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*Cleaning up after the London Blitz*

## A Sober Victory

**T**he end of World War II in Europe had been met with great joy. One visitor in Moscow reported, "I looked out of the window [at 2 A.M.], almost everywhere there were lights in the windows—people were staying awake. Everyone embraced everyone else, someone sobbed aloud."

After the victory parades and celebrations, however, Europeans awoke to a devastating realization: their civilization was in ruins. As many as fifty million people (both soldiers and civilians) had been killed over the last six years. Massive air raids had reduced many of the great cities of Europe to heaps of rubble.

An American general described Berlin: "Wherever we looked we saw desolation. It was like a city of the dead. Suffering and shock were visible in every face. Dead bodies still remained in canals and lakes and were being dug out from under bomb debris."

Millions of Europeans faced starvation. Grain harvests were only half of what they had been in 1939. Millions were also homeless. In the parts of the Soviet Union that had been occupied by the Germans, almost twenty-five million people were without homes. Fifteen million Germans and East Europeans were driven out of countries where they were no longer wanted. Millions of people had been uprooted by the war and became "displaced persons" who tried to find food and a way home.

### Why It Matters

Despite the chaos, Europe was soon on the road to a remarkable recovery. However, World War II had destroyed European supremacy in world affairs, and from this, Europe did not recover. As the Cold War between the world's two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—grew stronger, European nations were divided into two armed camps: dependent on one of these two major powers. The United States and the Soviet Union, whose rivalry brought the world to the brink of nuclear war, seemed to hold the survival of Europe and the world in their hands.

# Development of the Cold War

## Guide to Reading

### Main Ideas

- A period of conflict called the Cold War developed between the United States and the Soviet Union after 1945.
- As the Cold War developed, European nations were forced to support one of the two major powers.

### Key Terms

satellite state, policy of containment, arms race, domino theory

### People to Identify

Dean Acheson, Nikita Khrushchev

### Places to Locate

Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany, German Democratic Republic

### Preview Questions

1. What were the major turning points in the development of the Cold War?
2. What was the Cuban missile crisis?

### Reading Strategy

**Summarizing Information** Use a table like the one below to list the American presidents who held office during the Cold War and major events related to the Cold War that took place during their administrations.

President	Major Event

### Preview of Events

→ 1945 ← 1950 ← 1955 ← 1960 ← 1965

1948

Berlin Air Lift

begins

1949

Chinese Communists

take control of China

1950

Korean War begins

1961

Soviets and East Germans

build the Berlin Wall

1964

Lyndon B. Johnson increases

number of troops sent to Vietnam

→ 1965 ← 1965



Winston Churchill

## Voices from the Past

On March 5, 1946, Winston Churchill said in a speech in Fulton, Missouri:

“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. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia; 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.”

—*The Congressional Record*, 79th Congress, 1946

In 1946, Stalin replied: “In substance, Mr. Churchill now stands in the position of a firebrand of war.” The division between Western Europe and Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe marked the beginning of the Cold War.

## Confrontation of the Superpowers

Once the Axis Powers were defeated, the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union became clear. Stalin still feared the capitalist West, and U.S. (and other Western) leaders continued to fear communism. Who, then, was responsible for beginning the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union? Both took steps that were unwise and might have been avoided. It should not surprise us that two such different systems would come into conflict.

Because of its need to feel secure on its western border, the Soviet government was not prepared to give up its control of Eastern Europe after Germany's defeat. American leaders were not willing to give up the power and prestige the United States had gained throughout the world. Suspicious of each other's motives, the United States and the Soviet Union soon became rivals. Between 1945 and 1949, a number of events led the two superpowers (countries whose military power is combined with political influence) to oppose each other.

**Rivalry in Europe** Eastern Europe was the first area of disagreement. The United States and Great Britain believed that the liberated nations of Eastern Europe should freely determine their own governments. Stalin, fearful that the Eastern European nations would be anti-Soviet if they were permitted free elections, opposed the West's plans. Having freed Eastern Europe from the Nazis, the Soviet army stayed in the conquered areas.

A civil war in Greece created another area of conflict between the superpowers. The Communist People's Liberation Army and anticommunist forces supported by Great Britain were fighting each other for control of Greece in 1946. However, Britain had its own economic problems, which caused it to withdraw its aid from Greece.

**The Truman Doctrine** President Harry S. Truman of the United States, alarmed by the British withdrawal and the possibility of Soviet expansion into the eastern

Mediterranean, responded in early 1947 with the **Truman Doctrine**. The Truman Doctrine stated that the United States would provide money to countries (in this case, Greece) threatened by

Communist expansion. If the Soviets were not stopped in Greece, the

Truman argument ran, then the United States would have to face the spread of communism throughout the free world.

