instant. Dillard recalls practicing what to do in case of a nuclear attack.

*“At school we had air-raid drills. We took the drills seriously; surely Pittsburgh, which had the nation’s steel, coke, and aluminum, would be the enemy’s first target. . . . When the air-raid siren sounded, our teachers stopped talking and led us to the school basement. There the gym teachers lined us up against the cement walls and steel lockers, and showed us how to lean in and fold our arms over our heads. . . . The teachers stood in the middle of the room, not talking to each other. We tucked against the walls and lockers. . . . We folded our skinny arms over our heads, and raised to the enemy a clatter of gold scarab bracelets and gold bangle bracelets.”*



A father helps his daughter practice getting into a bomb shelter.

—Annie Dillard, from *An American Childhood*

The fear of nuclear attack was a direct result of the Cold War. After the Soviet Union developed its atomic bomb, the two superpowers began a competition for power that enormously increased both the number and the destructive capability of weapons.

## Brinkmanship Rules U.S. Policy

Although air-raid drills were not common until the Eisenhower years (1953–1961), nuclear tensions had begun under Truman. When the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb in 1949, President Truman had to make a terrible decision—whether to develop an even more horrifying weapon.

**RACE FOR THE H-BOMB** The scientists who developed the atomic bomb had suspected since 1942 that it was possible to create an even more destructive thermonuclear weapon—the hydrogen bomb, or **H-bomb**. They estimated that such a bomb would have the force of 1 million tons of TNT (67 times the power of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima). But they argued fiercely about the morality of creating such a destructive weapon.

Despite such concerns, the United States entered into a deadly race with the Soviet Union to see which country would be the first to produce an H-bomb. On November 1, 1952, the United States won the race when it exploded the first H-bomb. However, the American advantage lasted less than a year. In August 1953 the Soviets exploded their own thermonuclear weapon.

**THE ARMS RACE** With the Soviet development of the H-bomb, the two superpowers were once again technologically matched. Leaders on each side, however, feared that the other would gain an advantage. These fears led both countries to build enormous stockpiles of weapons. Any improvement or technological advance made by one country was soon matched by the other. Thus, the United States and the Soviet Union began an **arms race**—an international contest between countries seeking a military advantage over each other.

Although it began under Truman, the arms race reached new heights under President **Dwight D. Eisenhower**. Eisenhower's foreign policy was focused on keeping the lead in the arms race. This lead would allow for a strategy of **massive retaliation**. Eisenhower's goal was to discourage the Soviet Union from launching a nuclear offensive. Eisenhower did this by vowing to launch a devastating counterstrike to any attack, whether nuclear or not. Such a counterattack would be as damaging—or even more damaging—to the attacking nation as it was to the one attacked, thereby deterring anyone from attacking the United States.

By the mid- to late 1950s, the Soviet Union had increased its nuclear capabilities to match those of the United States. Both superpowers now had the ability to retaliate to any attack with nuclear force. This essentially guaranteed that any such attack would result in the total destruction of both parties. As a result, neither country was willing to consider a direct attack against its opponent. This policy of **mutually assured destruction** would form a cornerstone of American and Soviet nuclear policy for the next few decades.

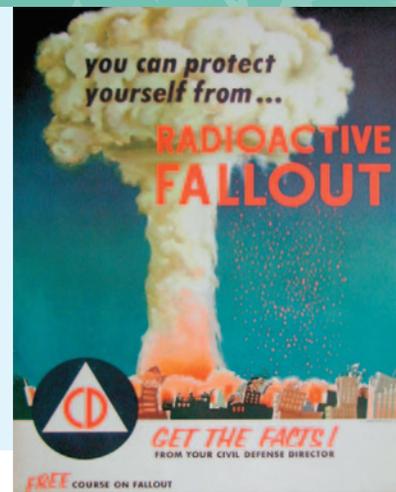
Eisenhower's nuclear planning was supported and encouraged by his secretary of state, **John Foster Dulles**. Like many Americans, Dulles was staunchly anti-Communist. For him, the Cold War was a moral crusade against communism. Dulles proposed that the United States could prevent the spread of communism by promising to use all of its force, including nuclear weapons, against any aggressor nation.

## Effects of the Arms Race

As the United States and the Soviet Union rushed to produce nuclear weapons, many civilians lived in fear of a catastrophic attack. Eisenhower's policies of retaliation and brinkmanship increased those fears. Across the country, civil defense agencies tried to prepare people for how to survive in the case of such an attack.

### Analyze Historical Sources

How does this poster reflect Americans' increased fears of conflict with the Soviet Union?



The willingness of the United States under President Eisenhower to go to the edge of all-out war became known as **brinkmanship**. Under this policy, the United States trimmed its army and navy and expanded its air force (which would deliver the bombs) and its buildup of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union did the same.

The threat of nuclear attack was unlike any the American people had ever faced. Even if only a few bombs reached their targets, millions of civilians would die. Schoolchildren like Annie Dillard practiced air-raid procedures. Some families built underground fallout shelters in their backyards. Fear of nuclear war became a constant in American life for the next 30 years.

**THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX** In addition to social changes, the arms race caused profound changes in the American economy. The production of so many weapons created tremendous growth for the companies that made them. In fact, some munitions companies grew so large that many Americans began to fear they would begin to dominate the economy.

Among those who feared the growing influence of these companies was President Eisenhower. Although he fully supported the beginning of the arms race, he had quickly grown concerned that defense spending had gotten out of hand. Before leaving office, Eisenhower warned against the dangers of what he called the “military-industrial complex.” In his final speech as president, he warned Americans to beware its growing power.

*“This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, and even spiritual—is felt in every city, every statehouse, and every office of the federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. . . . The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.”*

—Dwight D. Eisenhower, from his Farewell Address, January 17, 1961

Despite Eisenhower's concerns, defense spending in the United States would continue to grow long after his administration ended.

### Reading Check

#### Analyze Causes

How did the United States and the Soviet Union start the arms race?

### Background

From ancient times until 1935, Iran was known as Persia. Persia once ruled a great empire that stretched from the Mediterranean Sea to India's Indus River.

## The Cold War Spreads Around the World

As the nation shifted to a dependence on nuclear arms for defense, the Eisenhower administration began to depend heavily on the recently formed Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) for information. The CIA used spies to gather information abroad. The CIA also began to carry out covert, or secret, operations to weaken or overthrow governments unfriendly to the United States. Most of these governments had ties to communism.

**COVERT ACTIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND LATIN AMERICA** One of the CIA's first covert actions took place in the Middle East. In 1951 Iran's prime minister, Mohammad Mossadegh, nationalized Iran's oil fields. That means that he placed the formerly private industries (mostly British-owned) under Iranian control. To protest, the British stopped buying Iranian oil. Fearing that economic trouble might lead Mossadegh to seek Soviet assistance, the CIA began to support anti-Mossadegh rebels. It wanted the pro-American shah of Iran, who had recently been forced to flee, to return to power. The plan worked. The shah returned. He turned over control of Iranian oil fields to Western companies.

In 1954 the CIA also took covert actions in Guatemala, a small Central American country just south of Mexico. Eisenhower believed that Guatemala's government had Communist sympathies because it had given more than 200,000 acres of American-owned land to peasants. In response, the CIA trained an army, which invaded Guatemala. The Guatemalan army refused to defend the president, and he resigned. The army's leader then became dictator of the country.

**INTERVENTION IN AFRICA AND ASIA** Even as the CIA was working behind the scenes in some parts of the world, the U.S. government was openly helping other nations fight against communism. Most of this assistance went to former European colonies in Africa and Asia. During the 1940s and 1950s, many colonies sought independence, either peacefully or through violent uprisings. American leaders feared that the governments of these newly independent nations would be receptive to Communist influence, especially if the Soviets promised them financial or military aid.

To prevent this possible expansion of communism, the United States offered its own aid to Africa and Asia. The government sent money, technical assistance, and sometimes military forces to such countries as Indonesia and Vietnam. This aid was intended to convince the new countries to form Western, democratic governments. Feeling trapped between rival powers, many of these new nations chose to remain unaligned with either the United States or the Soviet Union. They wanted no part of the Cold War.

Some Asian countries, on the other hand, were eager to align with the United States and its allies. In 1954 the governments of the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan joined with the United States, France, Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand to form the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). This organization was dedicated to fighting the spread of



communism in Southeast Asia. Although most of its members were not actually located in that region, they all had cultural or economic ties there. None wanted to see it fall under Soviet domination.

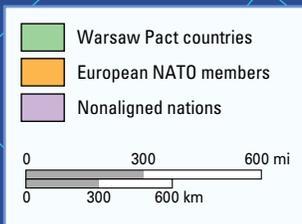
**THE WARSAW PACT** Despite the growing tension between the superpowers, U.S.-Soviet relations seemed to thaw following the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953. The Soviets recognized West Germany. They also concluded peace treaties with Austria and Japan.

However, tensions flared up again in 1955 when NATO leaders invited West Germany to join NATO. Soviet leaders saw this expansion of NATO as a threat and grew fearful. The existence of so powerful an alliance dedicated to containing communism threatened the very existence of the Soviet Union and its satellite nations. To counter this threat, the Soviets formed their own military alliance, known as the **Warsaw Pact**. The Warsaw Pact linked the Soviet Union with seven Eastern European countries. Together, these countries believed they would be able to withstand any NATO offensives.

Unlike NATO, which was governed jointly by a council of its member states, the Warsaw Pact was firmly under Soviet control. In addition to countering NATO threats, Soviet leaders used Warsaw Pact troops to crush internal rebellions. In June 1956, for example, Pact troops violently put down an anti-Communist protest in Poland, killing dozens of civilians.

## The Warsaw Pact and NATO, 1955

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### Interpret Maps

- 1. Region** Which nations shown on the map belonged to NATO, and which to the Warsaw Pact?
- 2. Region** Which nations shown on the map did not belong to either defense alliance?



**THE SUEZ WAR** In 1955 Great Britain and the United States agreed to help Egypt finance construction of a dam at Aswan on the Nile River. However, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt's head of government, tried to play the Soviets and the Americans against each other. He tried to improve relations with each one in order to get more aid. In 1956, after learning that Nasser was making deals with the Soviets, Secretary of State Dulles withdrew his offer of a loan. Angered, Nasser responded by nationalizing the Suez Canal, the Egyptian waterway that was owned by France and Great Britain. The French and the British were outraged.

