Let us not be deceived—we are today in the midst of a cold war.

—Bernard Baruch, 1947

The United States and the Soviet Union emerged from World War II as the globe’s two superpowers, locked in an ideological battle over the direction the world should take. The Soviets feared capitalism, while the Americans feared Communism. The former allies began to move farther apart as the war ended in 1945. The Soviets were determined to continue their occupation of Eastern Europe in order to create a buffer between the U.S.S.R. and Western Europe. Therefore, they remained in the region, supporting national Communists in their efforts to gain control of one country after another. The United States opposed the occupation since it hindered the ability of these nations to hold elections that would allow them to determine freely their form of government. This state of hostility between the two rivals became known as the Cold War, because the tensions never resulted in direct fighting between the United States and the Soviet Union. Instead, proxy states did the fighting. In the Vietnam War (1964–1975), for example, the United States supported South Vietnam in its fight against North Vietnam, which was supplied with support and armaments by the Soviet Union. And in the newly independent Angola in southwest Africa, a civil war broke out between the Soviet-backed government and U.S.-backed rebels (1975–1991).

The United Nations: A Structure for Peace

Despite ideological differences, the Allies shared a commitment to preventing conflicts from escalating into war. The League of Nations had not worked well, but countries hoped that a new, more powerful organization would help keep the peace. This time around, all the major powers realized they would need to belong for the organization to have any chance of success. In 1943, leaders of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China discussed the idea of the United Nations (UN). The UN was born on October 24, 1945, a day still honored as United Nations Day. (Test Prep: Write a paragraph comparing the United Nations with the League of Nations. See pages 499–500.)

The United Nations was carefully designed with several parts, each of which has its own duties. The General Assembly, with one vote for each member nation, discusses and votes on issues. The Security Council acts on these issues and may even use military force against a troublemaking country.
The Security Council is comprised of five permanent members—the United States, France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China—and ten who are elected on a rotating basis. The five permanent members have veto power in the Security Council. Allowing these five nations to have veto power was quite controversial in 1945. Other nations resented giving so much power to five countries. Further, conflicts among these five often stymied UN, preventing it from taking action to confront problems.

**Universal Declaration of Human Rights** Since its creation, the United Nations has taken many actions toward its goals. One of these goals is the promotion of human rights, basic protections common to all people. As part of its humanitarian work, the UN created the United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) in 1946 to provide food for children in Europe who were still suffering more than a year after the end of World War II. In 1948, the UN formalized its position on human rights in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Since that time, the UN has investigated abuses of human rights, such as genocide, war crimes, government oppression, and crimes against women.

**International Court of Justice** The *International Court of Justice* is a judicial body set up by the original UN charter. It settles disputes over international law brought to it by countries.

**Protection of Refugees** Another main aim of the UN is to protect refugees, people who have fled their homes. In times of war, famine, and natural disasters, people often leave their country and seek refuge in a safe location. Working through sub-agencies such as NGOs (non-governmental organizations) and the agency of UNHCR (The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), the UN provides food, medicine, and temporary shelter. Among the earliest refugees that the UN helped were Palestinians who fled the disorder that occurred when the UN partitioned Palestine to create the state of Israel in 1948.

**Peacekeeping** The United Nations is also well known for its peacekeeping actions. The organization frequently sends peacekeeping forces, consisting of civilians, police, and troops from member countries, to try to ease tensions in trouble spots. The first peacekeeping mission was also related to the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict in Palestine. Since then, UN peacekeepers have served in such places as the Congo, Lebanon, East Timor, and the Balkans.

Working through agencies such as the *IMF (International Monetary Fund)* and the *World Bank*, the UN provides technical advice and loans to developing nations. Other international organizations and treaties, such as the *World Trade Organization (WTO)* and the *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)* work to promote free trade worldwide.

**Containment Policy vs. World Revolution**

The existence of the United Nations did not prevent tensions from growing worse between the Soviet Union and the West. Winston Churchill’s March 1946 speech in Fulton, Missouri, symbolized the beginning of the Cold War. In the speech, Churchill said that “an iron curtain has descended across the
Continent” of Europe. The metaphor of the *Iron Curtain* described the split between Eastern and Western Europe. The Soviets were determined to make the governments of Eastern Europe as much like the Soviet government as possible. They therefore directed the countries of Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania to develop five-year economic plans focused on developing industry and collective agriculture at the expense of consumer products. All political parties other than the Communists were outlawed. These actions allowed the U.S.S.R. to exploit the Eastern European nations to benefit the Soviets rather than to help the countries grow. The *satellites*, small states that are economically or politically dependent on a larger more powerful state, were forced to import only Soviet goods and to export only to the Soviet Union. Moreover, the governments of these countries were just as dictatorial as the Soviet government. (Test Prep: Create a graphic comparing Communist imperialism with earlier Western imperialism. See page 465–477.)

A U.S. diplomat, George Kennan, had extensive experience with the Soviet Union. He worked in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow during the 1930s and in 1944. After World War II he kept a close eye on Soviet actions. He believed that the Soviet Union would continue to expand its borders and its influence abroad. He advocated a policy of *containment*, holding communism where it was and not letting it spread farther. Some politicians criticized Kennan for accepting the status quo. They argued for a more aggressive policy of overthrowing existing regimes in order to “rollback” the spread of Communism.

