

CHAPTER

29

1945-Present

Europe and North An

THE BIG PICTURE World War II left behind enormous destruction and a world order dominated

by two nations: the United States and the Soviet Union. In the years to come, the bitter rivalry between these two superpowers would affect not only Europe and North America, but the world.



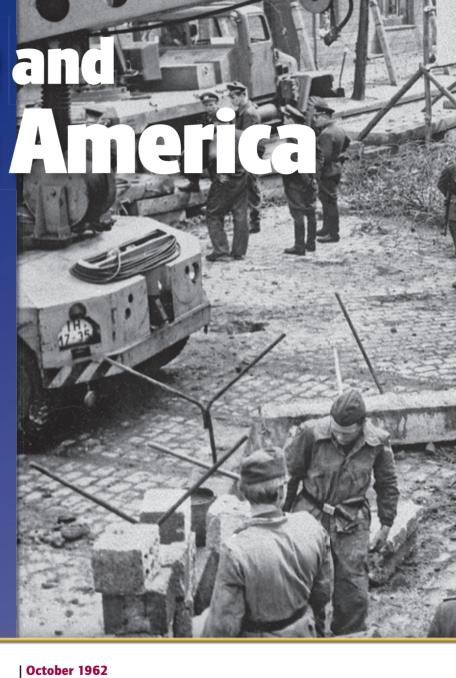
North Carolina Standards

Social Studies Objectives

5.04 Trace the course of the Cold War and assess its impact on the global community including but not limited to the Korean War, the satellite nations of Eastern Europe, and the Vietnam War.

Language Arts Objective

3.03.1 Support informed opinion by providing relevant and convincing reasons.



TIME LINE

CHAPTER

EVENTS

August 1949

The Soviet Union tests an atomic bomb.

Soviet missiles in Cuba nearly lead to war between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The Cold War 1945–1991

1945

October 1949

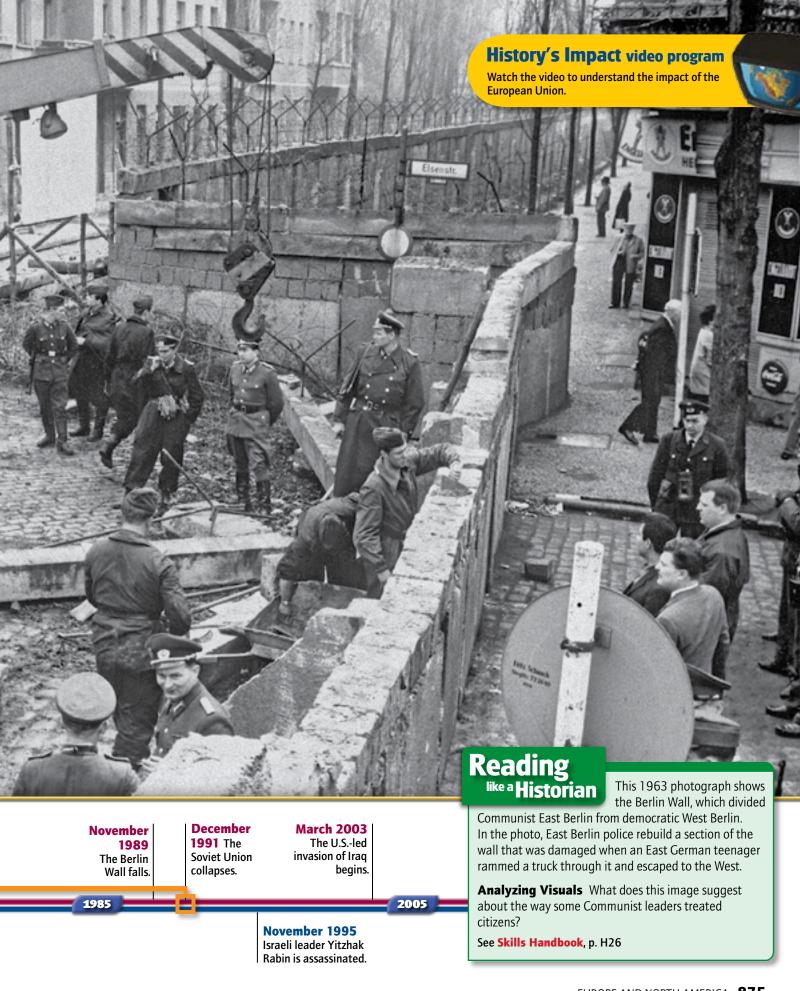
Communists gain control of China.

October 1962 Nelson Mandela is sent to prison in South Africa. 1965

October 1964
China tests a nuclear weapon.

1985

January 1979 Protestors overthrow the shah of Iran and form an Islamic government.



GEOGRAPHY Starting Points 1,000 Miles 500 1,000 Kilometers PACIFIC OCEAN Azimuthal equidistant projection *Interactive **COMMUNIST AND NATO COUNTRIES, 1949** Communism and Soviet influence N. KOREA spread quickly across much of Asia and Eastern Europe after NORTH AMERICA World War II. CHINA MONGOLIA UNITED CANADA **STATES ARCTIC OCEAN** SOVIET UNION ICELAND The NATO alliance was formed in 1949 to NORWAY INDÍAN counter Soviet power UNITED KINGDOM OCEAN EUROPE DEN. in Eastern Europe. POLAND NETH. E. PO CZECH. ROMANIA HUNGARY BELG. HIX YUGO, BULGARIA FRANCE **ATLANTIC** PORTUGAL ALBANIA **OCEAN** AFRICA SOUTH Communist countries **AMERICA NATO** countries

Starting Points While communism spread across Asia and Eastern Europe after World War II, the United States and other democratic nations worried about the possibility of another world war. As conflict between the two sides grew, a new era of competition for power and influence began.

- **1. Identify** Which nations were members of NATO in 1949? Which countries were Communist?
- 2. Predict How might the increasing competition between NATO countries and Communist countries affect the world?



SECTION

Beginnings of the Cold War

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

Once partners in war, the Soviet Union and the other former Allies found it much more difficult to cooperate in peace. The result was an era of conflict and confrontation called the Cold War.

READING FOCUS

- 1. How did peace create problems for the Allies?
- 2. How did the Cold War conflict worsen in the late 1940s?
- 3. What were some of the early Cold War confrontations?