Egyptian control of the canal also affected Israel, which had become independent following World War II. On May 14, 1948, the United Nations created the nation of Israel out of the Palestine Mandate. The Palestine Mandate was a territory in the Middle East created by the League of Nations after World War I. Placed under British control, the mandate was intended in part to eventually provide a home for Jews from around the world. Thousands of Jews had migrated there from Europe before and during World War II. Israel became the "promised land" they had been seeking since biblical times. The creation of Israel was one of the few issues upon which the United States and the Soviet Union agreed, as people around the world reacted to the horror that had happened to the Jews in the Holocaust. Arab nations in the region, however, considered the creation of Israel an invasion of their territory. Several launched raids and large-scale attacks on Israel. They were determined to reclaim what they considered their land. Although outnumbered, the Israelis defended their borders.

When he took control of the Suez Canal, Nasser refused to let ships bound for Israel pass through, even though the canal was supposed to be open to all nations. Great Britain, France, and Israel responded by sending troops. The three countries seized the Mediterranean end of the canal. Although the United States had supported the creation of Israel and remained a supporter, Eisenhower objected to the use of force to regain access to the canal. Soviet leaders also objected. With both superpowers in agreement, the UN quickly stepped in to stop the fighting. It persuaded Great Britain, France, and Israel to withdraw. However, it allowed Egypt to keep control of the canal.

Because of its support for Egypt in the Suez Crisis, the Soviet Union gained prestige in the Middle East. To counterbalance this development, President Eisenhower issued a warning in January 1957. This warning, known as the **Eisenhower Doctrine**, said that the United States would defend the Middle East against an attack by any Communist country. In March, Congress officially approved the doctrine.

**THE HUNGARIAN UPRISING** Even as fighting was raging in the Middle East, a revolt began in Hungary. Dominated by the Soviet Union since the end of World War II, the Hungarian people rose in revolt in 1956. They demanded the removal of the most oppressive leaders, to which Khrushchev agreed. The Hungarians formed a new government led by Imre Nagy (ĕm'řě nŏd'yă), the most popular and liberal Hungarian Communist leader. A great supporter of reform, Nagy promised free elections. He also denounced the Warsaw Pact and demanded that all Soviet troops leave Hungary.



Crowds surround a captured Russian tank during the anti-Communist revolution in Hungary.

The Soviet response was swift and brutal. In November 1956 Soviet tanks rolled into Hungary and killed approximately 30,000 Hungarians. Armed with only pistols and bottles, thousands of Hungarian freedom fighters threw up barricades in the streets and fought the invaders to no avail. The Soviets overthrew the Nagy government and replaced it with pro-Soviet leaders. Nagy himself was executed. Some 200,000 Hungarians fled to the west.

Although the Truman Doctrine had promised to support free peoples who resisted communism, the United States did nothing to help Hungary break free of Soviet control. Many Hungarians were bitterly disappointed. The American policy of containment did not extend to driving the Soviet Union out of its satellites.

No help came to Hungary from the United Nations either. Although the UN passed one resolution after another condemning the Soviet Union, the Soviet veto in the Security Council stopped the UN from taking any action.

## The Cold War Takes to the Skies

After Stalin's death in 1953, the Soviet Union had no well-defined way for one leader to succeed another. For the first few years, a group of leaders shared power. As time went by, however, one man did gain power. That man was **Nikita Khrushchev** (krōōsh 'chĕf). Like Stalin, Khrushchev believed that communism would take over the world, but Khrushchev thought it could triumph peacefully. He favored a policy of peaceful coexistence, in which two powers would compete economically and scientifically.

**THE SPACE RACE** In the competition for international prestige, the Soviets leaped to an early lead in what came to be known as the space race. On October 4, 1957, they launched *Sputnik*, the world's first artificial satellite. *Sputnik* traveled around the earth at 18,000 miles per hour, circling the globe every 96 minutes. Its launch was a triumph of Soviet technology.

### Reading Check

**Summarize** What steps did the United States take to try to contain communism in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa?

## Science Fiction in the Cold War

Many science fiction writers draw on scientific and social trends to describe future events that might occur if those trends were to continue. In the 1950s those trends included nuclear proliferation, the space race, and the pervasive fear of Cold War dangers. In *The Martian Chronicles*, Ray Bradbury describes how earthlings who have colonized Mars watch helplessly as their former planet is destroyed by nuclear warfare.

### The Martian Chronicles

They all came out and looked at the sky that night. They left their suppers or their washing up or their dressing for the show and they came out upon their now-not-quite-as-new porches and watched the green star of Earth there. It was a move without conscious effort; they all did it, to help them understand the news they had heard on the radio a moment before. There was Earth and there the coming war, and there hundreds of thousands of mothers or grandmothers or fathers or brothers or aunts or uncles or cousins. They stood on the porches and tried to believe in the existence of Earth, much as they had once tried to believe in the existence of Mars; it was a problem reversed. To all intents and purposes, Earth now was dead; they had been away from it for three or four years. Space was an anesthetic; seventy million miles of space numbed you, put memory to sleep, depopulated Earth, erased the past, and allowed these people here to go on with their work. But now, tonight, the dead were risen, Earth was reinhabited, memory awoke, a million names were spoken: What was so-and-so doing tonight on Earth? What about this one and that one? The people on the porches glanced sidewise at each other's faces.

At nine o'clock Earth seemed to explode, catch fire, and burn.

The people on the porches put up their hands as if to beat the fire out.

They waited.

—Ray Bradbury, from *The Martian Chronicles* (1950)



RAY BRADBURY

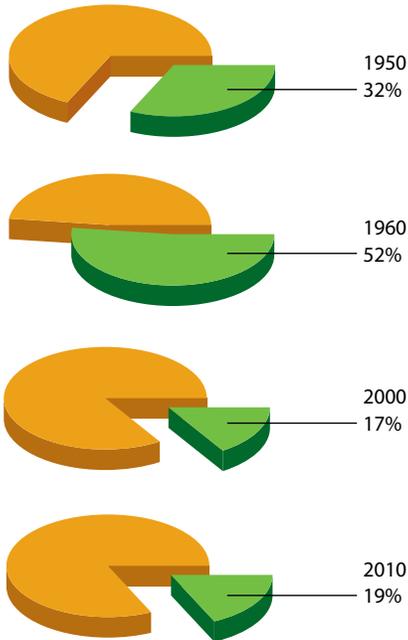
### Analyze American Literature

How might readers' interpretations of Bradbury's writing today differ from readers' interpretations during the Cold War?

Americans were shocked at being beaten and promptly poured money into their own space program. U.S. scientists worked frantically to catch up to the Soviets. The first attempt at an American satellite launch was a humiliating failure, with the rocket toppling to the ground. However, on January 31, 1958, the United States successfully launched its first satellite.

## U.S. Budget, 1950–2010

### Percentage Spent on Defense



Source: Historical Tables, Budget of the United States Government

#### Interpret Graphs

1. By how much did the percentage of the federal budget for defense increase between 1950 and 1960?
2. Why do you think it increased that much?

**A U-2 IS SHOT DOWN** In July 1955 Eisenhower traveled to Geneva, Switzerland, to meet with Soviet leaders. There, Eisenhower put forth an “open skies” proposal. He suggested that the United States and the Soviet Union allow flights over each other’s territory to guard against surprise nuclear attacks. Although the Soviet Union rejected this proposal, the world hailed the “spirit of Geneva” as a step toward peace.

Following the rejection of Eisenhower’s “open skies” proposal, the CIA began making secret high-altitude flights over Soviet territory. The plane used for these missions was the U-2, which could fly at high altitudes without detection. As a U-2 passed over the Soviet Union, its infrared cameras took detailed photographs of troop movement and missile sites.

By 1960, however, many U.S. officials were nervous about the U-2 program for two reasons. First, the existence and purpose of the U-2 was an open secret among some members of the American press. Second, the Soviets had been aware of the flights since 1958, as U-2 pilot **Francis Gary Powers** explained.

*“We . . . knew that the Russians were radar-tracking at least some of our flights. . . . We also knew that SAMs [surface-to-air missiles] were being fired at us, that some were uncomfortably close to our altitude. But we knew too that the Russians had a control problem in their guidance system. . . . We were concerned, but not greatly.”*

—Francis Gary Powers, from *Operation Overflight: The U-2 Spy Pilot Tells His Story for the First Time*

Finally, Eisenhower himself wanted the flights discontinued. He and Khrushchev were going to hold another summit conference on the arms race on May 15, 1960. “If one of these aircraft were lost when we were engaged in apparently sincere deliberations, it could . . . ruin my effectiveness,” he told an aide. However, Dulles persuaded him to authorize one last flight.

That flight took place on May 1, and the pilot was Francis Gary Powers. Four hours after Powers entered Soviet airspace, a Soviet pilot, Igor Mentuykov, shot down his plane, and Powers was forced to parachute into Soviet-controlled territory. The United States issued a false story that a plane had disappeared while on a weather mission. Khrushchev announced that the U-2 had been brought down 1,300 miles inside the Soviet Union by a Soviet rocket and that Powers had been captured alive and had confessed his activities. The Soviets tried Powers for espionage and sentenced him to ten years in prison. After 17 months, however, he was returned to the United States in exchange for a Soviet spy.



Recognized as American in part by his military identification card (above), Francis Gary Powers was arrested as a spy. Following his release, Powers spoke at a Senate committee hearing (right).

**Reading Check**  
 Compare How were Joseph Stalin and Nikita Khrushchev alike, and how were they different?

**RENEWED CONFRONTATION** At first, Eisenhower denied that Powers had been spying. With his confession, however, Eisenhower finally had to admit it. Khrushchev demanded an apology for the flights and a promise to halt them. Eisenhower agreed to stop the U-2 flights, but he would not apologize.

Khrushchev angrily called off the summit. He also withdrew his invitation to Eisenhower to visit the Soviet Union. Because of the **U-2 incident**, the 1960s opened with tension between the two superpowers as great as ever. The few hopeful events of the 1950s—such as the rise of a Soviet government willing to work toward peace—had been eclipsed by aggression, competitiveness, and mutual suspicion. The Cold War would continue into the next decade, with an enormous effect on U.S. foreign policy.

### Lesson 4 Assessment

- Organize Information** Use a table to list Cold War trouble spots in Iran, Guatemala, Egypt, and Hungary. For each, write a newspaper headline that summarizes the U.S. role and the outcome of the situation.