**Truman Doctrine** President Harry Truman was influenced by Kennan’s reports. A speech in 1947 outlined the *Truman Doctrine*, a strong statement that the United States would do what it had to do to stop the spread of Communist influence, specifically in Greece and Turkey. The Soviet Union wanted to put military bases in Turkey so it could control the Dardanelles, the strait between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. In Greece, left-wing groups controlled by Communists were close to gaining control of the government. Truman pledged U.S. economic and military support to help the two countries resist these Communist designs that threatened their stability.

**The Marshall Plan** After World War II, the United States was deeply concerned about rebuilding Europe. The United States spent about $12 billion to provide relief and to rebuild infrastructure.

However, many U.S. leaders thought that was not enough. Based on the belief that a Communist revolution occurred only in economically unstable nations, the new goal was to rebuild Europe into a prosperous and stable region. The *Marshall Plan*, enacted in June 1947, was designed to offer $13 billion more in aid to all nations of Europe, including Germany. This money would be used to modernize industrial and business practices and reduce trade barriers.

The plan seemed to work: economic output in the countries aided was 35 percent higher in 1951 than it had been in 1938. The Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites refused to participate in the plan. Instead, in 1949, the Soviets developed their own plan to help rebuild Eastern Europe—the *Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON).*
For nearly a year in 1948 and 1949, the people of West Berlin relied upon supplies flown in daily by the air forces of the United States, Great Britain, and their allies.

**Rivalry in Germany**

When World War II ended, the four main allied nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union—divided Germany into four zones. In a similar way, they divided Berlin, the German capital located within the Soviet zone, into four zones. In 1948, the three Western allies proposed to combine their zones into a new nation, West Germany. Because they viewed this move as a threat to their power in Germany, the Soviets set up a blockade around Berlin to prevent food and other supplies from entering the city. In response, the United States and Great Britain instituted the Berlin Airlift. About one million tons of supplies, including food, clothing, medicine, and fuel were airlifted into the city until the Soviets finally ended the blockade in May 1949. The Soviet Union recognized it could not win this battle, and the West deemed the airlift operation a success.

With the end of the blockade, the United States, Great Britain, and France went ahead with their plan and in September 1949 combined their occupied zones of Germany into one nation, the Federal Republic of Germany, also known as West Germany. The capital of the new nation was located in Bonn. The Soviets followed this action in October with the creation of the German Democratic Republic, or East Germany, in the zone they had occupied. The Soviet zone in Berlin became the capital of East Germany and was known as East Berlin.

**The Arms Race**

During the late 1940s and 1950s tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union increased. When Chinese Communists gained control of China’s government in 1949 and Communist North Korea attacked democratic South Korea in 1950, the United States saw further evidence of the Soviet intention
to spread Communism throughout the world. Further, the two countries entered an nuclear arms race with each other. Each developed a hydrogen bomb by 1952 that was much more powerful than the atomic bombs dropped on Japan.

In the United States, the arms race fostered close ties between the government and the private companies that developed weapons. President Dwight Eisenhower warned against allowing this military-industrial complex too much power.

**Sputnik** In 1957, the Soviet Union launched the first artificial satellite, called Sputnik, into orbit around Earth, inaugurating what became known as the Space Race. The United States launched its first satellite in January 1958. Then the two nations competed to become the first with a manned satellite orbiting Earth and later the first to land a human on the moon. Their mutual theme seemed to be “anything you can do, I can do better.”

**Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)** Early in 1959, the Soviets tested the first intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) capable of delivering a nuclear warhead into U.S. territory. The United States tested a similar missile later that same year. Both countries realized that they had become so powerful that they had reached a point of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). That is, regardless of who started a war, both would be obliterated by the end of it. Since neither side could win a nuclear war, neither side had an incentive to start one. As long as both sides kept improving their technology, the balance of terror between them would keep the peace—unless something unpredicted happened.

**Antinuclear Weapon Movement** The nuclear arms race spawned a reaction known as the antinuclear weapons movement. One of the first such movements developed in Japan in 1954 in opposition to U.S. testing of nuclear weapons in the Pacific Ocean. In 1955, more than one-third of Japan’s population signed a petition against nuclear weapons. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the antinuclear weapons movement expanded to other countries, particularly to the United States and Western Europe. On June 6, 1982, some one million people demonstrated in New York City.

**New Treaties and Treaty Organizations**

With the advent of the Cold War, new military alliances for mutual protection were formed in different parts of the world. In April 1949, several Western nations created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), pledging mutual support and cooperation. Original members were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United States. Membership in this Brussels-based organization has since expanded considerably.

The Soviet Union’s response was the Warsaw Pact, created in 1955, with Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union as the original members. Warsaw Pact nations combined their armed forces and based their army leaders in Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union. These nations were known as the Communist bloc.