KEY TERMS

Nuremberg trials Cold War iron curtain Truman Doctrine Marshall Plan containment Berlin airlift NATO Warsaw Pact

TAKING Take

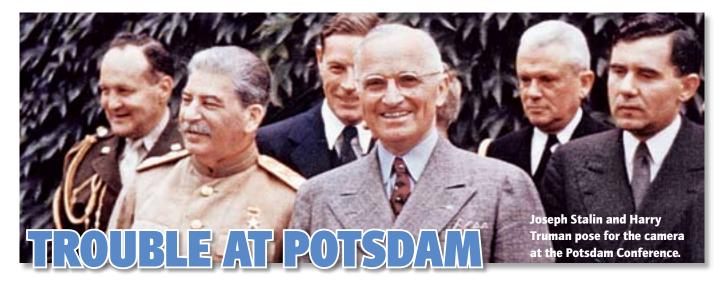
notes

on the problems, containment effects. and confrontations of the beginning of the Cold War.

Problems

Containment

Confrontations



THE INSIDE STORY

How did a hot war turn cold? On the final day of the Potsdam Conference in 1945, U.S. president Harry S Truman

was worried. He thought that Soviet leader Joseph Stalin had been stubborn and difficult to deal with and was concerned about Soviet plans for postwar Eastern Europe.

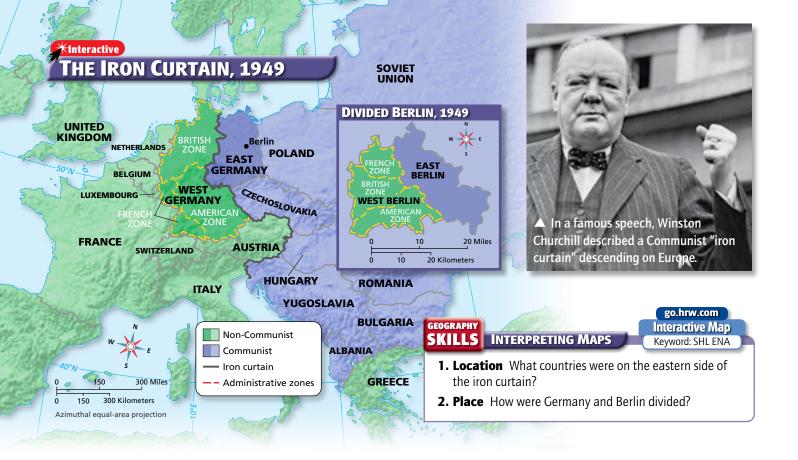
Truman made an appeal to Stalin on a minor issue, hoping that Stalin would demonstrate his goodwill and agree to compromise. Before Truman could even complete his request, Stalin interrupted him. "No!" shouted the Soviet leader.

It was an awkward moment, and Truman felt insulted by Stalin's manner. Little did he know that this difficult exchange was just a taste of what was to come in the increasingly tense U.S.-Soviet relationship.

The Problems of Peace

In World War II the Allies had worked together to defeat the Axis armies. With the war over, the Allies had to decide what to do with the shattered nations of Europe. This task placed a great strain on the alliance.

Occupying Germany When the war in Europe ended in May 1945, much of Germany was in ruins and it had no functioning government. The victorious Allies needed to establish a system to govern Germany and rebuild the nation. The Allies had thought ahead to the end of the war and had begun to plan for Germany's future even before fighting ceased. At the Potsdam Conference, they agreed on several major issues.



First, the Allies agreed to temporarily divide Germany into four zones of occupation. The Soviet Union would control about one-third of the country. The remaining two-thirds would be divided into three zones, to be controlled by the United States, France, and Great Britain.

Second, the Allies also divided the German capital, Berlin. Though this city lay deep within the Soviet-controlled region of Germany, it was divided into four zones of occupation.

Third, the Allies worked together to establish a plan to rid Germany of any remnants of the Nazi Party and Nazi beliefs, in part by bringing former Nazi and military leaders to justice for crimes committed during the war. At the Nuremberg trials, which were held in Nuremberg, Germany, between 1945 and 1949, Allied military courts tried more than two hundred Nazi and military officials. Several dozen were sentenced to death for their roles in the Holocaust and in other war crimes.

Finally, the Allies agreed on a plan for Germany to pay reparations for the destruction caused by the war. These reparations were in the form of German currency and German industrial equipment. The Soviet Union received the largest share, since that country had suffered the greatest destruction.

Eastern Europe While the Allies were able to agree on postwar Germany, deciding what to do with the rest of Europe proved more difficult. Even before the war ended, the major Allied powers were in conflict. American and British leaders argued with each other, and the Soviets often disagreed with both.

At the Potsdam Conference in the summer of 1945, the two sides argued over Eastern Europe, which bordered the Soviet Union and was occupied by Soviet forces. The Soviet Union had been invaded by Germany during both world wars, and Soviet leaders believed that they needed a buffer zone of friendly governments in Eastern Europe to guard against another such attack.

Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin promised to respect the rights of people in Eastern Europe to choose their own governments. American and British leaders, however, believed that Stalin planned to establish pro-Soviet Communist governments throughout Eastern Europe and beyond. Although the war in Europe had ended, growing tensions between the Allies were about to lead to another conflict.

READING CHECK Identify Supporting

Details What problems did peace bring for the Allies?

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY currency money

The Conflict Worsens

The relationship between the Soviet Union and the Western nations continued to worsen after the war. Soon the United States and the Soviet Union entered an era of tension and hostility, which became known as the Cold War.

The Struggle Begins The Cold War was more than a military rivalry. It was a struggle for power and control between two nations with very different forms of government, economic systems, and ways of life. In short, the Cold War was a conflict between communism and capitalist democracy.

With the backing of Soviet troops, pro-Soviet Communist governments were soon established throughout Eastern Europe. Only Yugoslavia avoided Soviet domination, although that nation was also led by a Communist dictator. As communism spread throughout Eastern Europe, tension between the Soviet Union and the western democracies continued to grow. This tension was worsened by the Soviet failure to remove troops from northern Iran, which the Soviet Union had occupied during the war. In January 1946, President Truman warned his secretary of state, "Another war is in the making."