Trouble Spot	Headline

Choose one headline and write a paragraph about that trouble spot.

- Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Predict** How might the Cold War have progressed if the U-2 incident had never occurred?

**Think About:**

- the mutual distrust between the Soviet Union and the United States
- the outcome of the incident

- Draw Conclusions** How do you think opponents of the policy of brinkmanship reacted to the stockpiling of weapons during the arms race?
- Evaluate** Which of the two superpowers do you think contributed more to Cold War tensions during the 1950s?
- Form Generalizations** Should one nation have the right to remove another nation's leader from power? If so, when? If not, why?

# Mounting Tensions in the Sixties

## The Big Idea

The Kennedy administration faced some of the most dangerous Soviet confrontations in American history.

## Why It Matters Now

America's response to Soviet threats developed the United States as a military superpower.

## Key Terms and People

John F. Kennedy  
flexible response  
domino theory  
Lyndon Baines Johnson  
Fidel Castro  
Berlin Wall  
hot line  
Limited Test Ban Treaty  
Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

## One American's Story

On May 5, 1961, American astronaut Alan Shepard climbed into *Freedom 7*, a tiny capsule on top of a huge rocket booster. The capsule left the earth's atmosphere in a ball of fire and returned the same way, and Shepard became the first American to travel into space. Years later, he recalled his emotions when a naval crew fished him out of the Atlantic.

*"Until the moment I stepped out of the flight deck . . . I hadn't realized the intensity of the emotions and feelings that so many people had for me, for the other astronauts, and for the whole manned space program. . . . I was very close to tears as I thought, it's no longer just our fight to get 'out there.' The struggle belongs to everyone in America. . . . From now on there was no turning back."*

—Alan Shepard, from *Moon Shot: The Inside Story of America's Race to the Moon*



Astronaut Alan Shepard prepares to enter the space capsule for his *Mercury* flight.

Shepard's journey into orbit was more than just a demonstration of American ingenuity. It was another step in the continued Cold War struggles between the United States and the Soviet Union, which had launched a man into orbit a month earlier. As the 1960s dawned, the competition between the two nations continued to affect nearly every aspect of American life.

### Vocabulary

third world during the Cold War, the developing nations not allied with either the United States or the Soviet Union

## A New Military Policy

The improvements in the space program that sent Alan Shepard into orbit were strongly supported by President **John F. Kennedy**. Since taking office in 1961, Kennedy had focused on the Cold War. He thought the Eisenhower administration had not done enough about the Soviet threat. The Soviets, he concluded, were outpacing Americans in technological developments. They were also gaining the loyalties of economically less-developed third-world countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. He criticized the Republicans for allowing communism to develop in Cuba, at America's doorstep.

**MILITARY STRATEGY REDEFINED** Kennedy believed his most urgent task as president was to redefine the nation's nuclear strategy. The Eisenhower administration had relied on the policy of massive retaliation to discourage Soviet aggression and imperialism. However, threatening to use nuclear arms over a minor conflict was not a risk Kennedy wished to take. Instead, his team developed a policy of **flexible response**. Kennedy's secretary of defense, Robert McNamara, explained the policy.

*“The Kennedy administration worried that [the] reliance on nuclear weapons gave us no way to respond to large nonnuclear attacks without committing suicide. . . . We decided to broaden the range of options by strengthening and modernizing the military's ability to fight a nonnuclear war.”*

—Robert S. McNamara, from *In Retrospect*

Kennedy increased defense spending to boost conventional, nonnuclear forces such as troops, ships, and artillery. He also created an elite branch of the army called the Special Forces, or Green Berets. In addition, he tripled the overall nuclear capabilities of the United States. These changes enabled the United States to fight limited wars around the world, while maintaining a balance of nuclear power with the Soviet Union. Kennedy hoped to reduce the risk of nuclear war. However, his administration found itself drawn into conflict in Vietnam that threatened to increase that risk.

**CONTAINMENT IN VIETNAM** The developing conflict in Vietnam had been continuing for more than a decade. In the 1940s Vietnam was a French colony. The people had declared their independence. For more than a decade, Vietnamese forces led by Ho Chi Minh battled the French. Presidents Truman and Eisenhower had supported the French with money and troops. By 1954, however, the French had surrendered and withdrawn from the region.

When Kennedy took office, Vietnam was divided. A Communist government headed by Ho Chi Minh held power in the north. Democratically elected president Ngo Dinh Diem governed the south. The Kennedy administration wanted to contain any further spread of communism in Southeast Asia. It supported Diem, pouring financial assistance into the region. It sent thousands of military advisers to train South Vietnamese troops.

### Reading Check

Summarize What was the goal of the doctrine of flexible response?

### Vocabulary

**guerrilla** a soldier who travels in a small group, harassing and undermining the enemy

**political repression** government intimidation of those with different political views

Kennedy's foreign policy in Vietnam was based on the **domino theory**. President Eisenhower first expressed the domino theory. It proposed that one country falling to Communist influence would quickly lead to other countries in the same area falling as well. He feared that if South Vietnam became Communist, then the rest of Southeast Asia would be vulnerable. Kennedy was determined to stop that.

After Kennedy's death in 1963, his successor, **Lyndon Baines Johnson**, continued the policies he had begun. Like Kennedy, Johnson was determined to contain communism in Vietnam. During his term, however, the conflict in Vietnam escalated. Johnson sent tens of thousands of soldiers to Vietnam. When Johnson left office in 1969, the struggle against communism in Vietnam was still going on.

## Crises over Cuba

Another test of Kennedy's foreign policy came in Cuba, just 90 miles off the coast of Florida. About two weeks before Kennedy took office, on January 3, 1961, President Eisenhower had cut off diplomatic relations with Cuba because of a revolutionary leader named **Fidel Castro**. Castro openly declared himself a Communist and welcomed aid from the Soviet Union.

**THE CUBAN REVOLUTION** Castro gained power with the promise of democracy. From 1956 to 1959 he led a guerrilla movement to overthrow dictator Fulgencio Batista. Castro won control in 1959. He later told reporters, "Revolutionaries are not born, they are made by poverty, inequality, and dictatorship." Castro then promised to eliminate these conditions from Cuba.

Although the United States was suspicious of Castro's intentions, it did recognize the new government. However, when Castro seized three American and British oil refineries, relations between the United States and Cuba worsened. Castro also broke up commercial farms into communes that would be worked by formerly landless peasants. American sugar companies controlled 75 percent of the cropland in Cuba. They appealed to the U.S. government for help. In response, Congress established trade barriers against Cuban sugar.

To put his reforms into action, Castro relied increasingly on Soviet aid. He also depended on using political repression on those who did not agree with him. Some Cubans were impressed by his charisma and his willingness to stand up to the United States. Others saw Castro as a tyrant who had replaced one dictatorship with another. About 10 percent of Cuba's population went into exile. Most went to the United States. By 1962 more than 200,000 Cubans had fled their homeland for new homes in the United States. The majority



Castro celebrates after gaining power in Cuba.

of these Cuban exiles settled in Florida, especially in and around the city of Miami. Many hoped that the political turmoil in Cuba would be resolved quickly so that they could return home. That did not happen, however, and most never went back.

**THE BAY OF PIGS** With Castro in power, American policymakers became alarmed by a Communist government so close to the United States. In March 1960 President Eisenhower gave the CIA permission to secretly train Cuban exiles for an invasion of Cuba. The CIA and the exiles hoped it would cause a mass uprising that would overthrow Castro.

Kennedy learned of the plan only nine days after his election. Although he had doubts about the operation, he approved it anyway. On the night of April 17, 1961, some 1,300 to 1,500 Cuban exiles supported by the U.S. military landed on the island's southern coast at Bahía de Cochinos, the Bay of Pigs. Nothing went as planned. An air strike had failed to knock out the Cuban air force, although the CIA reported that it had succeeded. A small advance group sent to distract Castro's forces never reached shore. When the main unit landed, it lacked American air support as it faced 25,000 Cuban troops backed up by Soviet tanks and jets. Some of the invading exiles were killed, others imprisoned.



The Bay of Pigs mission was said to have blown up in Kennedy's face.

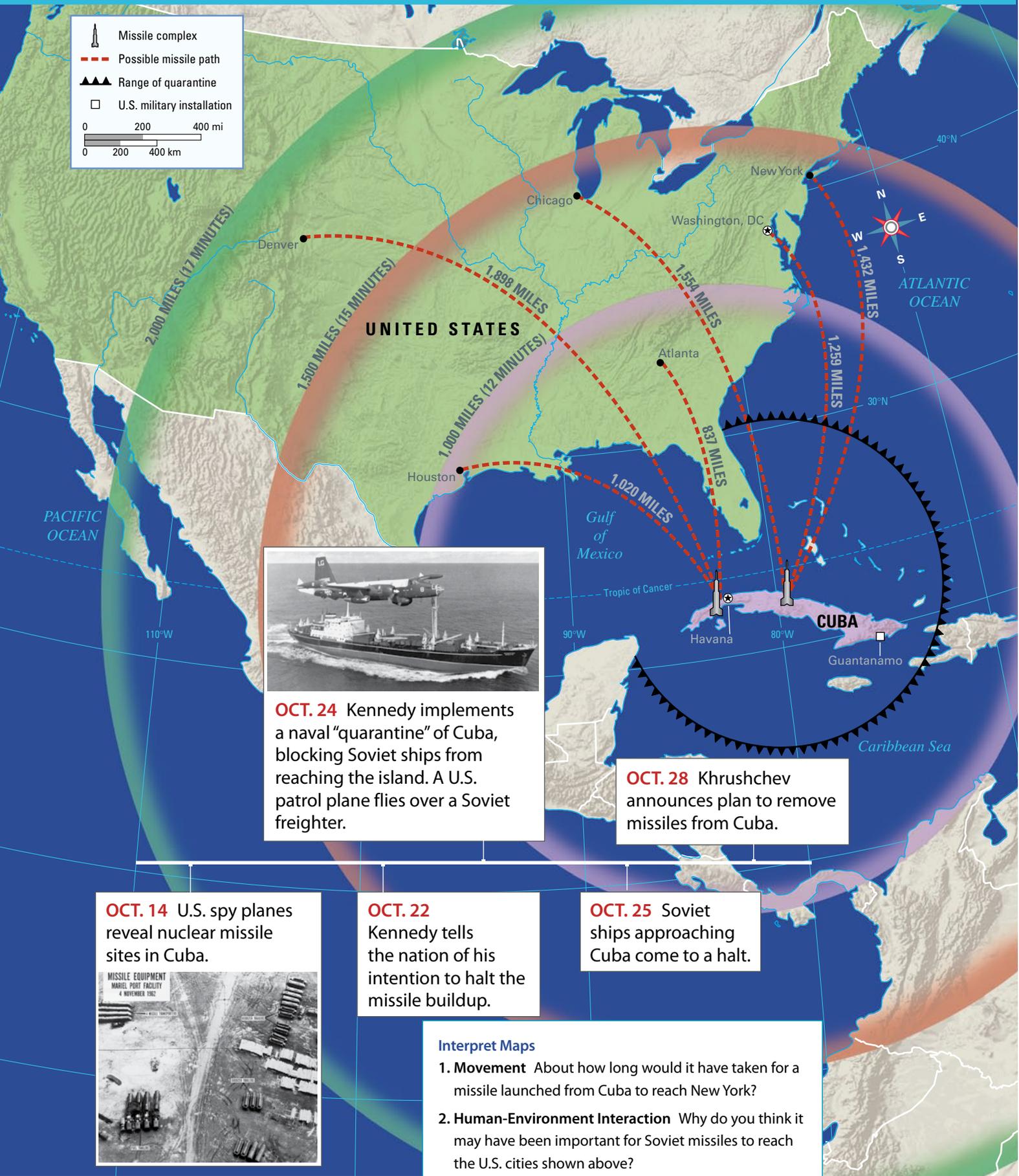
Castro turned the failed invasion into a public relations victory. The Cuban media announced the defeat of “North American mercenaries.” One United States commentator said that Americans “look like fools to our friends, rascals to our enemies, and incompetents to the rest.” The disaster left Kennedy embarrassed. Publicly, he accepted blame for the failure. Privately, he asked, “How could that crowd at the CIA and the Pentagon be this wrong?”

