



>> Churchill, Truman, and Stalin shake hands at the Potsdam Conference, held in Germany in July, 1945. Still at war with Japan, the leaders of the wartime alliance hid the growing tensions among them.

 **Interactive Flipped Video**

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Amid the rubble of war, a new power structure emerged. In Europe, Germany was defeated. France and Britain were exhausted. Two other powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, emerged as superpowers, nations with the economic resources and military might to dominate the globe. The United States abandoned its traditional policy of isolationism to counter what President Truman saw as the communist threat.

>> Objectives

Summarize how the outcome of World War II contributed to the development of the Cold War.

Identify continuing Cold War conflicts in Germany and Eastern Europe.

Explain the growth of the nuclear arms race.

Analyze how the Cold War became a global conflict.

Compare the United States and the Soviet Union in the Cold War.

>> Key Terms

superpower
Cold War
Truman Doctrine
containment
Marshall Plan
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
Warsaw Pact
détente
Fidel Castro
John F. Kennedy
ideology
Nikita Khrushchev
Leonid Brezhnev

A New Global Conflict

Wartime Alliance Breaks Apart

Tensions Grow Among the Allies During the war, the Soviet Union and the nations of the West had cooperated to defeat Nazi Germany. By 1945, however, the wartime alliance was crumbling. Conflicting ideologies and mutual distrust soon led to the conflict known as the Cold War.

The **Cold War** was a state of tension and hostility between nations aligned with the United States on one side, and the Soviet Union on the other side. There was no armed conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, the major rivals during the Cold War.

At wartime conferences and postwar discussions, the Allies had forged a united front. At the Yalta Conference, Churchill and Roosevelt accepted some of Stalin's demands regarding Eastern Europe. They also agreed to the Allied occupation of Germany and the principle of reparations. Despite these agreements, tensions among the Allies deepened once the war ended, helping to create a divided world during the Cold War.

The Cold War Begins At first, the focus of the Cold War was Eastern Europe. Stalin had two main goals in Eastern Europe. First, he wanted to spread communism into the area. Second, he wanted to create a buffer zone of friendly governments as a defense against Germany, which had invaded Russia during World War I and again in 1941.

As the Red Army pushed German forces out of Eastern Europe, it left behind occupying forces. The Soviet dictator pointed out that the United States was not consulting the Soviet Union about peace terms for Italy or Japan, both of which were defeated and occupied by American and British troops. In the same way, the Soviet Union would determine the fate of the Eastern European lands that it occupied.

Roosevelt and Churchill rejected Stalin's view, making him promise "free elections" in Eastern Europe. Stalin ignored that pledge. Most Eastern European countries had existing Communist parties, many of which had actively resisted the Nazis during the war. Backed by the Red Army, these local Communists in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere destroyed rival political parties and even assassinated democratic leaders. By 1948, pro-Soviet communist governments were in place throughout Eastern Europe.

? GENERATE EXPLANATIONS What postwar issues caused the Western Allies and the Soviet Union to disagree?

Soviet Aggression Grows

Stalin soon showed his aggressive intentions outside of Eastern Europe. In Greece, Stalin backed communist rebels who were fighting to overturn a right-wing monarchy supported by Britain. By 1947, however, Britain could no longer afford to defend Greece. Stalin was also menacing Turkey and the vital shipping lane through the Dardanelles.

The Iron Curtain In 1946, Winston Churchill, former prime minister of Britain, spoke of how the Soviet Union was sealing off the countries in Eastern Europe that its armies had occupied at the end of World War II.

[A]n 'iron curtain' has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all of the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe . . . all these famous cities . . . lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and are all

subject . . . to a very high . . . measure of control from Moscow.

—Winston Churchill

In the West, the "iron curtain" became a symbol of the Cold War fear of communism. It described the division of Europe into an "eastern" and a "western" bloc. In the East were the Soviet-dominated, communist countries of Eastern Europe. In the West were the Western democracies led by the United States.

The Truman Doctrine President Truman saw communism as an evil force threatening countries around the world. To deal with the growing communist threat in Greece and Turkey, he took action. On March 12, 1947, Truman outlined a new policy to Congress: "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."