In February 1946 Stalin stated publicly that he believed war between the East and West was bound to happen in the future. The next month, former British leader Winston Churchill gave a speech in the United States. Churchill used the image of an iron curtain to describe the sharp division of Europe that was the result of Soviet actions. This division, he said, was a serious threat to peace.

HISTORY'S VOICES

66 Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by mere waiting to see what happens; nor will they be removed by a policy of appearement.

-Winston Churchill, speech, March 5, 1946

The West Resists The democratic nations of the West soon faced a test of their resolve to contain the Communist East. In early 1947 Soviet-backed Communists were threatening the governments of Greece and Turkey. President Truman used the opportunity to announce what became known as the Truman

PRIMARY SOURCES

The Marshall Plan

In a speech at Harvard University on June 15, 1947, U.S. secretary of state George C. Marshall outlined his plan to help rebuild the postwar European economy.

"The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next three or four years of foreign food and other essential products—principally from America—are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help or face economic, social, and political deterioration of a very grave character . . .

"It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- 1. Summarize Why does Marshall say that the United States needs to help Europe?
- 2. Analyze Primary Sources Is Marshall worried about the spread of communism? Explain your answer.

See Skills Handbook, p. H25

Doctrine. The **Truman Doctrine** was a pledge to provide economic and military aid to oppose the spread of communism. The United States was committed, Truman said, to helping free peoples resist takeover by "armed minorities or outside pressures." The U.S. Congress agreed to send hundreds of millions of dollars in aid to Greece and Turkey.

Similar war-related economic problems existed throughout much of Europe. Truman believed that if conditions grew worse, more Europeans might turn to communism. So in mid-1947, the U.S. government launched a massive program of economic aid. The Marshall Plan, named after U.S. secretary of state George Marshall, provided \$13 billion for rebuilding Europe. The plan helped Western Europe make a rapid recovery from the war, and it also helped preserve political stability.

READING CHECK Summarize How did conflict between East and West worsen after World War II?

THE KOREAN WAR, 1950–1951





In a surprise attack, North Korean troops invade the South.



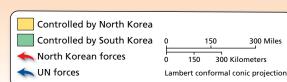
UN forces land at Inchon, attacking behind North Korean lines.



UN forces quickly push north from Pusan and Inchon.



4 China enters the war on the side of North Korea.



GEOGRAPHY SKILLS INTERPRETING MAPS

go.hrw.com Interactive Map Keyword: SHL ENA

Territory changed hands frequently during the Korean War as troops moved over an area smaller than the state of California.

Movement Describe North Korean movements during the war.

Cold War Confrontations

The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan demonstrated the West's Cold War policy of containment, which involved resisting Soviet aggression in order to contain the spread of communism. The confrontations between East and West soon became increasingly severe.

Crisis in Berlin The division of Germany and of Berlin was originally meant to be temporary. In 1947, however, Western leaders began planning for the creation of an independent democratic German nation, to be formed from the three western zones of occupation. They also planned to establish a democratic government in West Berlin, deep inside the Soviet zone. The Soviets opposed this plan.

In June 1948, the Soviets blocked off all land, rail, and water routes into West Berlin. As a result, Berlin's 2 million residents were no longer able to import food, coal, and other vital supplies. The Soviets hoped these measures would force the West to leave Berlin.

Western leaders refused to give in. They organized the Berlin airlift, a massive effort to supply West Berlin by air. At one point, a cargo plane was taking off from or landing in Berlin

every 30 seconds. The Berlin airlift was a success, and the Soviets called off the blockade of Berlin in May 1949.

New Nations and Alliances Within days of the end of this crisis, the western zones of Germany formed the Federal Republic of Germany, or West Germany. A few months later, the Soviet zone became the German Democratic Republic, or East Germany.

Also in the aftermath of the airlift, the United States, Canada, and most Western European countries joined together in a military alliance. The alliance, called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or **NATO**, was designed to counter Soviet power in Europe. In 1955, the Soviet Union and the Communist nations of Eastern Europe formed their own alliance, known as the Warsaw Pact.

War in Korea After Japan's surrender in World War II, the Allies had gained control of the Korean Peninsula. The Soviet Union and the United States agreed to temporarily divide the country in half. The Soviets quickly established a Communist government in the northern half of Korea. In the South, the United States supported a non-Communist regime.

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

import bring goods into a place

In June 1950 the North Koreans attacked South Korea. Their goal was to unite the country under a Communist government. Believing that a failure to defend South Korea might lead to other attempts at Communist expansion, the United States asked the United Nations to approve the use of force to stop the invasion. U.S. Army general Dwight Eisenhower warned, "We'll have a dozen Koreas soon if we don't take a firm stand." The United Nations soon formed a military force with troops from 17 nations and sent these soldiers to Korea. Most of the soldiers were Americans.

In spite of the UN involvement, the North Koreans nearly conquered the South within a matter of months. Then, UN forces led by American general Douglas MacArthur carried out a daring invasion at Inchon, behind enemy lines. The Inchon landing tipped the balance back in favor of the UN forces. Soon, they had pushed the North Koreans out of South Korea and driven deep into North Korea, near the Chinese border.

The war shifted once more when Communist Chinese forces poured into Korea to aid the North Koreans. With overwhelming numbers, they drove the UN forces back out of North Korea.

During 1951, the war settled into a stalemate. The battle lines lay just about where they had been before North Korea's initial invasion. In 1953 both sides agreed to an armistice.

CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE COLD WAR



CAUSES

- Disagreements between the Allies during World War II
- Differing U.S. and Soviet political and economic systems
- Differing goals for postwar Germany and Eastern Europe
- Soviet expansion of communism in Eastern Europe
- Resistance to Soviet aggression by United States

EFFECTS

- Political and military struggles around the world
- Increased military spending, leading to an arms race
- The ever-present danger of nuclear war

After three years of fighting and some 4 million casualties, the Korean War was over. But little had changed since the war began. North Korea remained a Communist state, and South Korea was an ally of the West.

READING CHECK Summarize What were some Cold War confrontations of the 1940s and 1950s?



The tension between North and South Korea is still a major regional and international problem.