Kennedy negotiated with Castro for the release of surviving commandos and paid a ransom of \$53 million in food and medical supplies. In a speech in Miami, he promised exiles that they would one day return to a “free Havana.” Kennedy warned that he would resist further Communist expansion in the Western Hemisphere. However, Castro defiantly welcomed further Soviet aid.

**THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS** Castro had a powerful ally in Moscow. Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev promised to defend Cuba with Soviet arms. During the summer of 1962, the flow of Soviet weapons to Cuba increased greatly. These weapons included nuclear missiles. President Kennedy responded with a warning that America would not tolerate offensive nuclear weapons in Cuba. Then, on October 14, photographs taken by American U-2 planes revealed Soviet missile bases in Cuba. Some contained missiles ready to launch. They could reach U.S. cities in minutes.

On October 22 Kennedy spoke to an anxious nation. He told Americans about the Soviet missile sites in Cuba and his plans to remove them. He made it clear that any missile attack from Cuba would trigger an attack on the Soviet Union.

# Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962



### Interpret Maps

- 1. Movement** About how long would it have taken for a missile launched from Cuba to reach New York?
- 2. Human-Environment Interaction** Why do you think it may have been important for Soviet missiles to reach the U.S. cities shown above?

For the next six days, the world faced the terrifying possibility of imminent nuclear war. Soviet ships in the Atlantic Ocean headed toward Cuba. They presumably were carrying more missiles. The U.S. Navy prepared to quarantine Cuba and prevent the ships from coming within 500 miles of it. In Florida, 100,000 troops waited. This was the largest invasion force ever assembled in the United States. C. Douglas Dillon was Kennedy's secretary of the treasury and a veteran of nuclear diplomacy. He recalled those tension-filled days of October.

*“The only time I felt a fear of nuclear war or a use of nuclear weapons was on the very first day, when we'd decided that we had to do whatever was necessary to get the missiles out. There was always some background fear of what would eventually happen, and I think this is what was expressed when people said they feared they would never see another Saturday.”*

—C. Douglas Dillon, quoted in *On the Brink*

— BIOGRAPHY —

### John F. Kennedy (1917–1963)



John F. “Jack” Kennedy grew up in a politically powerful family that helped make his dreams possible. His parents instilled in him the drive to accomplish great things.

During World War II, he enlisted in the navy and was decorated for heroism. In 1946 he won his first seat in Congress from a Boston district where he had never lived. While a senator, he won a Pulitzer Prize for his book *Profiles in Courage*.

Although he radiated self-confidence, Kennedy suffered many ailments, including Addison's disease—a debilitating condition that he treated with daily injections of cortisone. “At least one half of the days that he spent on this earth were days of intense physical pain,” recalled his younger brother Robert.

### Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971)



“No matter how humble a man's beginnings,” boasted Nikita Khrushchev, “he achieves the stature of the office to which he is elected.” Khrushchev, the son of a miner, became a Communist Party organizer in the 1920s. Within four years of Stalin's death in 1953, Khrushchev had consolidated his own political power in the Soviet Union.

During his regime, which ended in 1964, Khrushchev kept American nerves on edge with alternately conciliatory and aggressive behavior. During a 1959 trip to the United States, he met for friendly talks with President Eisenhower. The next year, in front of the UN General Assembly, he took off his shoe and angrily pounded it on a desk to protest the U-2 incident.

The first break in the crisis occurred when the Soviet ships stopped suddenly to avoid a confrontation at sea. Secretary of State Dean Rusk said, “We are eyeball to eyeball, and the other fellow just blinked.” A few days later, Khrushchev offered to remove the missiles in return for an American pledge not to invade Cuba. The United States also secretly agreed to remove missiles from Turkey. The leaders agreed, and the crisis ended. “For a moment, the world had stood still,” Robert Kennedy wrote years later, “and now it was going around again.”

**KENNEDY AND KHRUSHCHEV TAKE THE HEAT** The crisis severely damaged Khrushchev’s prestige in the Soviet Union and the world. Kennedy did not escape criticism, either. Some people criticized Kennedy for practicing brinkmanship. They thought that private talks might have resolved the crisis without the threat of nuclear war. Others believed he had passed up an ideal chance to invade Cuba and oust Castro. (It was learned in the 1990s that the CIA had underestimated the numbers of Soviet troops and nuclear weapons on the island.)

The effects of the crisis lasted long after the missiles had been removed. Many Cuban exiles blamed the Democrats for “losing Cuba” and switched their allegiance to the Republican Party. Kennedy had earlier made the same charge against the Republicans.

Meanwhile, Castro closed Cuba’s doors to the exiles in November 1962. He banned all flights to and from Miami. Three years later, hundreds of thousands of people took advantage of an agreement that allowed Cubans to join relatives in the United States. By the time Castro sharply cut down on exit permits in 1973, the Cuban population in Miami had increased to about 300,000 people.

## U.S.-Soviet Tensions

One goal had guided Kennedy through the Cuban missile crisis. That goal was to prove to Khrushchev his determination to contain communism. All the while, Kennedy was thinking of their recent confrontation over Berlin. That confrontation had led to the construction of the **Berlin Wall**, a concrete wall topped with barbed wire that divided the city in two.

**THE BERLIN CRISIS** In 1961 Berlin was a city in great turmoil. In the 11 years since the Berlin Airlift, almost 3 million East Germans had fled into West Berlin because it was free from Communist rule. These refugees represented 20 percent of East Germany’s population. They demonstrated the failure of that country’s Communist government. Their departure also dangerously weakened East Germany’s economy.

Khrushchev realized that this problem had to be solved. At a summit meeting in Vienna, Austria, in June 1961, he threatened to sign a treaty with East Germany. The treaty would enable that country to close all the access roads to West Berlin. Kennedy refused to give up U.S. access to West Berlin. Khrushchev furiously responded, “I want peace. But, if you want war, that is your problem.”

### Reading Check

#### Analyze Causes

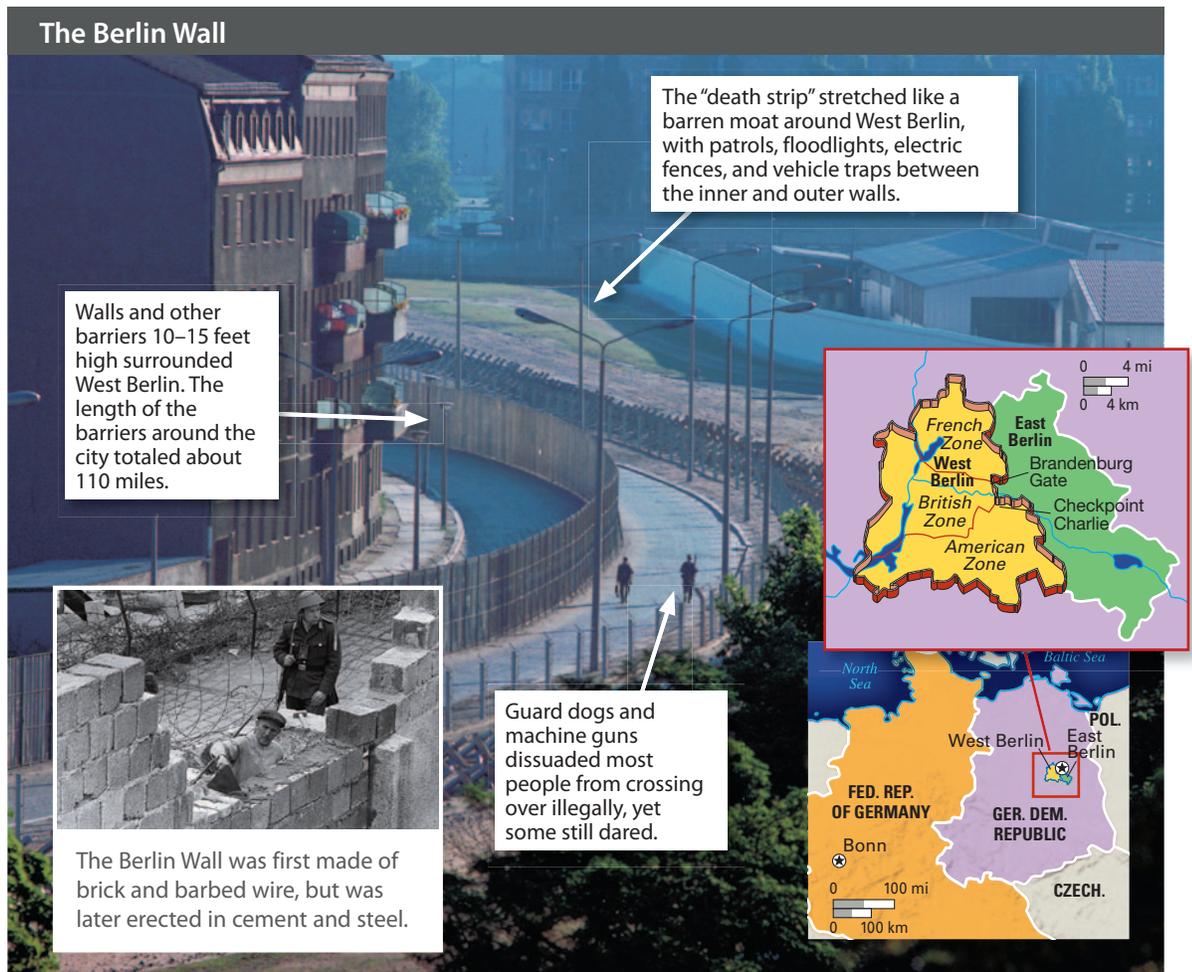
What led to the Cuban missile crisis?