Yugoslavia provided a special case. Although it had a Communist government under Marshal Tito after World War II, it pursued domestic and
foreign policies independent of the Soviet Union. Moreover, it did not join the Warsaw Pact. Unlike other Eastern European nations, Yugoslavia had not been occupied by Soviet troops. While Stalin tried to have Tito overthrown, Western nations provided Yugoslavia with aid. Albania also came to act independently of Soviet influence. When China and the Soviet Union had a falling out in 1961, Albania took China’s side. It withdrew from the Warsaw Pact in 1968.

Additional treaty organizations were formed in an attempt to halt the spread of Communism in other regions. In 1954, Australia, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States formed the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). The Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) was an anti-Soviet treaty organization formed by Great Britain, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, and Turkey to prevent the spread of Communism in the Middle East. The United States was not a full member, but it joined CENTO’s military committee. During the Cold War era, the United States formed alliances with more than 40 nations.

The Non-Aligned Movement The majority of countries in the world were not aligned with either the Soviet Union or the United States. They might have good relations with one power or the other or with both. Many developing countries played the superpowers against one another in a bid to receive foreign aid from both. Tito’s Yugoslavia was a non-aligned nation. Others included Jawaharlal Nehru’s India, Kwame Nkrumah’s Ghana, Gamal Abdel Nasser’s Egypt, and Sukarno’s Indonesia. These leaders set up the Non-Aligned Movement in the 1950s. Most of the member nations were developing countries of Asia and Africa that wished to avoid becoming involved in the Cold War and wanted to work for world peace and cooperation as well as their own nation’s best interests.
Despite attempts to remain neutral, non-aligned nations found themselves used as pawns in the Cold War. For example, when war broke out between non-aligned Somalia and Ethiopia in the Ethio-Somali War (1977–1978), the Soviet Union supplied aid to Ethiopia, prompting the United States to supply aid to Somalia. The superpowers also meddled in the internal affairs of non-aligned nations. Alarmed by land reforms instituted by Jacobo Árbenz, the Communist leader of Guatemala, the United Fruit Company lobbied friends in the U.S. government to have him removed. In 1954, the Eisenhower administration ordered the CIA execute a coup d’état to replace the Árbenz government with one aligned with U.S. interests.

Communism in Asia

In China, the Communists won the civil war against the Nationalists in 1949 and set up the People’s Republic of China. Mao Zedong, the head of the Chinese Communist Party, ordered the nationalization of Chinese industries and created five-year plans on the Soviet model. As the Soviets had done in the 1930s, the Chinese plans emphasized heavy industry at the expense of consumer goods.

Great Leap Forward  In 1958, as part of the policy called the Great Leap Forward, peasant lands were organized into communes, large agricultural communities where land was held by the state rather than by private owners. The communes were similar to the collectives established by Stalin in the Soviet Union. Peasants were not allowed to own land, and some protested against the policy. Those who did were either sent to “reeducation camps” or killed. The Great Leap Forward failed massively—some 20 million Chinese died from the resulting famines.

Cultural Revolution  In 1966, Mao embarked upon what he called the Cultural Revolution—a way to lead Chinese society to a Communist future. In reality, the Cultural Revolution was a plan to silence critics and to ensure Mao’s hold on power similar to the purges carried out by Stalin for the same reason. He ordered the Red Guards, groups of revolutionary students, to seize local and national authorities, school teachers, other students, bureaucrats, and party leaders and send them to the Chinese countryside for reeducation.

Relations with the Soviets  Although China and the Soviet Union were both Communist states, they did not always get along. Indeed, from 1961 onward, the two countries skirmished over their common border. They also competed for influence around the world. For example, Albania, a Soviet satellite, took advantage of the split by taking China’s side against the Soviet Union, thereby receiving more autonomy and additional financial aid from China.

Reform under Deng Xiaoping  Mao died in 1976. In 1981, Deng Xiaoping became the Chinese leader, instituting a series of reforms including the replacement of communes with peasant-leased plots of land where the peasants could grow their own crops and sell part of them in markets. This reform led to agricultural surpluses instead of the famines of the past. Also, factories could now produce more products for consumers. Foreign companies were allowed to set up factories in special economic zones in coastal areas of China.
Some Chinese thought that these economic reforms should be accompanied by political reforms, such as freedom of speech and the press and the end of the Communist Party’s monopoly on political power. Indeed, political discussions did become somewhat freer than in the past. In 1989, however, a large but peaceful student-led demonstration in Tiananmen Square in Beijing was met by force from the government. Soldiers using guns and tanks broke up the demonstrations, killing hundreds of people. The government’s suppression of information about the incident makes it impossible to determine exact casualty figures. (Test Prep: Create a table comparing reforms in Communist China with reforms in the Ottoman Empires. See pages 443–445.)

**Korean War** Similar to the division of Germany after World War II, the Korean Peninsula was divided between northern territory held by the Soviet Union and southern territory held by the United States and its allies. The Korean War (1950–1953) was fought to prevent Communist North Korea from taking over the government of South Korea. The Soviet Union did not veto the UN Security Council resolution supporting South Korea because the Soviet representative was absent when the vote was taken. Although the UN forces in Korea came from 16 UN member countries and South Korea, most of them were Americans and they were commanded by a U.S. general, Douglas MacArthur. The Soviet Union did not send troops, but sent money and weapons to North Korea. China, an ally of North Korea, did send troops. After three years of fighting, and some four million civilian and military casualties, the war ended in a stalemate. The two parts of Korea remained divided, with a demilitarized zone in between.