SECTION ASSESSMENT

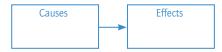
Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- 1. a. Describe What questions about postwar Europe did the Allies face?
 - **b. Infer** Why do you think the Allies decided to divide Germany into four zones of occupation?
 - **c. Evaluate** How did Soviet plans for Eastern Europe differ from those of the other Allies?
- 2. a. Identify Identify the following: iron curtain, Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan
 - **b. Make Inferences** Why do you think President Truman believed that poverty and suffering created conditions in which communism might spread?
- **3. a. Recall** What were two major conflicts between the East and the West in the late 1940s and early 1950s? **b. Evaluate** Was the Korean War a success for the United States? Explain your answer.

go.hrw.com Online Quiz Keyword: SHL ENA HP

Critical Thinking

4. Identify Supporting Details Using your notes on the section, identify the causes of the Cold War and its effects during these early years.





5. Exposition Write a paragraph that summarizes Soviet actions in Europe after World War II. Be sure to include details from the section.

Superpower Rivalries

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

As the Cold War continued, the world's two superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States—competed for power and influence around the world.

READING FOCUS

- 1. How did the arms race begin in the 1950s and early 1960s?
- 2. How did the Cold War contribute to conflict around the world?
- **3.** How did the superpowers attempt to achieve arms control during the Cold War?

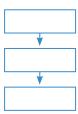
KEY TERMS

hydrogen bomb deterrence arms race *Sputnik* Bay of Pigs invasion Cuban missile crisis nonaligned nations détente

TAKING NOTES

Take notes

on the major events of the Cold War from the 1940s through the 1980s.



THE INSIDE STORY

Was nuclear war at hand? President John F. Kennedy was in his White House bedroom eating breakfast when

he heard about a startling discovery—an American spy plane had photographed several Soviet nuclear missiles on a launching pad on the island of Cuba, just 90 miles from American territory. A missile fired from Cuba could potentially hit targets in the eastern United States within a few minutes. Was nuclear war at hand?

During the first frantic days after this discovery, U.S. officials tried to decide what actions to take. Should the United States invade Cuba? Bomb the missile sites? Attack the Soviet Union?

The Soviets claimed that the missiles were only intended to protect Cuba from an American attack, not to attack the United States. Still, President Kennedy demanded that the Soviets remove the missiles. He also considered military options—options he knew might trigger a nuclear war.

The tense standoff lasted for nearly two weeks. Finally, after much negotiation, the Soviets removed the missiles. In exchange, the United States agreed to remove U.S. missiles from Turkey and promised not to attack Cuba. Nuclear disaster had been avoided—at least for a while.

The Arms Race Begins

During the 1950s and early 1960s nuclear war seemed to draw ever closer as the Soviet Union and the United States raced to develop powerful new weapons. This rivalry between the world's two superpowers became increasingly tense—and dangerous.

The Nuclear Arms Race In 1949 the West was deeply shaken by news of a successful Soviet test of an atomic bomb. Suddenly, the great military advantage the United States had enjoyed over the Soviet Union was gone.

Immediately, the United States sought to develop even more powerful weapons. Atomic bombs used energy created by splitting apart atoms; but using nuclear fusion, or the fusing together of atoms, could produce a much larger explosion. Fusion is the process that creates the enormous energy of the sun and stars.



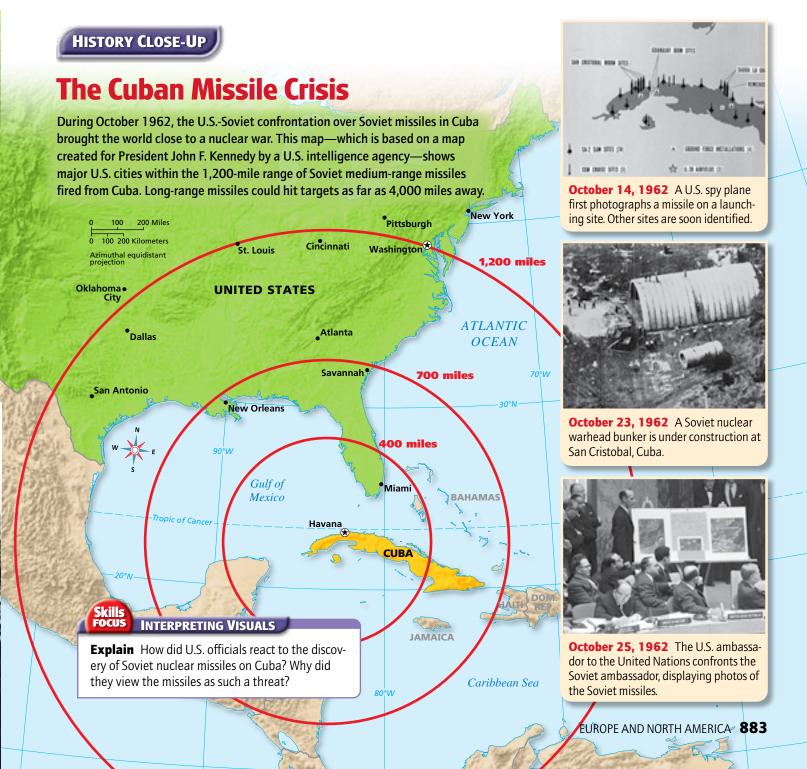
shows eight missiles carried by a Soviet cargo ship. ▶

A U.S. surveillance photograph

In the fall of 1952 the United States tested the first fusion-powered **hydrogen bomb** with spectacular results, completely vaporizing the island on which the bomb was tested. As with the atomic bomb, the U.S. technological advantage was short-lived. Less than one year later the Soviets tested their own hydrogen bomb.

This development of nuclear weapons forced both sides to change their military tactics. Instead of relying upon conventional forces, such as troops and tanks, U.S. and Soviet leaders increased their stockpiles of nuclear weapons. These weapons soon became central to each side's defense strategy, a strategy based on the principle of deterrence. **Deterrence** is the development of or maintenance of military power to deter, or prevent, an attack.

The two superpowers were locked in an arms race, a struggle between nations to gain an advantage in weapons. The United States soon had far more nuclear weapons than the Soviet Union, and it was clear that a nuclear attack by either side would lead to terrible destruction.



Soviet Union Launches Sputnik In October 1957 the arms race took another leap forward with the Soviet Union's successful launch of *Sputnik*. *Sputnik* was history's first artificial satellite—an object that orbits the earth.

Americans had always believed they had a technological advantage over the Soviets. With the launch of *Sputnik*, Americans feared that Soviet military technology had leaped ahead of their own. In response, the U.S. government established the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, or NASA, in 1958. This agency would eventually return the United States to the forefront of space research.