After returning home, Kennedy spoke to the nation in a televised address. He said that Berlin was “the great testing place of Western courage and will.” He pledged “We cannot and will not permit the Communists to drive us out of Berlin.”

Kennedy’s determination and America’s superior nuclear striking power prevented Khrushchev from closing the air and land routes between West Berlin and West Germany. Instead, the Soviet premier surprised the world with a shocking decision. Just after midnight on August 13, 1961, East German troops began to unload concrete posts and rolls of barbed wire along the border. Within days, the Berlin Wall was erected, separating East Germany from West Germany. The wall isolated West Berlin from a hostile German Democratic Republic (GDR). Passing from East to West was almost impossible without the Communist government’s permission.

During the 28 years the wall was standing, approximately 5,000 people succeeded in fleeing. Almost 200 people died in the attempt. Most were shot by the GDR border guards.

The construction of the Berlin Wall ended the Berlin crisis, but it heightened Cold War tensions. The wall and its armed guards successfully reduced the flow of East German refugees to a tiny trickle. This solved Khrushchev’s main problem. At the same time, however, the wall became an ugly symbol of Communist oppression.



**EFFORTS TO EASE TENSIONS** Showdowns like Cuba and Berlin made both Kennedy and Khrushchev aware of the seriousness of split-second decisions that separated peace from nuclear disaster. A rash decision or unfortunate hesitation could lead to global catastrophe.

Faced with this realization, Kennedy searched for ways to tone down his hardline position. In 1963 he announced that the two nations had established a **hot line** between the White House and the Kremlin. This dedicated phone enabled the leaders of the two countries to communicate immediately should another crisis arise. Later that year, the United States and the Soviet Union also agreed to a **Limited Test Ban Treaty**. The treaty banned nuclear testing in the atmosphere.

The Limited Test Ban Treaty was a good beginning to easing nuclear fears. However, both American and Soviet leaders believed more steps were necessary to prevent catastrophe. Over the next few years, more treaties were signed to limit nuclear activity. For example, a 1967 treaty banned the deployment of nuclear weapons in space and on the moon. This had been a common fear as the space race continued.

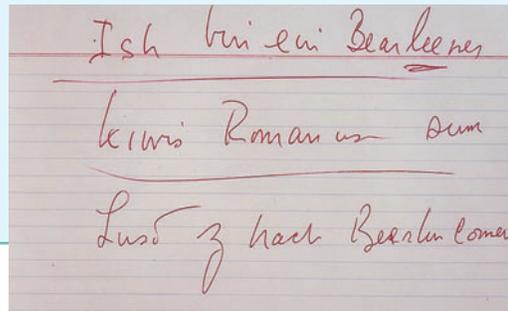
## Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

### Ich Bin ein Berliner

Two years after the construction of the Berlin Wall, President Kennedy traveled to West Berlin to renew his commitment to the city. In a famous speech, he praised the spirit of the city's people. He also declared the Berlin Wall a symbol of communism's weakness.

*"There are many people who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the free world and the Communist world. Let them come to Berlin. There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future. Let them come to Berlin. And there are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the Communists. Let them come to Berlin. . . . When all are free, then we can look forward to that day when this city will be joined as one. . . . All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words 'Ich bin ein Berliner!'"*

—John F. Kennedy, from a speech in Berlin, June 26, 1963



Reading from this note card during a speech in West Berlin, Kennedy proclaimed "Ich bin ein Berliner" ("I am a Berliner").

### Analyze Historical Sources

1. Why does Kennedy repeatedly call on people to visit Berlin?
2. What does Kennedy seek to accomplish by calling himself a Berliner?



During the 1950s and 1960s, the buildup of nuclear weapons led to worldwide fears.

### Reading Check

#### Analyze Motives

What led Khrushchev to erect the Berlin Wall?

By the late 1960s the fear of nuclear catastrophe had spread around the world. The United States and the Soviet Union were no longer the only countries capable of launching nuclear attacks. The United Kingdom, France, and China had all successfully tested nuclear weapons by 1964. As the number of nuclear-capable countries increased, so did fears of global disaster. Some world leaders were concerned about the idea of nuclear weapons in the hands of developing nations, especially those not influenced by either side in the Cold War. Such nations would not be kept in check by Cold War rivalries. In addition, many were involved in bitter border disputes with their neighbors. These disputes could invite a preemptive attack.

To help reduce some of these fears, world leaders agreed to take steps to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. In 1968 representatives from more than 60 countries signed the **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)**. Signers included both the United States and the Soviet Union. Under this treaty, nuclear powers agreed not to sell or give nuclear weapons to any other country. Nonnuclear powers promised not to develop or acquire such weapons. The NPT did not completely end the spread of nuclear weapons. Some countries refused to sign it, and some of those, including India and Pakistan, eventually developed their own weapons. But the treaty was a significant step toward relieving some of the world's fears of total destruction.

## The Space Race Continues

While American diplomats were trying to soothe hostilities with Soviet leaders, scientists were hard at work challenging Soviet technological advances. In the 1950s the Soviets had launched the first artificial satellite. Americans soon matched this feat. Then, on April 12, 1961, Soviet cosmonaut Yuri A. Gagarin became the first human in space. Kennedy saw this as a challenge. He grew determined to surpass the Soviets by sending a man to the moon.

In less than a month, the United States had also successfully launched a man into space: astronaut Alan Shepard. Later that year, a communications satellite called *Telstar* relayed live television pictures across the Atlantic Ocean from Maine to Europe. Meanwhile, America's National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) had begun new construction projects. It built new launch facilities at Cape Canaveral, Florida, and a mission control center in Houston, Texas. America's pride and prestige were restored. Speaking before a crowd at Houston's Rice University, Kennedy expressed the spirit of "the space race."

*"We choose to go to the moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard, because that goal will serve to organize and measure the best of our energies and skills, because that challenge is one that we are willing to accept, one we are unwilling to postpone, and one which we intend to win, and the others, too."*

—John F. Kennedy, from his address on the nation's space effort, September 12, 1962

Seven years later, the United States would achieve its goal. However, Kennedy himself would not live to see it. Early on the morning of July 16, 1969, more than 5,000 dignitaries and reporters gathered at Cape Canaveral's Kennedy Space Center. They witnessed the beginning of the first flight to the moon. Nearly half a million more people flocked to the fields around the site, hoping to see the historic event. Following the successful launch, oversight of the mission shifted to Houston, Texas. Technicians there monitored the craft's progress.

Four days later on July 20, an excited nation sat glued to its televisions. Americans watched as U.S. astronaut Neil Armstrong climbed down the ladder of his lunar module and stepped onto the surface of the moon. "That's one small step for man," Armstrong said, "one giant leap for mankind." Americans swelled with pride as they watched the historic moon landing on their televisions. President Richard Nixon, who had taken office a few months earlier, spoke to the astronauts from the White House. He said, "For every American, this has to be the proudest day of our lives."

As a result of the space program, universities expanded their science programs. The huge federal funding for research and development gave rise to new industries and new technologies. Many could be used in business and industry and also in new consumer goods. Space- and defense-related industries sprang up in the southern and western states, which grew rapidly.

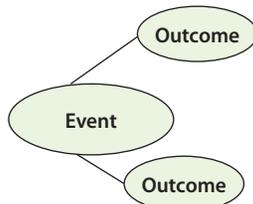
### Reading Check

#### Analyze Causes

How did the Cold War help bring about the space race?

## Lesson 5 Assessment

- Organize Information** Use a series of web diagrams to list two outcomes for each of these events: the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Cuban missile crisis, and construction of the Berlin Wall.

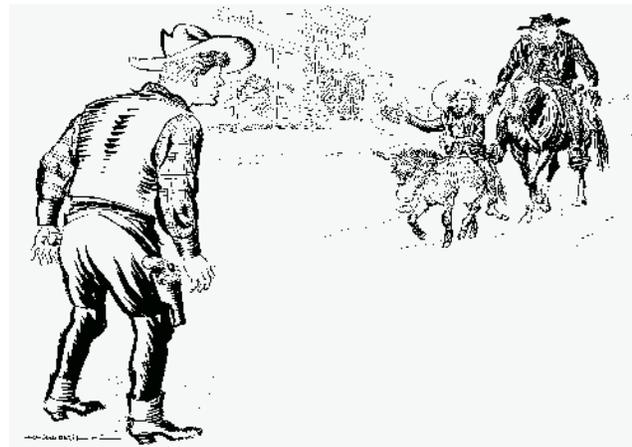


Which of these outcomes led directly to other events listed here or described in this lesson?

- Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- Evaluate** How well do you think President Kennedy handled the Cuban missile crisis? Justify your opinion with specific examples from the text.

#### Think About:

- Kennedy's decision to impose a naval "quarantine" of Cuba
- the nuclear showdown between the superpowers
- Kennedy's decision not to invade Cuba



- Analyze Primary Sources** Examine the cartoon above of Kennedy (*left*) facing off with Khrushchev and Castro. What do you think the cartoonist was trying to convey?
- Draw Conclusions** What kind of political statement was made by the United States' support of West Berlin?

# The End of the Cold War

## The Big Idea

Changes in foreign policy beginning with the Nixon administration gradually led to an easing of U.S.-Soviet tensions and an end to the Cold War.