**Vietnam War** Following the same policy of containment, U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower sent “military advisers” to South Vietnam to prevent a Communist takeover by North Vietnam. His successor, President John F. Kennedy increased the number of advisers from 1,000 to 16,000. The number was large enough that many in the United States felt that Vietnam had become a conflict that America could not afford to lose: a Communist victory would weaken U.S. prestige around the world. However, the United States was supporting an undemocratic and unpopular South Vietnamese ruler, Ngo Dinh Diem. In 1963 a Buddhist monk, Thich Quang Duc, set himself on fire in Saigon to protest the government’s favoring of Roman Catholics over Buddhists. Other protests followed, and an army coup soon Overthrew Diem.

In 1964, President Lyndon Johnson increased the number of U.S. troops in South Vietnam. Johnson believed in the domino theory, the belief that if one country in the region fell to the Communists, other countries would soon follow, just as one falling domino causes a whole string of the game pieces to fall. Johnson also feared that China and the Soviet Union were working together to bring all of Southeast Asia under Communist control.

During the war, North Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh appealed to nationalist feelings to oppose United States troops and to unite the country under a single Communist government. South Vietnamese who supported the Communists, known as Viet Cong, fought a guerilla war against U.S. troops.
As American military involvement and casualties grew, an antiwar movement in the United States strengthened and became more vocal. A 1968 attack by North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops known as the Tet Offensive, though not a military success, demonstrated that the United States was having difficulty winning the war. President Richard Nixon began to withdraw U.S. troops in 1971, and the final troops pulled out in 1975. North Vietnam quickly gained control of South Vietnam.

The Vietnam War resulted in the deaths of between one and two million people, including about 58,000 Americans. It had also destabilized all of Southeast Asia. Communists also won control of Laos and Cambodia, but the spread of Communism stopped there. Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore, and Malaysia often had authoritarian governments, but all remained non-Communist nations with free-market economies.

**Developments in Iron Curtain Countries**

In the 1950s and 1960s, Eastern European satellites of the Soviet Union who sought a certain level of independence achieved only limited success.

**Poland** In 1956, Polish workers demonstrated against Soviet domination for better living conditions. As a result, a new secretary of the Polish Communist Party, Władysław Gomułka, came to power. He decided to pursue an independent domestic policy in Poland but continue to be loyal to the Soviet Union. The forced collectivization of farms ended at this time.

**Hungary** In that same year, Hungarian protesters convinced the country’s political leader Imre Nagy to declare Hungary’s freedom from Soviet control and demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Nagy also vowed to support free elections and allow non-Communist parties to participate. He announced Hungary’s neutrality in the Cold War and the withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Pact. Soviet leaders responded to these actions with force, invading Hungary and gaining control of Budapest in November 1956. The Soviets captured Nagy and executed him. Many Hungarians fled to the West as refugees.

**Czechoslovakia** The movement for reform in Czechoslovakia reached a peak in the *Prague Spring* of 1968. Alexander Dubček, first secretary of the Communist Party, acceded to the demands of the people by increasing freedom of speech and the press and allowing greater freedom to travel. In addition, he agreed to make the political system more democratic.

As with Hungary, Soviet leaders considered the Prague Spring movement to be too independent, and soon the armies of four Warsaw Pact nations moved in and crushed it. In 1968, the Soviet Union used the *Brezhnev Doctrine* to justify its actions. This doctrine claimed that the Soviet Union and its allies had the right to intervene if an action by one member threatened other socialist countries.

**Developments in Western Europe**

The end of World War II marked the beginning of a new world order as the nations of Western Europe no longer dominated the world stage. The United
States and the Soviet Union took over as the superpowers. In Western Europe, however, countries were free from domination by a superpower and retained their political independence and democratic governments. The Marshall Plan had helped them rebuild and achieve a level of economic prosperity that was unknown among the countries of Eastern Europe.

In 1957, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany signed the Rome Treaty as a step toward a united Europe. The treaty created the *European Economic Community (EEC)* or *Common Market*. The EEC allowed for free trade among the members, providing a number of economic benefits. Over time, the EEC grew to be a world leader in both exports of finished goods and imports of raw materials.

Other nations joined the EEC in later years, including Denmark, Great Britain, and Ireland in 1973; Greece, Portugal, and Spain in 1986; and Austria, Finland, and Sweden in 1995. In 1993, the EEC became the *European Union (EU)*. The EU ended internal tariffs and migration restrictions. It set up an EU parliament that could pass laws on a variety of issues, including environmental policy. In 2002, the EU instituted a common currency, the *euro*; although not all members of the EU have adopted the currency. While Western Europe was enjoying unprecedented levels of economic output and consumption, some aspects of life in the region were more problematic.