Public Fears The growing threat of nuclear war had a significant impact on people in the United States and other nations. Many people built bomb shelters in hopes that these structures would help protect them from a nuclear explosion. American schools led air-raid drills to prepare students for a possible Soviet attack; and a number of movies, books, and comic books had plots centered on the dangers of radiation and nuclear war.

Most significantly, the Cold War led to a so-called Red Scare in the United States as many Americans feared possible Communist influence in the U.S. government. In the late 1940s and early 1950s Senator Joseph McCarthy and a congressional committee led the effort to expose Communists in the American film industry and government, accusing many innocent people of Communist activities.

READING CHECK Identify Supporting **Details** How did the arms race begin?

Cold War Around the World

The Korean War had shown that Cold War rivalry could lead to conflict far from the United States or the Soviet Union. During the Cold War, this rivalry led to struggles for influence in countries around the world.

War in Southeast Asia At the end of World War II, France sought to reestablish its former colonial control over Southeast Asia. In one Southeast Asian country, Vietnam, Communist rebels fought back, forcing the French to give up control of Vietnam. In the resulting peace agreement, Vietnam was temporarily divided into

northern and southern halves. Communists controlled the North and an anti-Communist regime ruled the South.

American officials were concerned about the spread of communism in Vietnam. They had supported the French struggle against the Communists; and after Vietnam's division, they supported the non-Communist government of the South. When a revolution began in the South, the United States sent military aid to fight the rebels. Eventually, the North Vietnamese began to fight alongside the rebels in an effort to reunite Vietnam.

Although the American military commitment grew, the Vietnam War dragged on until the mid-1970s. You will read more about this war in the next chapter.

Another Crisis in Berlin After Communist East Germany and democratic West Germany formed in 1949, tens of thousands of East Germans left their country by crossing from East Berlin into West Berlin. Some wanted to live in a free, democratic nation, while others simply crossed the border in search of work. By 1961 as many as 1,000 people a day were making the daily trip between their homes in East Germany and jobs in West Berlin. To stop this exodus, East Germany began erecting a tall barrier between the two halves of the city. This barrier, known as the Berlin Wall, was heavily guarded. Anyone attempting to cross it risked being shot by East German guards.

The Berlin Wall succeeded in slowing the flight of East Germans to West Germany. It also came to symbolize the brutality of the Communist system.

Communism in Cuba In 1959 rebels under the leadership of Fidel Castro overthrew Cuba's dictator and installed a Communist government. Once in power, Castro established a centrally planned economy and forged close ties with the Soviet Union. Castro's actions worried the United States. Cuba is located only 90 miles south of Florida, and its alliance with the Soviet Union brought the Cold War alarmingly close to American territory.

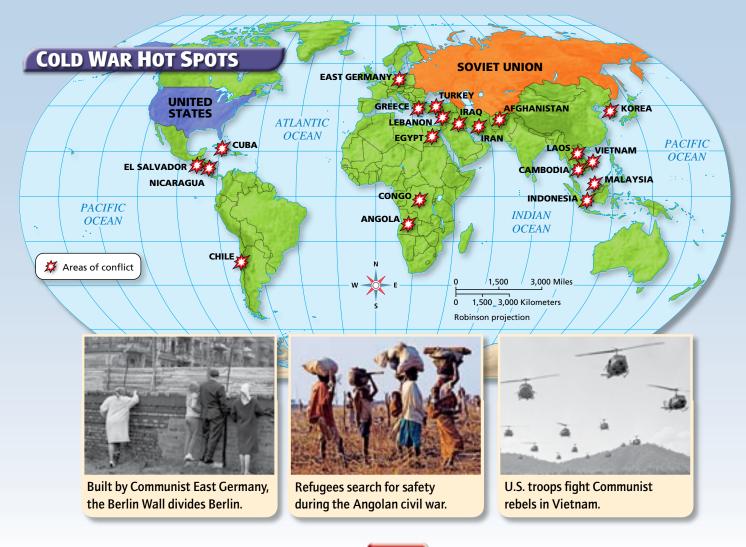
The U.S. government, seeking to overthrow Castro, secretly trained an invasion force of approximately 1,500 Cubans who had fled Castro's regime. In April 1961 this force came ashore at Cuba's Bay of Pigs. American

READING SKILLS

Making Inferences Why do you think that so many Americans feared Communists in the United States?

TODAY

The United States enforces a trade embargo against Cuba that was first enacted in 1962, after Fidel Castro's government confiscated hundreds of millions of dollars worth of U.S. property and businesses.



officials had believed the **Bay of Pigs invasion** would start a massive Cuban uprising against Castro. Instead, the invaders were quickly defeated.

In 1962 came the Cuban missile crisis, a confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union over the installation of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba. After a two-week standoff, Soviet leaders removed the missiles when the United States agreed to remove U.S. missiles from Turkey and promised not to attack Cuba.

Other Cold War Conflicts The Cold War rivalry also played out in the Middle East, Africa, and Central and South America.

In 1956 Egypt angered the West by taking over the Suez Canal, which had been controlled primarily by Great Britain and France. After Britain, France, and Israel attacked Egypt, the Soviet Union threatened to fight on Egypt's side. Afraid of a larger war, the United States quickly demanded that its Western allies halt their attack; and the conflict came to an end.

GEOGRAPHY **SKILLS** INTERPRETING MAPS

- **1. Regions** Where did Cold War conflicts take place?
- **2. Location** Why do you think there were no conflicts in the United States or the Soviet Union?

In Africa, the final years of European colonial rule created numerous power struggles, as well as much involvement by the superpowers. In 1960, for example, Belgium ended its colonial control of the Congo (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo). After the Belgians left the Congo, military leader Joseph Mobutu gradually took control. The United States and other Western countries supported his dictatorship because they believed he would be a good ally against the Soviet Union.

The African country of Angola won independence from Portugal in 1975, but years of civil war followed. The United States and the Soviet Union supported opposing sides in this conflict, which lasted until 1991.