## Why It Matters Now

The end of the Cold War led to more open political and economic ties between the United States and the Soviet Union, despite some continued differences.

## Key Terms and People

Richard Nixon

Henry Kissinger

realpolitik

détente

SALT I Treaty

Gerald Ford

Jimmy Carter

Ronald Reagan

Mikhail Gorbachev

Strategic Defense Initiative

*glasnost*

*perestroika*

Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty

## One American's Story

Colin Powell did not start out in life with any special privileges. Born in Harlem and raised in the Bronx, he only tolerated school. Then, while attending the City College of New York, he joined the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC). He got straight A's in ROTC, and so he decided to make the army his career.

Powell served in several Cold War hotspots, first in Vietnam and then in Korea and West Germany. He rose in rank to become a general; then President Reagan made him national security advisor. In this post, Powell noted that the Soviet Union was a factor in all the administration's foreign policy decisions.

*“Our choosing sides in conflicts around the world was almost always decided on the basis of East–West competition. The new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, however, was turning the old Cold War formulas on their head. . . . Ronald Reagan . . . had the vision and flexibility, lacking in many knee-jerk Cold Warriors, to recognize that Gorbachev was a new man in a new age offering new opportunities for peace.”*



General Colin Powell

— Colin Powell, from *My American Journey*

After nearly 50 years of tension between the United States and the Soviet Union, Powell was witnessing the end of the Cold War. Though U.S. foreign policy in the early 1980s was marked by intense hostility toward the Soviet Union, economic problems destroyed the Soviets' ability to continue the standoff.

## Nixon's Foreign Policy Triumphs

Although the Cold War finally wound down in the late 1980s and early 1990s, tensions still ran high when **Richard Nixon** became president in 1969. Throughout his presidency, Nixon's foreign policy focused on soothing Cold War tension. His top priority was gaining an honorable peace in Vietnam. At the same time, he also made significant advances in America's relationships with China and the Soviet Union.

**KISSINGER AND REALPOLITIK** The architect of Nixon's foreign policy was his adviser for national security affairs, **Henry Kissinger**. Kissinger, who would later become Nixon's secretary of state, promoted a philosophy known as **realpolitik** (rā-äl'pō'li-tēk'), from a German term meaning "political realism." According to realpolitik, foreign policy should be based solely on consideration of power, not ideals or moral principles.

Kissinger believed in evaluating a nation's power, not its philosophy or beliefs. If a country was weak, Kissinger argued, it was often more practical to ignore that country, even if it was Communist. This marked a departure from the former policy of containment, which refused to recognize the major Communist countries. On the other hand, Kissinger's philosophy called for the United States to confront powerful nations. In realpolitik, however, confrontation meant negotiation as well as military engagement.

Nixon shared Kissinger's belief in realpolitik. Together the two adopted a more flexible approach in dealing with Communist nations. They called their policy **détente**—a policy aimed at easing Cold War tensions. One of the most startling applications of détente came in early 1972 when Nixon—who had risen in politics as a strong anti-Communist—visited Communist China.

**NIXON VISITS CHINA** Since the Communist takeover of mainland China in 1949, the United States had not formally recognized the Chinese Communist government. In late 1971 Nixon decided to reverse that policy. He announced that he would visit China "to seek the normalization of relations between the two countries."



President Nixon tours the Great Wall as part of his visit to China in 1972.

### Kissinger on Détente

Under President Richard Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, the focus of U.S. foreign policy shifted from containment to détente. Kissinger offered a clear explanation of what this policy meant while visiting China in 1975.

#### Analyze Historical Sources

How does Kissinger's description of détente differ from earlier Cold War foreign policies?

*"The differences between us are apparent. Our task is not to intensify those differences. Our task is to advance our relationship on the basis of our mutual interests. Such a relationship would strengthen each of us. It would threaten no one and it would contribute to the well-being of all peoples. . . . Each country must pursue a policy suitable to its own circumstances. . . . In this policy we will be guided by actions and realities and not rhetoric."*

—Henry Kissinger, from a toast to Chinese officials,  
October 19, 1975

By going to China, Nixon was trying, in part, to take advantage of the decade-long rift between China and the Soviet Union. China had long criticized the Soviet Union as being too "soft" in its policies against the West. The two Communist superpowers officially broke ties in 1960. Nixon had thought about exploiting the broken relationship for several years. "We want to have the Chinese with us when we sit down and negotiate with the Russians," he told a reporter in 1968. Upon his arrival at the Beijing Airport in February 1972, Nixon recalls his meeting with Chinese premier Zhou Enlai.

*"I knew that Zhou had been deeply insulted by Foster Dulles's refusal to shake hands with him at the Geneva Conference in 1954. When I reached the bottom step, therefore, I made a point of extending my hand as I walked toward him. When our hands met, one era ended and another began."*

—Richard M. Nixon, from *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*

Besides its enormous symbolic value, Nixon's visit also was a huge success with the American public. U.S. television crews flooded American living rooms with film clips of Nixon at the Great Wall of China, at the Imperial Palace, and even toasting top Communist leaders at state dinners.

Observers noted that Nixon's visit opened up diplomatic and economic relations with the Chinese and resulted in important agreements between China and the United States. The two nations agreed that neither would try to dominate the Pacific and that both would henceforth cooperate in settling disputes peacefully. They also agreed to participate in scientific and cultural exchanges. In addition, the United States recognized Taiwan as a part of mainland China and promised to eventually withdraw American forces from the island.

During the Cold War, the Soviet Union regularly displayed its military strength in parades. Shown here is an ICBM in a 1965 parade through Moscow's Red Square.



**NIXON TRAVELS TO MOSCOW** In May 1972, three months after visiting Beijing, President Nixon headed to Moscow. He was the first U.S. president ever to visit the Soviet Union. By the time he arrived for a summit meeting with Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev, relations with the Soviet Union had already warmed. In 1971 the two nations reached an agreement about Berlin. The Soviets promised to guarantee Western nations free access to West Berlin and to respect the city's independence. In return, the Western allies agreed to officially recognize East Germany.

Like his visit to China, Nixon's trip to the Soviet Union received wide approval. Nixon and Brezhnev held a series of meetings called the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. Then they signed the **SALT I Treaty**. This five-year agreement limited the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched missiles to 1972 levels. It appeared that Nixon's policy of détente was helping to slow the arms race.

The foreign policy triumphs with China and the Soviet Union helped reelect Nixon as president in 1972. So did the administration's announcement that peace "is at hand" in Vietnam. But peace in Vietnam proved elusive. The Nixon administration grappled with the war for nearly six more months before withdrawing troops and ending America's involvement in Vietnam.

**COLD WAR HOTSPOTS UNDER NIXON** While the attention of most Americans was focused on events in Asia, President Nixon also kept a wary eye on developments in South America and the Middle East.

In 1970 the people of Chile elected Marxist candidate Salvador Allende (ä-yěn'dā) president. Allende's election alarmed Nixon and his advisers, who feared that he would introduce communism to Chile. To prevent such a development, the CIA began covert operations, secretly providing funding and training to opposition groups in Chile, including some units of the Chilean military. On September 11, 1973, the military rebelled, killing Allende and more than 3,000 others. General Augusto Pinochet (pē'nō-chët'), who was staunchly opposed to socialism, was named Chile's new president.

Also in 1973 Nixon sent military aid to Israel, which had been invaded by forces from Syria and Egypt. This was not the first time the United States had helped Israel defend against its neighbors. In the 1960s President Johnson had sold tanks and aircraft to the Israeli military to offset aid the Soviets had given to Israel's Arab neighbors. When war broke out between Israel and its neighbors in 1967, the United States did not actively take part. It did, however, attempt to negotiate a cease-fire. Johnson feared that continued hostilities in the region would force the Soviet Union to come to the aid of its Arab allies, potentially beginning a major world conflict.

Like Johnson had before, Nixon feared that Israeli conflict would lead to direct confrontation with the Soviets. Although the United States supplied massive amounts of military aid to Israel, U.S. officials also worked to broker a cease-fire between the warring nations. In what became known as "shuttle diplomacy," Secretary of State Kissinger traveled back and forth between Middle Eastern countries in an attempt to forge a peace agreement. His efforts eventually paid off. Israel signed a cease-fire with Egypt in January 1974. Four months later, it signed another with Syria.

### Reading Check

**Analyze Effects**  
How did Nixon's trip change the U.S. relationship with China?

## Ford Confronts the Cold War

Nixon resigned as president in 1974 amid political scandal, making **Gerald Ford** president. Ford mostly continued on the path Nixon had begun, relying heavily on the assistance of Secretary of State Kissinger.



President Ford signs the Helsinki Accords, August 1, 1975.

### CONTINUING NIXON'S FOREIGN POLICIES

Following Kissinger's advice, Ford pushed ahead with Nixon's policy of negotiation with China and the Soviet Union. In November 1974 he met with Soviet premier Brezhnev. Less than a year later, he traveled to Helsinki, Finland, where 35 nations, including the Soviet Union, signed the Helsinki Accords—a series of agreements that promised greater cooperation between the nations of Eastern and Western Europe. The Helsinki Accords would be Ford's greatest presidential accomplishment.

**ONGOING TURMOIL IN SOUTHEAST ASIA** Like presidents before him, Ford encountered trouble in Southeast Asia. The 1973 cease-fire in Vietnam had broken down. Heavy fighting resumed, and Ford asked Congress for over \$722 million to help South Vietnam. Congress refused. Without American financial help, South Vietnam surrendered to the North in 1975.

Also in 1975 the Communist government of Cambodia seized the U.S. merchant ship *Mayagüez* in the Gulf of Siam. President Ford responded with a massive show of military force. He ordered air strikes against Cambodia.

He also sent an elite team of U.S. Marines to rescue 39 crew members aboard the ship. The operation cost the lives of 41 U.S. troops. Most Americans applauded the action as evidence of the country's strength. However, critics argued that the mission had cost more lives than it had saved. They also argued that the president had acted without consulting Congress.

**CRISIS IN AFRICA** In late 1974 the Ford administration was faced with a new crisis far from Vietnam. American forces became involved in a civil war in Angola, a country in southern Africa. Newly independent from Portuguese control, Angola was nominally governed by three political organizations working together. Each organization wanted power for itself, however, and the country soon fell into civil war.