**Conflict in Northern Ireland** Most of Ireland, the portion dominated by Roman Catholics, gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1922. However, Northern Ireland, which was dominated by Protestants, remained part of the United Kingdom. Northern Ireland Catholics suffered discrimination, and many wanted their region to join the rest of Ireland. Northern Ireland Protestants fiercely refused. The Catholics-Protestants conflict in Northern Ireland became more violent in 1960s, with Catholics fighting in *Irish Republican Army (IRA)* and Protestants in the *Ulster Defence Association*. Between 1969 and 1994, some 3,500 people died in the conflict. Some members of the IRA took their campaign to England itself by engaging in acts of *terrorism*, using violence to achieve political ends. These acts included the explosion of bombs in London and other cities. In 1994, a cease-fire was reached, and later the IRA renounced the use of violence and turned to the political system to achieve its goals.

**Separatists in Spain** Another group that used terrorist tactics to advance a political agenda was the *Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA)*, which wanted the independence of the Basque region from Spain. ETA became active in 1959. Actions by ETA claimed the lives of more than 800 individuals and inflicted injuries to many others. In 1973, for example, members of ETA killed the hand-picked successor to longtime dictator Francisco Franco. Over the years, ETA announced several cease-fires, and, in 2011, declared an end to violent actions and promised to work within the political system to achieve Basque independence.

**1968: The Year of Revolt** After World War II, higher education opened up for more people in Western society. Universities and colleges allowed for larger class sizes to bring in more students. This meant that facilities were crowded
and professors provided less attention to each individual student. As a result, discontent was high among the student population by the 1960s, resulting in a call for reform of the university systems. Protests peaked in 1968.

The student movement reached epic proportions in Paris, France. Hundreds of thousands of students took to the streets, resulting in violence when police forces moved in. In sympathy, some 10 million French workers went on strike. It was the largest general strike in French history. President Charles de Gaulle called new elections in France and was able to remain in office when his party emerged victorious. The forces of law and order prevailed. In Mexico City, Berlin, Rome, and Prague, student protests were considerable but not so large.

<table>
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<th>Uprisings of 1968</th>
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<td><strong>Country</strong></td>
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| France | • Paris: Stock Exchange and Sorbonne University | • Students  
• Unions | • University policies  
• High unemployment and low wages |
| Northern Ireland | • Londonderry | • Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association | • Anti-Catholic discrimination by the Protestant government |
| Mexico | • Mexico City: Tlatelolco Plaza  
• Osaco | • Students | • Political prisoners  
• Police violence |
| Brazil | • Rio de Janeiro  
• Osaco | • Students  
• Unions  
• Religious leaders | • Lack of free public education  
• Unfair labor practices |
| England | • London | • Students  
• Unions | • Economic policies  
• Vietnam War |
| Germany | • West Berlin | • Students  
• Unions  
• Writers | • Shooting of leader Rudie Dutschke  
• Policies of the ruling Social Democrats |
| Czechoslovakia | • Prague | • Students  
• Intellectuals | • Authoritarian government |
| Yugoslavia | • University of Belgrade | • Students | • Authoritarian government  
• Lack of free speech |
| United States | • Chicago  
• Columbia University in New York | • Students  
• Black activists | • University ties to weapons research  
• The Vietnam War  
• Assassination of Dr. King |
| Russia | • Moscow | • Intellectuals | • Imprisonment of dissident writers and other protesters |
| Poland | • Warsaw | • Students | • Communism  
• Anti-Semitism |
| Japan | • Tokyo | • Students | • University policies  
• The Vietnam War |
In the United States, students and others focused protests on the U.S. war in Vietnam, but also demonstrated for rights for women and African-Americans. It was only after members of the Ohio National Guard killed four unarmed students during an antiwar demonstration at Kent State University on May 4, 1970, that students and faculty at hundreds of U.S. colleges and universities went on strike.

**Other Crises of the 1960s**

**The Berlin Wall** As citizens of East Germany saw the more prosperous and democratic lifestyle enjoyed by the people of West Germany, many wanted to move to the West. About 2.5 million East Germans fled between 1949 and 1961. However, the East German and Soviet governments were determined to keep people in East Germany. They knew that the exodus to the West reflected poorly on the Communist system, and it was hard on their economy. They first set up barbed-wire fences patrolled by guards along the perimeter of East Germany and between East and West Berlin. In August 1961, they began replacing the fences in Berlin with a stronger, more permanent wall, which became known as the Berlin Wall. Between 1961 and 1989, when the Berlin Wall was opened, around 150 were killed as they tried to escape over it.

**The Bay of Pigs Crisis** Fidel Castro and other Communist revolutionaries overthrew the Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959. Castro soon set up a dictatorship in Cuba that started to nationalize foreign-owned industries, including the vast sugar cane plantations mainly owned by Americans. The United States broke off trade with Cuba and cut diplomatic ties. Castro in turn accepted Soviet aid and aligned Cuba’s foreign policy with that of the Soviet Union. In 1961, newly-elected U.S. President John F. Kennedy had grave concerns about the presence of a Communist country located only 90 miles from the coast of Florida. A group of Cuban exiles who opposed Castro proposed an invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs to overthrow Castro. Kennedy gave his support. The invasion was a total failure, and it cemented the Cuba-Soviet alliance.