As **Dean Acheson**, the U.S. secretary of state, explained, "Like apples in a barrel infected by disease, the corruption of Greece would infect Iran and all the East . . . likewise Africa, Italy, France. . . . Not since Rome and Carthage had there been such a polarization of power on this earth."

**The Marshall Plan** The Truman Doctrine was followed in June 1947 by the European Recovery Program. Proposed by General George C. Marshall, U.S. secretary of state, it is better known as the **Marshall Plan**. The program was designed to rebuild the prosperity and stability of war-torn Europe. It included \$13 billion in aid for Europe's economic recovery. Underlying the Marshall Plan was the belief that Communist aggression was successful in countries where there were economic problems.

The Marshall Plan was not meant to shut out the Soviet Union or its economically and politically dependent Eastern European satellite states. They refused to participate, however. According to the Soviet view, the Marshall Plan guaranteed "American loans in return for the relinquishing by the European states of their economic and later also their political independence." The Soviets saw the Marshall Plan as an attempt to buy the support of countries.

In 1949, the Soviet Union responded to the Marshall Plan by founding the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) for the economic cooperation of the Eastern European states. COMECON largely failed, however, because the Soviet Union was unable to provide much financial aid.

By 1947, the split in Europe between the United States and the Soviet Union had become a fact of life. In July 1947, George Kennan, a well-known U.S. diplomat with much knowledge of Soviet affairs, argued for a policy of containment to keep communism within its existing boundaries and prevent further Soviet aggressive moves. Containment became U.S. policy.

**The Division of Germany** The fate of Germany also became a source of heated contention between the Soviets and the West. At the end of the war, the Allied Powers had divided Germany into four zones, each occupied by one of the Allies—the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France. **Berlin**, located deep inside the Soviet zone, was also divided into four zones.

The foreign ministers of the four occupying powers met repeatedly in an attempt to arrive at a final



*President Truman asked Congress for money to aid European recovery.*

peace treaty with Germany but had little success. By February 1948, Great Britain, France, and the United States were making plans to unify the three Western sections of Germany (and Berlin) and create a West German government.

The Soviets opposed the creation of a separate West German state. They attempted to prevent it by mounting a blockade of West Berlin. Soviet forces allowed neither trucks, trains, nor barges to enter the city's three Western zones. Food and supplies could no longer get through to the 2.5 million people in these zones.

The Western powers faced a dilemma. No one wanted World War III, but how could the people in the Western zones of Berlin be kept alive, when the whole city was inside the Soviet zone? The solution was the Berlin Air Lift—supplies would be flown in by American and British airplanes. For more than 10 months, more than 200,000 flights carried 2.3 million tons (1.4 million t) of supplies. The Soviets, who wanted to avoid war as much as the Western powers, finally gave in and lifted the blockade in May 1949.

In September 1949, the **Federal Republic of Germany**, or West Germany, was formally created. Its capital was Bonn. Less than a month later, a separate East German state, the **German Democratic Republic**, was set up by the Soviets. East Berlin became its capital. Berlin was now divided into two parts, a remainder of the division of West and East.