This policy, known as the **Truman Doctrine**, was rooted in the idea of **containment**, limiting communism to the areas already under Soviet control. Stalin, however, saw containment as "encirclement" by the capitalist world that wanted to isolate the Soviet Union.



>> The Red Army entered Berlin in April 1945. The Soviets installed communist governments in East Germany and throughout Eastern Europe in the postwar years.

The Truman Doctrine would guide the United States for decades. It made clear that Americans would resist Soviet expansion in Europe or elsewhere in the world. Truman soon sent military and economic aid and advisers to Greece and Turkey so that they could withstand the communist threat.

Marshall Plan Aids Europe Postwar hunger and poverty made Western European lands fertile ground for communist ideas. To strengthen democratic governments, the United States offered a massive aid package called the **Marshall Plan**. Under it, the United States funneled food and economic assistance to Europe to help countries rebuild. Billions of dollars in American aid helped war-shattered Europe recover rapidly and reduced communist influence there.

President Truman also offered aid to the Soviet Union and its satellites, or dependent states, in Eastern Europe. However, Stalin declined and forbade Eastern European countries to accept American aid. Instead, he promised help from the Soviet Union in its place.

A Divided Germany Defeated Germany became another focus of the growing tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Soviets took reparations for their massive war losses by dismantling

and moving factories and other resources from its occupation zone to help rebuild the Soviet Union. Above all, the Soviets feared the danger of a restored Germany.

The Western powers also took some reparations, but they wanted to create a stable, democratic Germany. Therefore, they united their zones of occupation and encouraged Germans to rebuild industries with Marshall Plan aid. The Soviets were furious at this move and strengthened their hold on Eastern Germany.

Germany became a divided nation. In West Germany, the Western democracies let the people write a constitution and regain self-government. In East Germany, the Soviets installed a socialist dictatorship tied to Moscow.

The Berlin Airlift Stalin's resentment at Western moves to rebuild Germany triggered a crisis over Berlin. Even though it lay deep within the Soviet zone, the former German capital was occupied by all four victorious Allies. In June 1948, Stalin tried to force the Western Allies out of Berlin by sealing off every railroad and highway into the Western sectors of the city. The Western powers responded to the blockade by mounting a round-the-clock airlift. For more than a year, cargo planes supplied West Berliners with food and fuel. Their success forced the Soviets to end the blockade. Although the West had won a victory in the Cold War, the crisis deepened the hostility between the two camps.

New Alliances Tensions continued to grow. In 1949, the United States, Canada, and ten other countries formed a new military alliance called the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Members pledged to help one another if any one of them were attacked.

In 1955, the Soviet Union responded by forming its own military alliance, the **Warsaw Pact**. It included the Soviet Union and seven satellites in Eastern Europe. Unlike NATO, however, the Warsaw Pact was often invoked by the Soviets to keep its satellites in order.

The Propaganda War Both sides participated in a propaganda war. The United States spoke of defending capitalism and democracy against communism and totalitarianism. The Soviet Union claimed the moral high ground in the struggle against Western imperialism. Yet, linked to those stands, both sides sought world power.



>> An airplane brings food and other supplies to Berlin as part of the Berlin Airlift. **Cite Evidence** Based on this image, how much progress has been made in the rebuilding of Berlin? Provide evidence.

? IDENTIFY MAIN IDEAS Why did the United States establish the NATO alliance? What was the Soviet Union's response?

NATO and Warsaw Pact, 1977



>> Though some countries remained neutral, in general, Western European nations were part of NATO, while Eastern European nations joined the Warsaw Pact. **Analyze Maps** Which Warsaw Pact countries bordered NATO nations?

Two Opposing Sides in Europe

As the Cold War deepened, the superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—faced off against each other in Europe and around the world. For more than 40 years, the Cold War loomed over Europe. In general, the superpowers avoided direct confrontation. Yet several incidents brought Europe to the brink of war.

The Berlin Wall Berlin was a key focus of Cold War tensions. The city was divided into democratic West Berlin and communist East Berlin. In the 1950s, West Berlin became a showcase for West German prosperity. Unhappy with communism, many low-paid East Germans fled into West Berlin.