**Cuban Missile Crisis** In response to the Bay of Pigs, the Soviets began to support Cuba with arms and military advisors. Khrushchev escalated Soviet involvement in 1962 by starting to send nuclear missiles to Cuba. Khrushchev felt justified in his actions because the United States had placed nuclear missiles in Turkey, a U.S. ally that shared a border with the Soviet Union. In October 1962, U.S. intelligence learned that additional missiles were on their way to Cuba. Kennedy ordered the U.S. Navy to quarantine Cuba so that the additional missiles could not be delivered. Kennedy called his action a “quarantine,” because a blockade was technically an act or war. Whatever term used, the two superpowers were on a collision course that threatened nuclear war.

Ultimately, the two leaders pulled back from the brink. Khrushchev called back the Soviet ships and removed the missiles that had been delivered to Cuba in return for a secret pledge from the United States to remove its missiles.
from Turkey. After this incident, leaders of both countries realized that better communication between their countries was needed. In 1963, a *Hot Line*, a direct telegraph/teleprinter link, was set up between the U.S. and Soviet leaders’ offices.

In 1963, the Soviet Union, the United States, and the United Kingdom, along with more than 100 other nations, signed the *Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty*. France and China were conspicuous among larger nations in their failure to sign it. This agreement outlawed the testing of nuclear weapons above ground, underwater, and in space. The idea behind the agreement was to cut down the amount of radiation that people would be exposed to as a result of the testing of these weapons. Underground testing remained legal. Another agreement, in 1968, the *Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty*, called on nuclear powers to prevent the spread of military nuclear technology or materials to non-nuclear countries.

The Final Decades of the Cold War Era

Agreements to limit nuclear weapons were important steps toward ending the Cold War. However, the path to a thaw was not always steady.

**Détente and a Colder War** After resolving the crises of the 1960s, the relationship between the superpowers improved in the following decade. This period of time was called *détente*, which means a relaxation of strained relations between nations. One symbol of détente was the visit of President Richard Nixon to the Soviet Union in 1972. Nixon and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev signed the *Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT)*, designed to freeze the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles that each power could keep. To play one power against the other, Nixon also visited China that year, the first such visit in the existence of Communist China.

As a result of détente, the United States started to sell excess stores of American grain to the Soviet Union, where drought had created a shortage. However, when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979, relations turned decidedly chilly once again. President Jimmy Carter’s halt to the grain shipments marked the official end of détente.
During the presidency of Ronald Reagan (1981–1989), tensions between the Americans and the Soviets increased even further. Reagan referred to the Soviet Union as the “evil empire” and sent military aid, including weapons, to support the Afghans, who were rebelling against Soviet power. The Soviet Union resented this overtly militaristic move. In addition, by the early 1980s, the United States and the Soviet Union had more than 12,000 nuclear missiles, each one pointed at the other side. Not only would the superpowers destroy each other with a nuclear exchange, but the rest of the world would be destroyed seven times over. In light of this situation, Reagan declared that the United States would create a missile defense program he called the “Strategic Defense Initiative,” or SDI. Dubbed “Star Wars” by critics, the system would supposedly destroy any Soviet nuclear missiles that targeted the United States or its allies. Lacking such a system, the Soviets would be unable to keep U.S. missiles from hitting targets in the Soviet Union. The Soviets saw this move as the beginning of an arms race in space. Not having enough money to match U.S. “Star Wars” research and development, the Soviets objected loudly to Reagan’s plan.

The Thaw The increase in tensions during the 1980s led to other nations feeling that they must choose sides between the superpowers. Non-aligned nations hoped they would not experience a nuclear holocaust caused by the two nations.

In this tense atmosphere, Mikhail Gorbachev, a more progressive Communist than previous Soviet leaders, came to power in 1985. He favored perestroika, attempts to restructure the Soviet economy to allow elements of free enterprise, and glasnost, the policy of opening up Soviet society and the political process by granting greater freedom. In 1987, under Gorbachev’s leadership, the Soviet Union and the United States agreed on a new nuclear arms treaty. Under the terms of the INF Treaty, restrictions were placed on intermediate-range nuclear weapons. Decreasing the level of nuclear threat allowed Gorbachev to implement economic reforms in the Soviet Union.

The End of the Soviet Union One aspect of Gorbachev’s reform program was an end to economic support for the Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe. He also implied that the Soviet Army would no longer come to the rescue of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. In effect, economic reform in the Soviet Union provided greater freedom to other Communist countries.

Source: Edmund S. Valtman / Library of Congress
The man is Mikhail Gorbachev, who looks on sadly at a symbol of the Soviet Union, the hammer and sickle, broken into pieces.
Once people in these countries got a small taste of freedom, they wanted more. As a result, democratic reform movements swept through Eastern European nations in 1989. The Berlin Wall was torn down. In October 1990, East and West Germany reunited as one country.