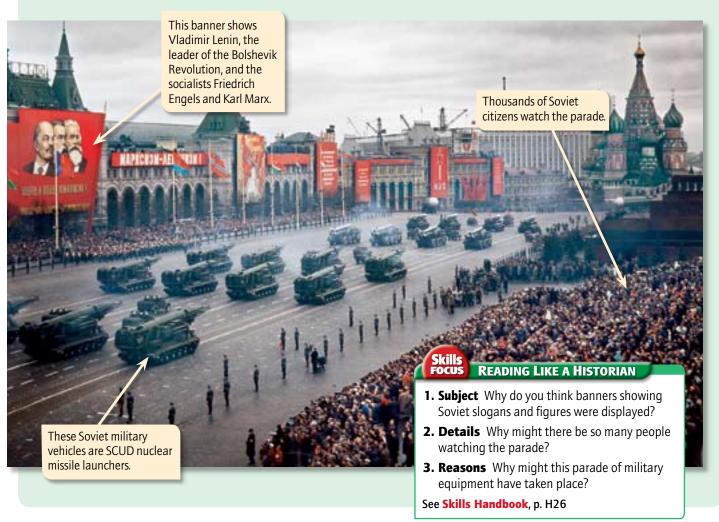
Reading like a Historian

A Soviet Military Parade

Analyzing Visuals The Cold War strategy of deterrence relied upon the threat of nuclear war. As a result, the enemy's perception of a nation's military power could be nearly as important as the military power itself. In this 1986 photograph, a Soviet military parade travels through Moscow's Red Square in celebration of the anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

To interpret what this photograph suggests about the use of military force in the Cold War, think about

- the subject of the photo
- the details of the photo
- the reasons why this parade might have been held



Superpower rivalries also affected Central and South America, where the United States supported efforts to overthrow regimes allied with the Soviet Union. In the early 1970s the United States secretly supported opposition to Chile's democratically elected leader, Salvador Allende, a socialist. As a result, Chile's military overthrew Allende in 1973. In 1983 U.S. forces ousted a Communist regime that had seized power on the island of Grenada.

Many countries sought to avoid being caught up in this worldwide rivalry between superpowers. Starting in the 1950s a number of nations refused to support either side. Instead, these so-called **nonaligned nations** sought to use their combined strength to promote the interests of poorer countries.

READING CHECK Find the Main Idea How did the Cold War play out around the world?

Attempts at Arms Control

While relations between East and West were largely hostile throughout the Cold War, some attempts at cooperation were made. Both sides worked to limit the spread of nuclear weapons and avoid the threat of nuclear war.

Early Arms Control In 1955 President Eisenhower proposed a so-called open skies treaty with the Soviet Union. This agreement would allow each side to fly over the other's territory and gather accurate information about its weapons. With accurate information, Eisenhower argued, neither side would have to imagine the worst about their enemy. Soviet leaders rejected this idea but proposed arms control measures of their own, periodically suggesting total nuclear disarmament. The United States rejected the Soviet proposals.

Eisenhower was followed in office by President John F. Kennedy. Kennedy favored limiting nuclear weapons tests as a means of slowing the development of new and more deadly technologies. The Cuban missile crisis helped convince both sides that it was important to make some progress on arms control; and in 1963 the United States and the Soviet Union agreed on a Test Ban Treaty. This treaty outlawed nuclear testing in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater.

SALT I and II In 1968 Richard Nixon was elected U.S. president. He sought what he called **détente** (day-TAHNT), or reduced tension between the superpowers. One result of his efforts was the start of negotiations known as the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks, or SALT I. The talks led to agreements limiting the number of nuclear weapons held by each side. SALT I also led to the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which prevented the development of weapons designed to shoot down nuclear missiles. The ABM Treaty was meant to ensure that each side remained vulnerable to the other's nuclear weapons. This vulnerability was an important element of the principle of deterrence, which many people felt had been a key factor in the prevention of nuclear war.

The two sides then began a new round of talks, called SALT II. These talks resulted in an arms control treaty in 1979, although it was never ratified by the U.S. Senate.

The 1980s Ronald Reagan was elected U.S. president in 1980. He took an aggressive position against the Soviet Union and spoke of developing a missile defense system, an idea that seemed to violate the spirit of the ABM Treaty. But President Reagan also began arms reduction talks with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. In 1988 the two countries ratified the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, which called for the elimination of certain types of missiles. After many years of conflict, the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States was finally beginning to improve.

READING CHECK Sequence What were the major arms control agreements negotiated by the Soviet Union and the United States?



Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- **1. a. Recall** What were some of the key technological developments affecting the Cold War in the 1950s?
 - **b. Explain** How did an **arms race** develop between the Soviet Union and the United States?
 - **c. Evaluate** Do you believe that **deterrence** was the best strategy to prevent nuclear war?
- **2. a. Identify** What was the significance of the **Cuban missile crisis**?
 - **b. Explain** Why did the Cold War spread around the world?
 - **c. Make Judgments** Do you think the United States was justified in supporting the overthrow of Communist governments during the Cold War?
- **3. a. Recall** What were some of the arms control agreements reached during the Cold War?
 - **b. Evaluate** What do you think of the reasoning behind the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty?

Critical Thinking

4. Evaluate Using your notes on the section and a graphic organizer like the one below, identify the five most important events of the Cold War and rank them in their order of importance.



FOCUS ON SPEAKING



5. Exposition Write a brief conversation that two U.S. officials might have had during the Cuban missile crisis. The topic of the conversation should be possible ways to resolve the crisis.

Changing Societies

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

The Cold War brought tremendous economic and social change to North America, Western Europe, and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

READING FOCUS

- 1. What were the major social changes taking place in North America after World War II?
- 2. How did Western Europe recover economically in the postwar era?
- 3. How did Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union change after World War II?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Martin Luther King Jr. counterculture Solidarity Mikhail Gorbachev glasnost perestroika Velvet Revolution on the changes that occurred in North America, Europe, and the Soviet Union during the postwar years.