To stop the flight, the East German government built a wall in 1961 that separated the two sectors of the city. When completed, the Berlin Wall was a massive concrete barrier, topped with barbed wire and patrolled by guards. The wall showed that workers, far from enjoying a communist paradise, had to be forcibly kept from fleeing.

Revolts in Eastern Europe During the Cold War, the Soviet Union had more than 30 divisions of troops

stationed across the region. Yet, in East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and elsewhere, unrest simmered. In 1953, about 50,000 workers confronted the Soviet army in the streets of the German capital. The uprising spread to other East German cities, but the protesters could not withstand Soviet tanks.

In 1956, economic woes in Poland touched off riots and strikes. To end the turmoil, the Polish government made some reforms, but dissatisfaction with communism remained. That year, Imre Nagy (nahj), a communist reformer and strong nationalist, gained power in Hungary. He ended one-party rule, ejected Soviet troops, and withdrew from the Warsaw Pact. In response, the Soviet Union invaded Hungary and ended the reforms. Nagy was later executed.

In early 1968, Czechoslovakian leader Alexander Dubcek introduced greater freedom of expression and limited democracy. This movement of freedom became known as the “Prague Spring.” Soviet leaders feared that democracy would threaten communist power and Soviet domination. Once again, the Soviets responded with force, sending Warsaw Pact troops to oust Dubcek and end the reforms.

? IDENTIFY CAUSE AND EFFECT How was Europe divided following the end of World War II?

The Nuclear Arms Race

One of the most frightening aspects of the Cold War was the arms race. Each side wanted to be able to withstand an attack by the other. At first, the United States, which had the atomic bomb, was the only nuclear power. By 1949, however, the Soviet Union had also developed an atomic bomb. By 1953, both sides in the Cold War had developed the far more destructive military technology—the hydrogen bomb.

The Balance of Terror The United States and the Soviet Union spent vast sums to develop new, more deadly nuclear and conventional weapons. They invested still more to improve “delivery systems”—the bombers, missiles, and submarines to launch these terrifying weapons of mass destruction.

Critics of the arms race argued that a nuclear war would destroy both sides. Yet each superpower wanted to be able to deter the other from launching its nuclear weapons.

By the 1960s, the terrifying possibility of nuclear war led to the idea of mutually assured destruction (MAD), which meant that if one side launched a nuclear attack, the other side would retaliate in kind, and both sides would be destroyed. Even though MAD might discourage nuclear war, the fear of such a conflict

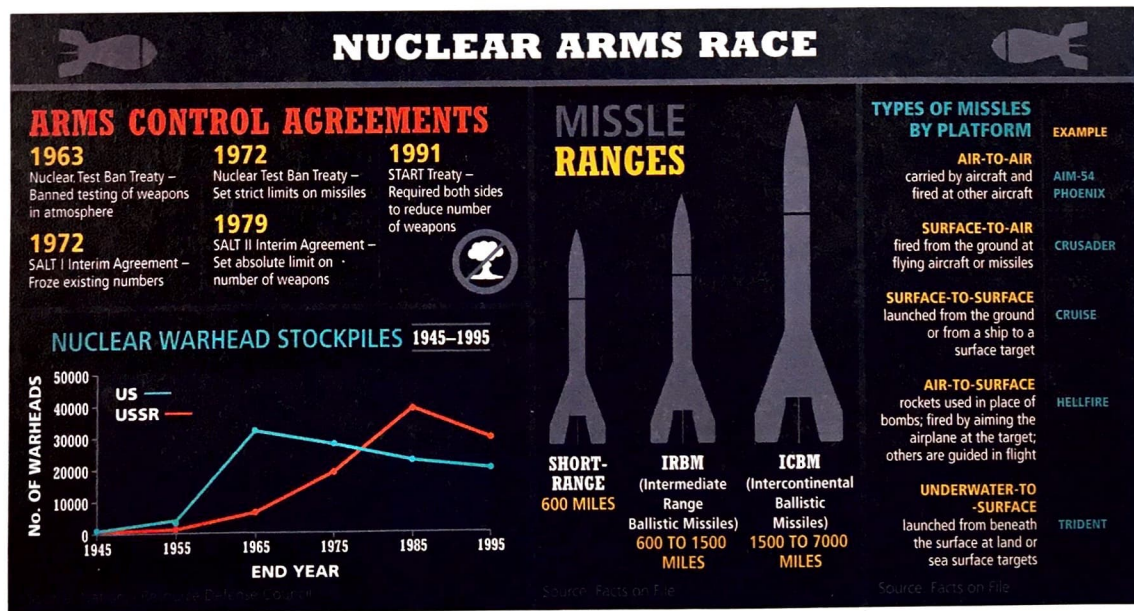
haunted the world. In the words of Winston Churchill, the balance of power had become a “balance of terror.”