With most of the Eastern European nations caught up in democratic reforms, it was not long before the Soviet Union was also swept into the movement. Lithuania, Georgia, and other Soviet republics began to overthrow their rulers and declare independence. The Warsaw Pact dissolved. Gorbachev’s reforms ultimately led to his political downfall and the end of the Soviet Union in December 1991. Among the former Soviet republics that became independent countries, Russia emerged as the strongest. The Cold War had ended.

**HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: WAS THE UNITED NATIONS EFFECTIVE IN THE COLD WAR?**

Scholars have long debated whether the United Nations was an effective organization during the Cold War and afterwards. One core issue was whether a multinational organization could exert power in a world shaped by a rivalry between two superpowers.

**The Example of Korea** When the Korean War ended in a stalemate in 1953, leaving the north and south divided, the UN was hailed for taking a tough stance against an aggressor nation. It was credited with saving South Korea and stopping the spread of Communism. In a 2009 article, Ruth Wedgwood argued that the UN’s promise of collective security was successful in South Korea’s defense.

In contrast, the historian James I. Matray concluded that, given the fact the United States acted prior to the passage of UN resolutions, the idea the war was an example of collective security is simply untrue. Moreover, he claimed that the United States, and not the UN, supplied the weapons, equipment, and support needed for South Korea to regain its independence. Korea demonstrated the weakness of the UN.

**Beyond Korea** While praising the UN for its actions in Korea, Wedgwood also believed the UN proved ineffectual in numerous crises after that conflict. It lacked the military power it needed to implement its own recommendations to maintain peace.

Another scholar, Nicola-Ann Hardwick, contended that the rivalry between the United States and Soviet Union impeded efficient UN action. Further, she pointed out that the UN didn’t live up to its primary mandate of peacekeeping. The organization failed to prevent terrible genocides in Cambodia (1975–79) and Guatemala (1981–83). Hardwick did highlight UN successes in other fields: the UN played a critical role in supporting the spread of decolonization, human rights, and the right to self-determination, and it established agencies such as UNICEF, UNESCO, and the World Food Program that accomplished humanitarian work.
### KEY TERMS BY THEME

#### STATE-BUILDING: HISTORICAL FIGURES
- Deng Xiaoping
- Ngo Dinh Diem
- Lyndon Johnson
- Ho Chi Minh
- Alexander Dubcek
- Douglas MacArthur
- Wladyslaw Gomulka
- Imre Nagy
- Nikita Khrushchev
- Fidel Castro
- John F. Kennedy
- Ronald Reagan
- Mikhail Gorbachev

#### STATE-BUILDING: TREATIES & ORGANIZATIONS
- United Nations (UN)
- General Assembly
- Security Council
- International Court of Justice
- Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON)
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- Warsaw Pact
- Communist bloc
- Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)
- Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)
- European Union (EU)
- Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty
- Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
- Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT)
- INF Treaty

#### STATE-BUILDING
- Cold War
- Angola
- peacekeeping
- satellites
- containment
- Truman Doctrine
- Marshall Plan
- Berlin
- Berlin Airlift
- West Germany
- East Germany
- military-industrial complex
- Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)
- Non-Aligned Movement
- Red Guards
- Tiananmen Square
- Korean War
- Vietnam War
- Viet Cong
- Tet Offensive
- “Prague Spring”
- Brezhnev Doctrine
- Irish Republican Army (IRA)
- Ulster Defence Association
- terrorism
- Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA)
- Kent State University
- Berlin Wall
- Bay of Pigs
- Cuban Missile Crisis
- Hot Line
- détente
- “Star Wars”
- glasnost

#### CULTURE
- human rights
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- Iron Curtain
- Cultural Revolution
- Thích Quảng Đức
- domino theory

#### ENVIRONMENT
- refugees
- hydrogen bomb
- intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM)
- Sputnik
- antinuclear weapons movement

#### ECONOMICS
- International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- World Bank
- World Trade Organization (WTO)
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
- Great Leap Forward
- communes
- European Economic Community (EEC)/Common Market
- euro
- perestroika
MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Question 1 refers to the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuclear Weapons Stockpiles, 1945 to 2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1.1 Which conclusion is best supported by the data in the table?
   (A) The arms race ended when the United States had so many more weapons that the Soviets had to concede.
   (B) The United States and the Soviets engaged in mutual-assured destruction for several decades.
   (C) The Soviet Union had more nuclear weapons during most years.
   (D) The U.S. nuclear stockpile decreased faster after 2005.

1.2 What explains the change in the Soviet stockpile from 1975 to 1985?
   (A) President Reagan proposed building the Strategic Defense Initiative, an antinuclear missile system to destroy approaching missiles.
   (B) The Soviet Union was enjoying relative peace and could concentrate on winning the nuclear arms race against the United States.
   (C) The United States shared nuclear weapon information with the Soviets, allowing them to build nuclear weapons more efficiently.
   (D) The Soviet Union elected hard-line leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who promised to strengthen Russia militarily.