North America	
Europe	
Soviet Union	

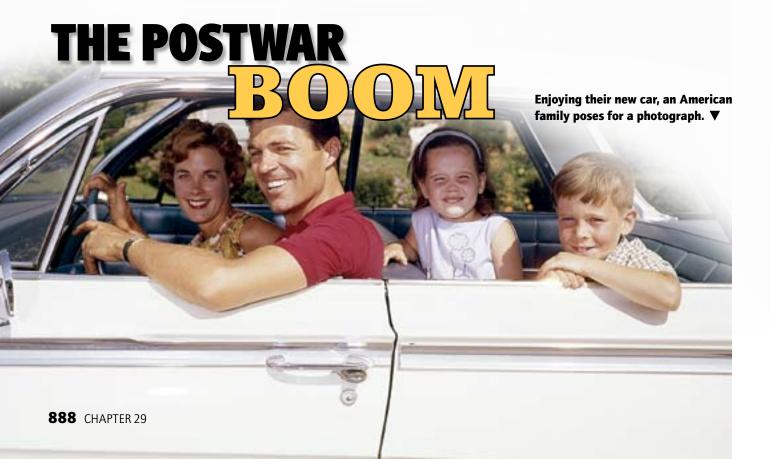


Were kids and cars everywhere in postwar America? It seemed that children were everywhere in 1950s

America. Millions of American veterans started families when they returned home after World War II, and the number of babies born each year soared. At the same time the nation entered this so-called baby boom, it also entered an economic boom.

In the 1950s the American economy was red hot. Jobs were plentiful, wages were increasing, and Americans were

eagerly spending their paychecks on cars, homes, and other consumer goods. Car manufacturers spurred demand with exciting new features, such as aircraft-inspired tailfins, and designs that changed each year. Meanwhile, American builders were putting up countless houses and suburban developments throughout the country. These new homes were filled with a variety of shiny new products: refrigerators, stoves, radios, television sets. While the 1950s was a time of peace and prosperity for many Americans, great social changes lay ahead.



North America

The postwar United States was a land of tremendous prosperity. At the same time, the country was undergoing rapid social change.

The U.S. Economy Overall, the U.S. economy—already the most powerful in the world—enjoyed great success in the years after World War II. By 1960 the total value of all U.S. goods and services was two-and-ahalf times greater than it had been in 1940. Much of this economic growth was driven by consumer spending. After years of economic depression and war, Americans were ready to buy consumer goods.

By the early 1970s, however, rapid inflation and high unemployment had slowed the U.S. economy dramatically. At the same time, events in the Middle East disrupted the distribution of the world's oil supply. This disruption led to a steep spike in the cost of energy, which drove the prices of other goods higher. The nation's economic problems lasted into the early 1980s before unemployment dropped and the economy began another period of sustained growth. At the same time, however, the nation's debts grew sharply as the federal government increasingly spent more money than it received in taxes.

The postwar decades also brought major structural changes to the economy. The nation's heavy industry suffered during the 1970s and 1980s, as American shipbuilders, automakers, and steel companies found it more difficult to compete with companies in other countries. Many Americans lost their jobs when U.S. companies closed their factories. American companies in other industries still proved successful, creating many new jobs in advanced technology and in service industries such as banking, health care, and sales.

Social Changes During the 1950s, the booming U.S. economy helped raise the living standard of millions of Americans. So, too, did the so-called G.I. Bill of Rights, a law that helped millions of American veterans attend collegea choice that used to be available mainly to the wealthy. Also during this time, many World War II veterans married and started families. Birthrates rose, and the nation entered a socalled baby boom.



A Baptist minister and social activist, Martin Luther King Jr. was a leader of the African American civil rights movement. King was

known for his powerful speaking ability as well as his reliance on nonviolence and civil disobedience in his protests against racial injustice.

King first came to national attention in 1955, when he led a boycott of the segregated bus system in Montgomery, Alabama. He and other leaders soon organized marches and protests throughout the United States, which eventually led to sweeping civil rights reform. King received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, but four years later, he was assassinated by an opponent of civil rights.

Summarize How did King work for civil rights for African Americans?

African Americans made major advances in the postwar era. During the war they had served bravely—but in units segregated from whites. Recognizing this injustice, in 1948 President Truman issued an executive order ending segregation in the armed forces.

The desegregation of the military was just the first in a series of victories for African Americans. In 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in Brown v. Board of Education that the segregation of public schools had to end. This decision was followed by a civil rights campaign led by Martin Luther King Jr., James Farmer, Malcolm X, and many other activists and organizations. After years of struggle against racial injustice, the civil rights movement achieved some major reforms. In 1964 the U.S. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, and the following year the Voting Rights Act. These laws knocked down longstanding barriers to equality for African Americans. The laws did not end racism, but they laid the groundwork for future progress.

The civil rights movement helped inspire a renewed women's rights movement in the 1960s and 1970s. The core belief of this movement was that women and men should be socially, politically, and economically equal. Some women also wanted to change traditional ideas about women's roles, including the idea that women would be happiest as wives, mothers, and homemakers. This effort met with opposition from others—including some women—who believed in the importance of maintaining traditional family roles.

Women were not alone in questioning social norms. In the 1960s the **counterculture**—a rebellion of teenagers and young adults against mainstream American society—spread across the country. Many young people adopted unconventional values, clothing, and behavior, which shocked some mainstream Americans. Some young Americans questioned the government's actions in the Vietnam War.

READING SKILLS

Making Inferences Why do you think Canada underwent many of the same changes as the United States?

Changes in Canada Canada underwent many of the same economic and social changes. Government programs helped military veterans go to college, establish a business, or buy a home. The economy provided many jobs, and birthrates rose. Canada also had an active civil rights movement, women's movement, and counterculture. During the Vietnam War, Canada sheltered many American men who fled the military draft in the United States.

During the 1960s the province of Quebec experienced what was called the Quiet Revolution. This movement featured a growing nationalism among French-speaking residents of Quebec as well as a call for the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada. It remains a significant force in Canadian politics today.

READING CHECK Summarize What postwar changes took place in North America?

Western Europe

Western Europe faced a challenging future after World War II. But, in spite of the devastation left by the war, the region made a remarkable recovery.

Postwar Recovery At the end of World War II, much of Western Europe lay in ruins. Vast amounts of property and farmland had been destroyed, national economies had collapsed, and millions of people had been displaced from their homes.

Western Europe seemed to be on the brink of chaos. Nevertheless, chaos did not come, thanks in large part to the Marshall Plan. With American aid, Western Europe's factories and farms were producing more by the early 1950s than they had before the war. West Germany grew into a major economic power, and growth was strong in most other countries.

Prosperity did not eliminate poverty, however. Certain countries enjoyed more success than others, and the region endured some difficult economic times. When the availability of jobs attracted many immigrants from European nations' former colonies, the influx of people from different cultures caused strain in some places as Europeans struggled to adapt to the newcomers. The overall story of postwar



Western Europe, however, is one of remarkable success.