The struggle in Angola soon became an international affair. World superpowers took sides in the conflict, lending aid to opposing factions. The United States supported two of the three warring factions, while the Soviet Union and China backed the third. The Soviet-backed forces quickly drove their opponents from the capital. Ford requested additional funds to provide more aid to the Angola rebels, but Congress, unwilling to get involved in another foreign war so soon after Vietnam, refused. A Marxist government took control of the country.

The Angola crisis put a new strain on U.S.-Soviet relations during a period when the relationship between the two countries seemed to be thawing. The conflict in Angola, especially coming as it did on the heels of Vietnam, led many to believe détente would not be a successful strategy for dealing with the Soviet Union. Many began to call for a new foreign policy.

## A New Direction Under Carter

Gerald Ford ran for reelection in 1976. He was defeated by Democrat **Jimmy Carter**. Carter was inexperienced in national politics and had no previous foreign policy experience. However, he did have a sincere devotion to human rights. This became the cornerstone of his actions as president. This devotion strained relations between Carter and Soviet leaders and necessitated changes in foreign policy.

**THE COLLAPSE OF DÉTENTE** When Jimmy Carter took office, détente had reached a high point. There was a relaxation of tensions between the world's superpowers. It had begun with President Nixon and continued with President Ford. U.S. officials had worked to ease relations with the Communist superpowers of China and the Soviet Union.

However, Carter's firm insistence on human rights led to a breakdown in relations with the Soviet Union. President Carter was unhappy about the Soviet Union's treatment of dissidents, or opponents of the government's policies. He delayed a second round of SALT negotiations. President Carter and Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev finally met in June 1979 in Vienna, Austria. There they signed an agreement known as SALT II. The agreement did not reduce armaments. However, it did limit the number of strategic weapons and nuclear-missile launchers that each side could produce.

### Reading Check

**Summarize** Why did American forces become involved in events in Cambodia and Angola?



Soviet military helicopters and tanks patrol in Afghanistan several years after the 1979 invasion.

### Reading Check

#### Analyze Causes

What led to the collapse of détente with the Soviet Union?

The SALT II agreement met sharp opposition in the Senate. Critics argued that it would put the United States at a military disadvantage. Then, in December 1979 the Soviets invaded the neighboring country of Afghanistan. This action struck a major blow to U.S.-Soviet relations.

**THE SOVIET-AFGHAN WAR** Afghanistan is an Islamic country along the southern border of the Soviet Union. It had been run by a Communist, pro-Soviet government for a number of years. However, a strong Muslim rebel group known as the *mujahideen* was intent on overthrowing the Afghan government. The Soviet Union feared a rebel victory in Afghanistan. It sent troops to Afghanistan in late 1979. The rebels used guerilla tactics and their knowledge of the country's mountainous landscape. The Soviets had superior weaponry, but the rebels fought them to a stalemate.

When President Carter heard of the invasion, he activated the seldom-used White House-Kremlin hot line. He protested to Brezhnev that his actions posed a serious threat to world peace. As a result of the invasion, Carter withdrew his support for the SALT II agreement, and the treaty died.

Several days later, Carter outlined the American response to the Soviet invasion. He called the invasion a “gross interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.” He said that the United States would block all exports of grain to the Soviet Union. In addition, the United States would boycott the 1980 Olympics, which were to be held in Moscow. Both the grain embargo and the Olympic boycott proved to be unpopular with the public. Many Americans felt that these actions punished Americans as much as they hurt the Soviets. They also argued that the government's response made both Carter and the country appear weak.

## Reagan and the End of the Cold War

Carter served only one term as president. **Ronald Reagan** was elected in 1980 on a platform that included staunch opposition to communism. Yet as president, Reagan helped bring about the end of the Cold War. During his administration, Reagan developed a complex relationship with **Mikhail Gorbachev**. Gorbachev became the general secretary of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union in March 1985. Gorbachev's rise to power marked the beginning of a new era in the Soviet Union.

**REAGAN AND COMMUNISM** As president, Reagan rejected the policy of détente. He was not interested in accommodating communism. He wanted to utterly destroy it. In speeches, he referred to the Soviet Union as “the evil empire” and “the focus of evil in the modern world.”

To support his anti-Soviet foreign policy, Reagan greatly increased the U.S. defense budget. In part, he hoped that any effort to match his spending would bankrupt the struggling Soviets. During his first term in office, the Pentagon’s annual budget grew by almost 25 percent. Much of the new spending he authorized went toward new weapons systems. In 1981 Reagan announced plans to add thousands of nuclear warheads to the U.S. arsenal. He revived two discontinued weapons systems—the MX missile and the B-1 bomber.

In 1983 Reagan asked U.S. scientists to develop a special defense system to keep Americans safe from missiles. Officially called the **Strategic Defense Initiative**, or SDI, it quickly became known as Star Wars. With a projected price tag of trillions of dollars, SDI immediately met with opposition. Opponents, including many scientists, argued that the system would not work.

Reagan’s hardline anti-Communist position and increased defense spending worsened U.S.-Soviet relations during his first term. For example, Soviet leaders saw SDI as an offensive weapon rather than a defensive one. They said that it would allow the United States to launch a nuclear strike without fear of retaliation. The Soviets ended arms control talks and boycotted the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles. Reagan’s policies also drew criticism from Americans. Hundreds of thousands of protesters marched in demonstrations. They called for a nuclear freeze, a halt in the production of nuclear weapons. Critics feared that Reagan’s aggressive position could provoke a nuclear war.

However, Reagan’s position also gained him support from some Americans and from like-minded world leaders. These included conservative British prime minister Margaret Thatcher and Polish-born Pope John Paul II. Like Reagan, they believed the Soviet Union was devoted to global conquest.

**GORBACHEV INITIATES REFORM** Within the Soviet Union, however, leaders were more focused on internal issues. When he took control in 1985, Gorbachev had inherited a host of problems. Many of them revolved around the Soviet economy, which was under a great amount of stress. Reagan added pressure by increasing U.S. defense spending. When the Soviets tried to keep up, their economy was pushed to the brink of collapse.

A skilled diplomat and politician, Gorbachev promoted a policy known as **glasnost** (Russian for “openness”). He allowed open criticism of the Soviet government and granted limited freedom of the press. In 1985 he outlined his plans for **perestroika**, a restructuring of Soviet society. He called for less government control of the economy and the introduction of some private enterprise. He also took steps toward establishing a democratic government.

**IMPROVED U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS** Gorbachev recognized that better relations with the United States would allow the Soviets to reduce their military spending and reform their economy. Realizing that Gorbachev represented a dramatic change in Soviet leadership, Reagan was also willing to negotiate. Between 1985 and 1988 the two leaders met four times to discuss the future of relations between their countries.



President Reagan (*right*) and Gorbachev sign the INF Treaty, which includes the strictest nuclear arms verification system up to that time.

The most obvious sign of the changing U.S.-Soviet relationship was the signing of the **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty** on December 8, 1987. The treaty eliminated two classes of weapons systems in Europe. It allowed each nation to make on-site inspections of the other's military installations. More than 2,500 missiles were destroyed under the treaty.

**THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNIST REGIMES** As the leader of the Soviet Union, Gorbachev encouraged the people of East Germany and Eastern Europe to go their own ways. People in some Eastern European nations had been calling for increased freedom even before Gorbachev rose to power. In Poland, for example, workers had begun calling for economic change. In 1980 some 17,000 workers in the Polish city of Gdansk had locked themselves in a factory to protest rising food prices. The workers were led by Lech Walesa (wä-lën'sə). They wanted the Soviet-backed Polish government to recognize their labor union, called Solidarity. The protest inspired thousands of other workers throughout Poland. They also went on strike. Eventually, the government gave in. It officially recognized Solidarity as a union. To the people of Poland, this recognition represented much more than an economic victory. It was a first step toward freedom from Communist control.

Once in power, Gorbachev reduced the number of Soviet troops in Eastern Europe. He allowed non-Communist parties to organize in satellite nations, such as East Germany and Poland, and encouraged these nations to move toward democracy. During a speech at the Berlin Wall in 1987, President Reagan challenged Gorbachev to back up his reforms with decisive action.

*“General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!”*

—Ronald Reagan, speech at the Brandenburg Gate, June 12, 1987

In October 1989 East Germans startled the world by rejecting their Communist government. At a celebration of the 40th anniversary of East Germany, protesters began calling for more freedom. “Gorby, help us!” they chanted, seeking more of Gorbachev’s reforms.

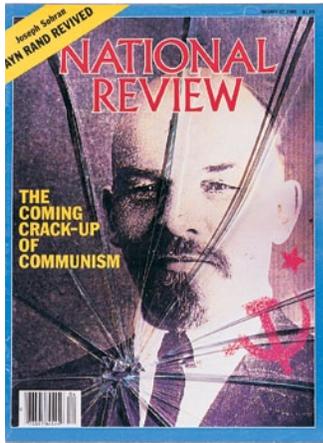
On November 9, 1989, in an effort to calm rising protests, East German officials threw open the gates of the Berlin Wall. This allowed free passage between the two parts of the city for the first time in 28 years. East German border guards stood by and watched as Berliners from both sides pounded away with hammers and other tools—or with their bare hands—at the despised wall. Television signals carried images of the jubilant Germans around the world. In early 1990 East Germany held its first free elections. On October 3 of that year, less than a year after the wall came down, the two German nations were united.

Other European nations also adopted democratic reforms. Czechoslovakia withdrew from the Soviet bloc. Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania made successful transitions from communism. The United States sought to help these countries in their transition away from Communist governments, promoting the growth of multiparty governments and market economies. After East Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia left the Warsaw Pact in 1990, the alliance dissolved within a year.

Yugoslavia, however, collapsed. Four of its six republics seceded. Ethnic rivalries deteriorated into a brutal war among Muslims, Orthodox Serbs, and Roman Catholic Croats, who were dividing Yugoslavia, each claiming parts of it. Serbia backed Serb minorities who were stirring up civil unrest in Croatia and Bosnia. Although President Bush tried to convince the various parties to avoid bloodshed and resolve their issues democratically, he was unsuccessful. The former Yugoslavia became embroiled in a civil war that would last for many years.



A demonstrator pounds away on the Berlin Wall as East German border guards look on from above at the Brandenburg Gate, on November 11, 1989.



This magazine cover marking the end of the Soviet Union depicts Vladimir Lenin, the founder of Soviet communism.