**Reading Check** **Describing** What was the intention of the Marshall Plan?

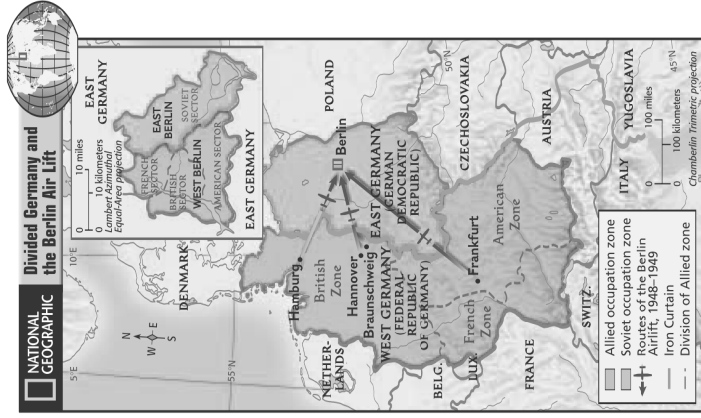
## The Spread of the Cold War

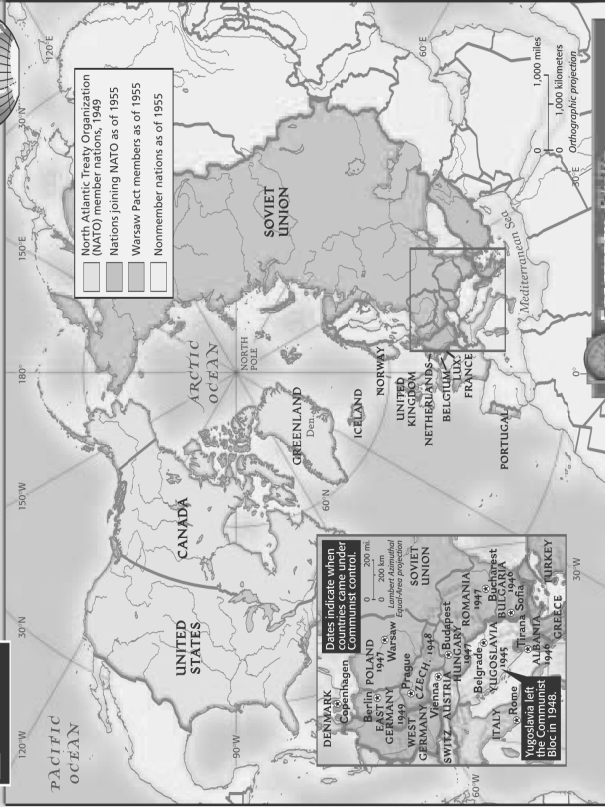
**TURNING POINT** As you will learn, the spread of the Cold War led to the creation of military alliances that influenced the development of the postwar world.

In 1949, Chinese Communists took control of the government in China, strengthening U.S. fears about the spread of communism. The Soviet Union also exploded its first atomic bomb in 1949. All too soon, the United States and the Soviet Union were involved in a growing arms race, in which both countries built up their armies and weapons. Nuclear weapons became increasingly destructive.

Both sides came to believe that an arsenal of nuclear weapons would prevent war. They believed that if one nation attacked with nuclear weapons, the other nation would still be able to respond and devastate the attacker. According to this policy, neither side could risk using their massive supplies of weapons.

**New Military Alliances** The search for security during the Cold War led to the formation of new military alliances. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed in April 1949 when Belgium, Luxembourg, France, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Italy, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, and





After World War II, the spread of the Cold War created new military alliances.

- 1. Interpreting Maps** Are there any geographic factors that could have determined whether a country became a member of NATO or of the Warsaw Pact?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** Use the map to create a chart listing all of the countries in NATO and all the members of the Warsaw Pact. Which European countries did not join either alliance?

Iceland signed a treaty with the United States and Canada. All the powers agreed to provide mutual help if any one of them was attacked. A few years later, West Germany, Turkey, and Greece also joined.

In 1955, the Soviet Union joined with Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania in a formal military alliance known as the **Warsaw Pact**. Now, Europe was once again divided into hostile alliance systems, just as it had been before World War I.

New military alliances spread to the rest of the world after the United States became involved in the Korean War (discussed in Chapter 31). The war began in 1950 as an attempt by the Communist government of North Korea, which was allied with the Soviet Union, to take over South Korea. The Korean War confirmed American fears of Communist expansion. More determined than ever to contain Soviet power, the United States extended its military alliances around the world.

To stem Soviet aggression in the East, the United States, Great Britain, France, Pakistan, Thailand, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand formed the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). The Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), which included Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Great Britain, and the United States, was meant to prevent the Soviet Union from expanding to the south. By the mid-1950s, the United States found itself allied militarily with 42 states around the world.

**The Arms Race** The Soviet Union had set off its first atomic bomb in 1949. In the early 1950s, the Soviet Union and the United States developed the even more deadly hydrogen bomb. By the mid-1950s, both had intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) capable of sending bombs anywhere.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union now worked to build up huge arsenals of nuclear weapons. They believed that having these arsenals would prevent war. Neither side would launch a nuclear attack, because both knew that the other side would be able to strike back with devastating power.

In 1957, the Soviets sent *Sputnik I*, the first human-made space satellite, to orbit the earth. New fears seized the American public. Did the Soviet Union have a massive lead in building missiles? Was there a “missile gap” between the United States and the Soviet Union?

**A Wall in Berlin** **Nikita Khrushchev** (kroosh-CHAWF), who emerged as the new leader of the Soviet Union in 1955, tried to take advantage of the American concern over missiles to solve the problem of West Berlin. West Berlin remained a “Western island” of prosperity in the midst of the relatively poverty-stricken East Germany. Many East Germans, tired of Communist repression, managed to escape East Germany by fleeing through West Berlin.

Khrushchev realized the need to stop the flow of refugees from East Germany through West Berlin. In August 1961, the East German government began to build a wall separating West Berlin from East Berlin. Eventually, it became a massive barrier guarded by barbed wire, floodlights, machine-gun towers, minefields, and vicious dog patrols. The Berlin Wall became a striking symbol of the division between the two superpowers.