Disarmament Talks To reduce the threat of nuclear war, the two sides met at disarmament talks. Although mutual distrust slowed progress, the rival powers did reach some agreements. In 1963, they agreed to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which prohibited the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere.

In 1969, the United States and the Soviet Union began the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) to limit the number of nuclear weapons held by each side. In 1972 and 1979, both sides signed agreements setting these limits.

In 1991, the United States and Russia negotiated a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), which has been renewed in recent years. These START agreements led to the removal of a large number of nuclear weapons.

An Era of Détente During the 1970s, American and Soviet leaders promoted an era of **détente** (day TAHNT), or relaxation of tensions. Détente brought new agreements to reduce nuclear stockpiles as both sides turned to diplomacy to resolve issues. The era of détente ended in 1979, when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan.



>> Analyze Charts Compare the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963, the SALT II Treaty of 1972, and the START Treaty of 1991. How did each of the later treaties advance beyond the treaty that came before it?

Interactive Gallery

Limiting the Spread of Nuclear Weapons By the late 1960s, Britain, France, and China had developed their own nuclear weapons. By then, many world leaders were eager to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. In 1968, dozens of nations signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). They agreed not to develop nuclear weapons and cooperate in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

? INTEGRATE INFORMATION What factors discouraged the use of nuclear weapons in the Cold War?

The Cold War Around the World

The superpowers waged the Cold War not only in Europe, but also around the world. By the end of World War II, the Soviets were helping communist forces in China, Korea, and elsewhere. The United States took action to respond to the global threat of communism.

Establishing Alliances and Bases To stop the spread of communism, the United States sought regional alliances with friendly powers. In Europe, it backed NATO. In Asia, the United States promoted another regional alliance, the Southeast-Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). It included the United States, Britain, France, Australia, Pakistan, Thailand, New Zealand, and the Philippines.

The United States also formed military alliances with individual nations, such as Japan and South Korea. Often, these agreements included the right to set up American military bases. As a result, American bases circled the globe from North America to Europe, Asia, and the islands of the Pacific.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union formed its own alliances. In addition to the Warsaw Pact in Europe, the Soviet Union formed alliances with newly independent nations in Africa and Asia. However, the Soviet Union had few bases overseas.

Where the Cold War Got Hot Because both superpowers had a global reach, local conflicts in many places played into the Cold War. Often, the United States and its allies supported one side, and the Soviet bloc supported the other. Through such struggles, the superpowers could confront each other indirectly, rather than head to head.

Political shifts around the world added to Cold War tensions. When communist forces won control of mainland China in 1949, the United States feared that a tide of communism would sweep around the world.



>> The United States had many military bases overseas, and its navy played a vital role in maintaining the U.S. presence around the world.

During this period, European colonies in Africa and Asia battled for independence. Liberation leaders and guerrillas frequently sought help from one or the other Cold War power.

On occasion, the Cold War erupted into “shooting wars,” especially in Asia. Both Korea and Vietnam were torn by brutal conflicts in which the United States, the Soviet Union, and China played crucial roles. More commonly, however, the superpowers provided weapons, training, or other aid to opposing forces in Asia, Africa, or Latin America.

The United States and Latin America The United States was especially concerned about the threat of communism in the Western Hemisphere. Seeing reform movements in Latin American countries as communist threats, it backed right-wing, anti-communist dictators and helped topple elected socialist leaders. In 1962, Cuba, a small island nation just 90 miles from Florida, became the chief focus of United States concern.