### Reading Check

**Evaluate** Which evidence in the text supports the viewpoint that Gorbachev was a skilled politician and diplomat?

**THE SOVIET UNION DECLINES** Gorbachev’s introduction of democratic ideals led to a dramatic increase in nationalism on the part of the Soviet Union’s non-Russian republics. In December 1991, 14 non-Russian republics declared their independence from the Soviet Union. Muscled aside by Russian reformers who thought he was working too slowly toward democracy, Gorbachev resigned as Soviet president on December 25. After 74 years, the Soviet Union dissolved.

A loose federation known as the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) took the place of the Soviet Union. In February 1992 President George H. W. Bush and Russian president Boris Yeltsin met at Camp David to discuss the future of Russia and its neighbors. On behalf of the United States, Bush promised to aid Russia in its transition to democracy, and he pledged more than \$4 billion in economic aid to help the Russian economy. At the conclusion of the meeting, the two leaders issued a formal statement declaring an end to the Cold War that had plagued the two nations and divided the world since 1945. In January 1993, Yeltsin and Bush signed the START II pact, designed to cut both nations’ nuclear arsenals by two-thirds.

Upon his return to Russia, Yeltsin ended price controls and increased private business ownership. The Russian parliament opposed Yeltsin’s policies, even though a majority of voters supported them.

In December 1993 Russian voters installed a new parliament and approved a new constitution, parts of which resembled the U.S. Constitution. In 1996 Yeltsin won reelection as president of Russia.

## Lesson 6 Assessment

- Organize Information** Use a table to identify steps taken by Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev that helped end the Cold War.

Reagan	Gorbachev
•	•
•	•
•	•

Which leader do you think was more responsible for ending the conflict? Support your answer.

- Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Analyze Causes** What factors caused the end of the Cold War?

### Think About:

- events in the Soviet Union
- events in Germany and Eastern Europe
- how leaders responded to these events

- Draw Conclusions** Why were Nixon’s foreign policy achievements particularly important?
- Evaluate** Do you think the United States was justified in supporting military efforts in places like Chile and Angola? Support your answer with evidence from the text.
- Form Generalizations** Is it possible for an authoritarian government to make economic reforms without also making political reforms? Support your answer with details from the text.

# Module 12 Assessment

## Key Terms and People

For each key term or person below, write a sentence explaining its significance to the Cold War.

1. containment
2. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
3. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
4. Mao Zedong
5. Korean War
6. McCarthyism
7. John Foster Dulles
8. brinkmanship
9. Nikita Khrushchev
10. U-2 incident

## Main Ideas

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

### The Origins of the Cold War

1. What were the goals of U.S. foreign policy in the early Cold War?
2. What did Stalin do to make President Truman distrust him?
3. Describe the Truman Doctrine and how America reacted to it.
4. What was the purpose of the NATO alliance?
5. What necessitated the Berlin airlift?

### The Cold War Heats Up

6. What global events led to U.S. involvement in Korea?
7. What constitutional issue arose when Truman ordered troops to Korea?
8. What issue between General Douglas MacArthur and President Truman eventually cost MacArthur his job?
9. How did the involvement of Communist China affect the Korean War?

### The Cold War at Home

10. What actions of Joseph McCarthy worsened the national hysteria about communism?

11. How did the Rosenberg case fuel anti-Communist feelings?
12. How did McCarthyism affect public views of the government?

### Two Nations Live on the Edge

13. What was the strategy behind the arms race?
14. Why did the Soviet Union form the Warsaw Pact?
15. What were the results of the Suez War?
16. How did the nuclear arms race affect life in the United States in the 1950s?
17. What was the role of the CIA in the Cold War?

### Mounting Tensions in the Sixties

18. How did relations between the United States and Cuba change after the Cuban Revolution?
19. What were the most significant results of the Cuban missile crisis?
20. What goal did presidents Kennedy and Johnson have in sending U.S. troops to Vietnam? Did they attain that goal?
21. What steps did Kennedy and Khrushchev take to relieve tensions between their countries?
22. How did the world react to the growth of nuclear-capable countries in the 1960s?

### The End of the Cold War

23. What was the philosophy of realpolitik?
24. What effects did the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan have on the United States? What was the American response to the invasion?
25. What caused the downfall of the Soviet Union and the founding of the Commonwealth of Independent States?
26. What events signaled that the Cold War had come to an end?
27. How did arms talks affect relations between the United States and the Soviet Union?

# Module 12 Assessment, continued

## Critical Thinking

1. **Analyze Causes** List at least two causes for each of these events and explain how they relate to the event: (a) the United States' adoption of a policy of containment, and (b) the beginning of the nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union.
2. **Contrast** How did foreign policy in the early Cold War represent a shift in foreign policy from the period before World War II?
3. **Interpret Maps** Look carefully at the "Iron Curtain" map in Lesson 1. How did the absence of a natural barrier on the western border of the Soviet Union affect post-World War II Soviet foreign policy? Explain your answer.
4. **Form Generalizations** What role did the United Nations play in the Cold War?
5. **Summarize** What were the effects of the Marshall Plan on Western Europe?
6. **Synthesize** How did the Cold War lead to an expansion of government bureaucracy in the United States?
7. **Analyze Effects** How did the space race affect U.S.-Soviet relations during the Cold War? What other effects did it have?
8. **Evaluate** Consider the U.S. presidents from Richard Nixon to Ronald Reagan. Who do you think was most effective in resolving Cold War tensions? Who do you think was least effective? Support your answer.
9. **Form Generalizations** How did the policy of containment shape U.S. foreign policy in the Cold War?
10. **Analyze Events** What role did the United States play in the creation of Israel, and how did it affect foreign policy?

## Engage with History

Suppose your best friend has been accused of being a Communist. You have been called to serve as a character witness for him or her. Write a speech that you will present to the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). In your speech, explain why you feel that your friend's constitutional rights are being violated.

## Focus on Writing

In a brief essay, trace the development of U.S. foreign policy over the course of the Cold War. Note major changes in approaches taken to fighting communism by various presidents during the period, and explain how each president built upon or rejected the policies of his predecessors.

## Multimedia Activity

In a small group, discuss American fears of nuclear holocaust during the Cold War. Consider factors that worried citizens, such as the stockpiling of nuclear weapons, civil defense strategies based on retaliation and mutually assured destruction, and the Soviet development of missiles and *Sputnik*. With your group, create a multimedia presentation that highlights American concerns and the decisions that caused them. In addition, identify strategies that Americans developed to deal with the possibility of nuclear war.

## OCTOBER FURY: THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS



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

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

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



### Prelude to Crisis

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



### Getting Ready for War

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



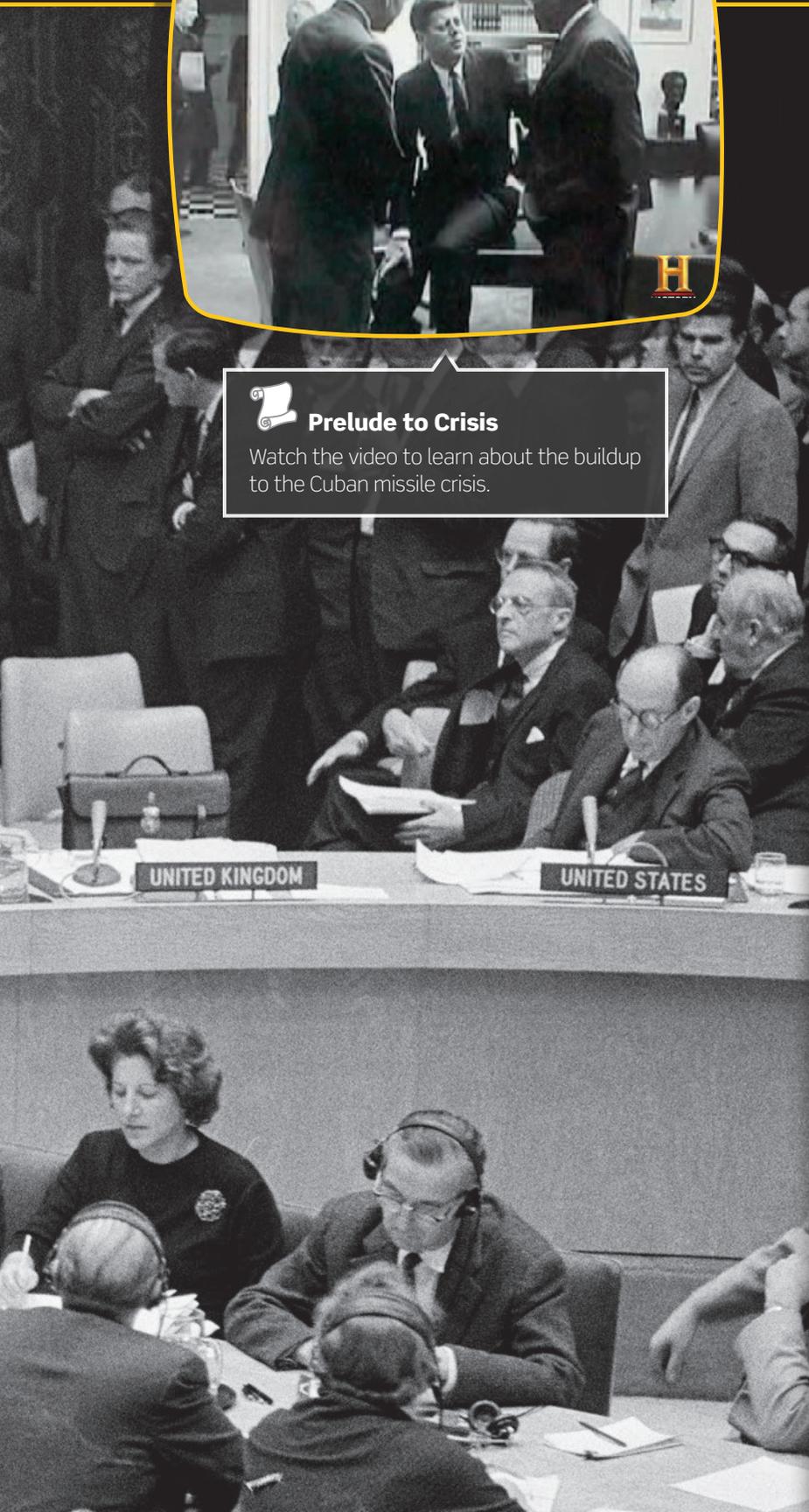
### Crisis Averted?

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



### Lessons Learned

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



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