**Reading Check** **Identifying** Name the military alliances formed during the Cold War.

## The Cuban Missile Crisis

During the administration of John F. Kennedy, the Cold War confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union reached frightening levels. In 1959, a left-wing revolutionary named Fidel Castro overthrew the Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista and set up a

Soviet-supported totalitarian regime in Cuba (see Chapter 29). President Kennedy approved a secret plan for Cuban exiles to invade Cuba in the hope of causing a revolt against Castro. The invasion was a disaster. Many of the exiles were killed or captured when they attempted a landing at the Bay of Pigs.

After the Bay of Pigs, the Soviet Union sent arms and military advisers to Cuba. Then, in 1962, Khrushchev began to place nuclear missiles in Cuba. The missiles were meant to counteract U.S. nuclear weapons placed in Turkey within easy range of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev was quick to point out, “Your rockets are in Turkey. You are worried by Cuba . . . because it is 90 miles from the American coast. But Turkey is next to us.”

The United States was not willing to allow nuclear weapons within such close striking distance of its mainland. In October 1962, Kennedy found out that Soviet ships carrying missiles were heading to Cuba. He decided to blockade Cuba and prevent the fleet from reaching its destination. This approach gave each side time to find a peaceful solution. Khrushchev agreed to turn back the fleet and remove Soviet missiles from Cuba if Kennedy pledged not to invade Cuba. Kennedy quickly agreed.

The Cuban missile crisis seemed to bring the world frighteningly close to nuclear war. Indeed, in 1992, a high-ranking Soviet officer revealed that short-range rockets armed with nuclear devices would have been used against U.S. troops if the United States had invaded Cuba, an option that Kennedy fortunately had rejected. The realization that the world might have been destroyed in a few days had a profound influence on both sides. A hotline communications system between Moscow and Washington, D.C., was installed in 1963. The two superpowers could now communicate quickly in times of crisis.

**Reading Check** **Explaining** How was the Cuban missile crisis resolved?

## Vietnam and the Domino Theory

By that time, the United States had been drawn into a new struggle that had an important impact on the Cold War—the Vietnam War (see Chapter 31). In 1964, under President Lyndon B. Johnson, increasing numbers of U.S. troops were sent to Vietnam. Their purpose was to keep the Communist regime of North Vietnam from gaining control of South Vietnam. U.S. policy makers saw the conflict in terms of a domino theory. If the Communists succeeded



### Picturing History

Many young Americans were proud to serve their country in Vietnam, but increasingly the mood on college campuses was antiwar. Why?

in South Vietnam, the argument went, other countries in Asia would also fall (like dominoes) to communism.

Despite the massive superiority in equipment and firepower of the American forces, the United States failed to defeat the determined North Vietnamese. The growing number of American troops sent to Vietnam soon produced an antiwar movement in the United States, especially among college students of draft age. The mounting destruction of the conflict, brought into American homes every evening on television, also turned American public opinion against the war.

**Directions: On a separate piece of paper, Answer all questions below including, definitions, paragraphs, charts, and evaluating/analyzing paragraphs.**

#### Checking for Understanding

- Define** satellite state, policy of containment, arms race, domino theory.
- Define** Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, NATO, Warsaw Pact, Nikita Khrushchev.
- Locate** Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany, German Democratic Republic.
- Explain** why the Berlin Wall was built. What did the wall symbolize?
- List** the four powers that divided and occupied Germany.

#### Critical Thinking

- Evaluate** In your opinion, why did the United States assume global responsibility for containing communism?
- Organizing Information** Use a table like the one below to list the military alliances formed during the Cold War. In the next column list the countries belonging to the alliance.

Alliance	Countries

President Johnson, condemned for his handling of the costly and indecisive war, decided not to run for reelection. Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon won the election with his pledge to stop the war and bring the American people together. Ending the war was difficult, and Nixon's administration was besieged by antiwar forces.

Finally, in 1973, President Nixon reached an agreement with North Vietnam that allowed the United States to withdraw its forces. Within two years after the American withdrawal, Vietnam had been forcibly reunited by Communist armies from the North.

Despite the success of the North Vietnamese Communists, the domino theory proved unfounded. A split between Communist China and the Soviet Union, including border clashes and different implementations of communism, put an end to the Western idea that there was a single form of communism directed by Moscow. Under President Nixon, American relations with China were resumed. New nations in Southeast Asia managed to avoid Communist governments.

Above all, Vietnam helped show the limitations of American power. By the end of the Vietnam War, a new era in American-Soviet relations had begun to emerge.

#### Reading Check

**Examining** What did the Vietnam War prove about the state of global communism?

#### Analyzing Visuals

- Examine** the photo of a campus sit-in shown on this page. Students often used sit-ins to protest government policy in the 1960s and 1970s. What methods of protest do people use today?