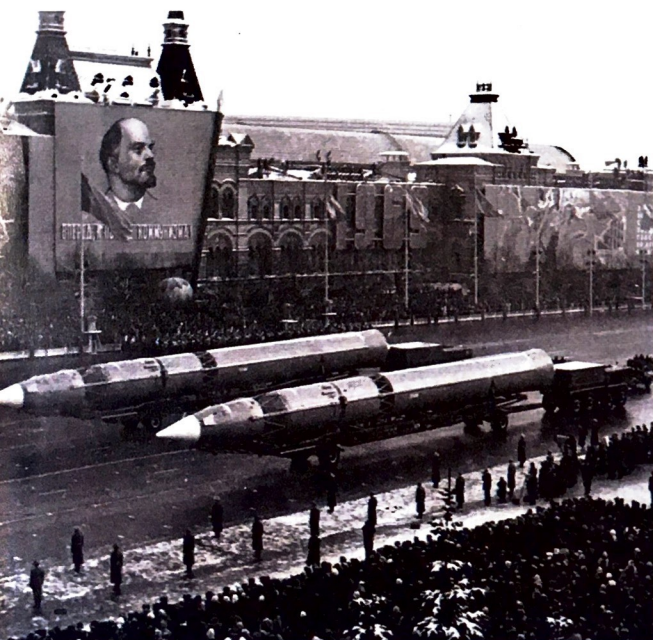
The Communist Revolution in Cuba In the 1950s, a young lawyer, **Fidel Castro**, organized an armed rebellion against the corrupt dictator who then ruled Cuba. By 1959, Castro had led his tiny guerrilla army to victory and set about transforming the country into a communist state.

During the Cuban Revolution, Castro nationalized, or took over, foreign-owned businesses. He put most land under government control and distributed the rest to peasant farmers. While Castro imposed harsh authoritarian rule, he did at first improve conditions for the poor. But Castro's revolution angered many Cubans, especially from the middle class. Critics were jailed or silenced. Hundreds of thousands of Cubans fled to the United States.

The United States, alarmed as Castro turned to the Soviet Union for support, attempted to bring down the communist regime next door. In 1961, President **John F. Kennedy** backed a plan by anti-Castro exiles to invade Cuba and lead an uprising against Castro.

The poorly planned plot was a disaster. An invasion force landed at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba, but was quickly crushed. News of the plot helped Castro rally Cuban popular opinion against foreign interference, and the bungled invasion hurt the reputation of the United States.

The Cuban Missile Crisis In 1962, the United States imposed a trade embargo on Cuba. Castro, seeking closer ties with the Soviet Union, let the Soviets build nuclear missile bases in Cuba. The threat of Soviet nuclear bases in its backyard outraged the United States and touched off a dangerous crisis.



>> The Soviet Union celebrated the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution with this military parade in Moscow in 1969.

In October 1962, President Kennedy imposed a naval blockade on Cuba. Kennedy demanded that the Soviet Union remove its nuclear missiles from Cuba, and for a few tense days, the world faced the risk of nuclear war. Finally, however, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev backed down. He agreed to remove the Soviet missiles, but won a secret pledge from Kennedy to not invade Cuba.

? MAKE GENERALIZATIONS How did the United States and the Soviet Union confront each other around the world during the Cold War?

The Soviet Union During the Cold War

Victory in World War II brought few rewards to the Soviet people. Stalin continued his ruthless policies. He filled labor camps with “enemies of the state” and seemed ready to launch new purges when he died in 1953.

Soviet Communism In the Soviet Union, the government controlled most aspects of public life. Communists valued obedience, discipline, and economic security. They sought to spread their communist **ideology**, or value systems and beliefs, around the globe.

The Soviet Union also aimed to spread its command economy to other countries. In a command economy, the government makes most economic decisions. A huge bureaucracy, rather than supply and demand, decided what to produce, how much, and for whom. Government planners in Moscow often had little knowledge of local conditions. The government owned most of the property.

Collectivized agriculture remained so unproductive that the Soviet Union often had to import grain to feed its people. Nor could Russia's command economy match the free-market economies of the West in producing consumer goods. Since workers had lifetime job security, they had little incentive, or reason, to produce better-quality goods.

Stalin's Successors After Stalin's death in 1953, **Nikita Khrushchev** (KROOSH chawf) emerged as the new Soviet leader. In 1956, he shocked top Communist Party members when he publicly denounced Stalin's abuse of power. Khrushchev maintained the Communist Party's tight political control, but he closed prison camps and eased censorship. He called for a “peaceful coexistence” with the West.