1.3 Which accurately describes an effect of the changes shown in the table?
   (A) Both countries saw little change in their leadership as a result of the increase in the number of nuclear weapons during this period.
   (B) People around the world were supportive of the buildup of nuclear weapons and agreed it was the best way to ensure peace.
   (C) The stockpiling of nuclear weapons actually strengthened the economies of both the United States and the Soviet Union.
   (D) The arms race was distressing to many around the world, and a strong antinuclear movement was established.
Questions 2.1 to 2.3 refer to the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing</td>
<td>43 billion</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>48 billion</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry and Construction</td>
<td>11 billion</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>24 billion</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>4 billion</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4 billion</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>14 billion</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>23 billion</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: “Comparison of the First Five Year Plans of Communist China and the USSR,” Central Intelligence Agency, June 1959

2.1 Which row in this table most clearly supports the conclusion that China’s Five-Year Plan from 1952 to 1957 was successful?

(A) Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing
(B) Industry and Construction
(C) Government
(D) Other

2.2 The size of China’s government between 1952 and 1957 became

(A) smaller in absolute size
(B) smaller as a percentage of the economy
(C) larger in absolute size
(D) larger as a percentage of the economy

2.3 Which statement provides the context for understanding this table?

(A) China was following the path of the Soviet economic development.
(B) China viewed the United States as an economic model to follow.
(C) China wanted consumer spending to lead economic growth.
(D) China believed that it would soon move away from communism.
Questions 3.1 and 3.2 refer to the map below.

3.1 The map above is best understood in the context of the
   (A) Marshall Plan to rebuild Western European economies
   (B) United States’ policy of containment of communism
   (C) European Economic Union for a unified European economy
   (D) United States’ attempts to improve relations with the Soviet Union

3.2 Which best describes the Warsaw Pact bloc shown on the map?
   (A) a Soviet-led government headquartered in the city of Warsaw, the capital of Poland
   (B) a military alliance created in response to NATO by the Soviet Union and other Communist nations
   (C) an economic union between Soviet-bloc nations created to counter the economic power of the European Economic Community (EEC)
   (D) a military alliance comprised of the non-aligned nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa
1. Answer parts A and B.
   
   A. Provide and explain TWO actions or positions by the Soviet Union during the Cold War that help explain its refusal to sign the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

   B. Provide and explain ONE action or position by the United States during the Cold War that helps explain its decision to sign the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

2. Question 2 refers to the passage below.

   "Imperialism is weakening. Colonial empires and other forms of foreign oppression of peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America are gradually disappearing from the stage of history. Great successes have been achieved in the struggle of many peoples for national independence and equality. . . .

   The Governments of countries participating in the Conference resolutely reject the view that war, including the 'cold war,' is inevitable as this view reflects a sense both of helplessness and hopelessness and is contrary to the progress of the world. They affirm their unwavering faith that the international community is able to organize its life without resorting to means which actually belong to a past epoch of human history."

   Belgrade Declaration, the first Non-Aligned Movement Conference, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, 1961

2. Answer parts A and B.
   
   A. Identify and explain ONE goal of the Non-Aligned Movement as expressed in the passage.

   B. Identify and explain TWO examples of ways the Non-Aligned Movement did not achieve the goal stated in the passage.
THINK AS A HISTORIAN: USE COMPARE AND CONTRAST IN A SUMMARY

In an essay using the historical thinking skill of comparison and contrast, make the similarities and differences between the topics clear and direct. If readers need to infer what you think, they might miss your points. Which TWO of the concluding paragraphs most clearly express comparisons or contrasts?

1. The clash between the Soviets and the Americans after World War II was not the result of a simple rivalry for power or diplomatic mistakes. Rather, it reflected deep ideological differences. The Soviets feared capitalism; the Americans loathed Communism. The Soviets wanted to occupy Eastern Europe; the Americans wanted to free it. The Soviets mandated collective agriculture; the Americans lauded the family farm. With such profound differences, it is not surprising that many who lived through that era feared an outbreak of World War III.

2. World War II demonstrates the irony of history. It shows how the suffering and destruction of World War II resulted in a period of great prosperity in Western Europe. In particular, the horrors of war led to a desire for peace, which produced the European Economic Community and other multilateral organizations. The U.S.-Soviet rivalry that emerged after the war produced the Marshall Plan and NATO. The fear of political extremism produced a commitment to social democracy. Together, the EEC, the Marshall Plan, NATO, and social democracy combined to create a Golden Age in postwar Europe.

3. While the wars in Korea and Vietnam were quite similar, the difference between them is more significant than any similarity. Both were land wars in east Asia. Both were part of the larger ideological conflict between the Soviet bloc and the American bloc. Both were roughly the same size, with each resulting in around 2 million deaths. Yet, the outcomes of the two wars were strikingly different. In Vietnam, the war ended with a clear victor. In Korea it did not. As a result, Vietnam has reunited and is moving ahead, but Korea remains divided and its future is uncertain.

4. Mikhail Gorbachev was a hero—and a failure. He took office as the Soviet Union was falling apart. Economic stagnation was undermining support for the government, and a tradition of political repression made debate of new ideas difficult. Gorbachev heroically attacked these problems, loosening economic restrictions and opening up political dialogue. However, the Soviet Union collapsed, and the new state of Russia soon returned to stagnation and repression. Gorbachev’s reforms ultimately failed.