Khrushchev's successor, **Leonid Brezhnev** (BREZH nef), held power from the mid-1960s until he died in 1982. Under Brezhnev, dissidents, or people who criticized the government, faced arrest and imprisonment.

Dissidents Resist Despite the risk of harsh punishment, some courageous people dared to criticize the government. Andrei Sakharov (SAH kuh rawf), a brilliant physicist, spoke out against human rights abuses. He was exiled to a remote Soviet city.

Another critic, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (sohl zhuh NEET sin), wrote a letter to a friend criticizing Stalin. He was sent to a prison camp. Under Khrushchev, he was released and wrote fictional works that drew on his experiences in Soviet prison camps. His writings were banned in the Soviet Union, and in 1974, he was deported to West Germany. Despite the government's actions, Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn inspired others to resist communist repression and demand greater freedom.

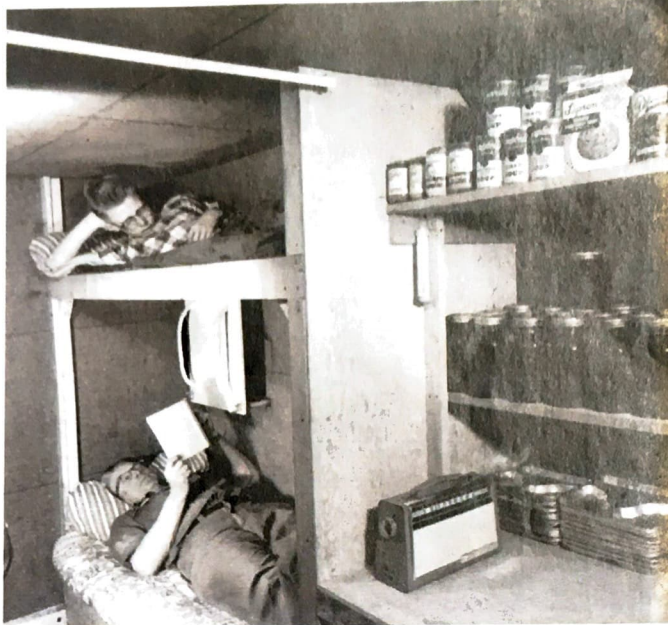
? CHECK UNDERSTANDING How did the Soviet Union handle critics of its policies?

The United States in the Cold War

The Cold War was not just a military rivalry. It was also a competition between two contrasting economic and political value systems. Unlike the communist countries, the democratic, capitalist countries, led by the United States, gave citizens the freedom to make economic and political choices. These nations valued freedom and prosperity. They held that economic freedom and free market principles helped improve the human condition—especially compared to the command economies of the communist world.

Free Markets While communist countries had command economies, capitalist countries had market economies. In market economies, producers and consumers make economic decisions. Prices are based on supply and demand in a free market. Property is privately owned. Producers compete to offer the best products for the lowest prices. By deciding what to buy, consumers ultimately decide which products are produced. In a free enterprise system, producers who win consumers' business make profits and grow.

The United States economy is basically a market economy. However, the United States and Western Europe have what can be called mixed economies, because their governments have an economic role.



>> Americans who feared nuclear war built bomb shelters in their backyards and stocked them with canned goods and other supplies.

The Cold War at Home Early in the Cold War, fierce anti-communists in the United States warned that Soviet agents were operating everywhere within the country. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) led a campaign to identify supposed communist sympathizers. In the early 1950s, Senator Joseph McCarthy charged many innocent citizens with harboring communist sympathies. Government probes produced little evidence of subversion. Eventually, the Senate condemned McCarthy's reckless behavior, but not before his charges and the investigations of the HUAC had ruined the careers of thousands of Americans.

The fear of a nuclear war also affected Americans. Some families built fallout shelters, where they could hide in the event of a nuclear bomb. Schools conducted air-raid drills in which children were taught to duck under their desks. Although these measures would not have protected children in a nuclear attack, the drills reflected the widespread fear of nuclear war.

? DISTINGUISH How did the United States respond to the threat of communism at home and around the world?