Alliances and Economic Unity World War II had changed Europe's place in the world. The continent was no longer the center of world power; instead, the United States and the Soviet Union were the centers of power. During the postwar years, European nations began to end longstanding rivalries with one another and work together for their common good. The formation of NATO in 1949 helped unify many European nations in a strong military alliance with the United States and Canada. Through NATO, countries that had warred for centuries now relied on each other for security. Despite ongoing tension with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Western Europe remained at peace during the Cold War.

Many nations in Western Europe also moved toward economic unity. Early efforts led to cooperation in the coal and steel industries and in the development of atomic energy. Over time, Western European countries undertook broader efforts to develop a single regional market free of trade barriers and with unified economic policies. The goal was to create a single market that might rival that of the United

In 1957 six European nations founded the European Economic Community, also known as the Common Market. In 1960, seven other European countries formed the rival European Free Trade Association. True economic unity in Europe, however, was still years in the future.

READING CHECK Find the Main Idea

Describe the economic recovery in Western Europe after World War II.

Eastern Europe and the **Soviet Union**

The challenges facing the Soviet Union and the Eastern European nations under its control were even more overwhelming than those facing Western Europe. Like Western Europe, however, the region soon began to recover.

The Postwar Soviet Union Tens of millions of Soviet citizens had been killed in World War II, and the nation's cities, farms, and industries had suffered heavy damage. Soviet

CONTRASTING ECONOMIC SYSTEMS COMMAND ECONOMIES MARKET ECONOMIES (such as the Soviet Union) (such as the United States) The government makes all The government has minimal economic decisions. involvement in the economy. The government decides what Market forces such as supply and goods and products to make and demand determine the type and how much to produce. quantity of goods and products. The government decides what Wages and prices are set largely wages to pay and what prices to by market forces. charge for goods. The government owns most Private citizens and businesses property. own most property.

dictator Joseph Stalin was determined to rebuild quickly. Remember that the Soviet Union had a centrally planned economy, or a command economy. In a command economy the government controls all economic decisions. Under strict government controls, the country was producing goods at prewar levels by 1953.

Nikita Khrushchev eventually became the leader of the Soviet Union and undertook an effort to "de-Stalinize" the Soviet Union, tearing down statues of Stalin and renaming streets and towns named after Stalin. Khrushchev also loosened some of the more drastic Stalin-era economic and political restrictions.

Despite these changes, Khrushchev and his successors remained committed Communists. They continued to limit the individual freedoms of Soviet citizens, and they maintained a generally hostile stance against the West.

Revolts in Eastern Europe The changes in the Soviet Union after Stalin's death led some in Eastern Europe to hope that the Soviets might end their domination of the region. Soviet leaders, however, made it clear that the reforms were limited. The Soviets used-or threatened—force to crush public protests in many countries and to assert their control. Soviet troops put down revolts in East Germany (1953), Poland (1956), Hungary (1956), and Czechoslovakia (1968).

Uprisings in Eastern Europe

POLAND CECHOSLOVAKIA HUNGARY

Revolutions swept across Eastern Europe in 1989 after Mikhail Gorbachev loosened Soviet controls on the region. **How did Eastern Europeans react** to Gorbachev's reforms?

ROMANIA



1 Polish demonstrators march in support of the democratic Solidarity movement.

The Soviet crackdowns did not end the protests in Eastern Europe. For example, in 1980 Polish electrician Lech Walesa led hundreds of thousands of workers in an anti-government protest movement known as Solidarity. Poland's Communist government used martial law to suppress this anti-Communist movement but could not destroy it.

Glasnost and Perestroika The Soviet economy that had performed so well after the war began to falter in the 1960s. By the 1980s the Soviet Union faced a crisis. The command economy system had worked when the country was establishing its basic industries; but as these industries expanded, central planning proved inefficient. Government planners set production goals with little regard for the wants and needs of the marketplace. These goals stressed heavy industry, neglecting the goods that consumers needed. As a result, most sectors of the Soviet economy ceased to grow.

When Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union in 1985, he saw the need for change. Gorbachev proposed two radical concepts: glasnost and perestroika. Glasnost means "openness," and it meant a willingness to discuss openly the Soviet Union's problems. Perestroika means "restructuring" and referred to the reform of the Soviet economic and political system.

HISTORY'S VOICES

• Perestroika is an urgent necessity . . . This society is ripe for change. It has long been yearning for it. Any delay in beginning perestroika could [lead] to ... serious social, economic and political crises.

-Mikhail Gorbachev, Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World, 1987

Gorbachev pushed through a number of major reforms. Hoping to reduce Soviet spending on weapons programs, he aggressively pursued arms control agreements with the United States. Gorbachev also reduced central planning of the Soviet economy and introduced some free-market mechanisms.

Knowing that the Soviet Union could no longer afford to prop up the Communist governments of Eastern Europe, Gorbachev began to pull Soviet troops out of the region, urging local leaders to adopt reforms. His actions reversed decades of Soviet policy in Eastern Europe.



Mikhail Gorbachev was the leader of the Soviet Union from 1985 to 1991. The son of Russian peasants, he joined the Soviet Communist

Party in the 1950s and rose steadily through the party's ranks. As Soviet leader, Gorbachev's primary goal was to rebuild the nation's stagnant economy. He called for major reforms of the Soviet economic and political system. Under his leadership the Soviet Union began to end its domination of Eastern Europe, Gorbachev also worked to build better relations with the United States and the West and is credited with helping bring an end to the Cold War. For his efforts to improve international relations, Gorbachev received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1990.

Summarize How did Gorbachev work to change the Soviet Union, and how did Soviet relations with the West change under his leadership?



2 The struggle for democracy turns violent in Romania, where tanks operated by pro-democracy troops fire on government supporters.



Thousands of Czechoslovakians protest against the nation's Communist regime.

Revolutions in Eastern Europe The citizens of Eastern Europe, longing for freedom, did not wait for reform. In 1989 revolution quickly spread across the region as citizens rose up and overthrew their Soviet-backed leaders. Gorbachev, no longer willing to keep Eastern Europe under control, did nothing to interfere.

In most cases, the revolutions were peaceful. In Czechoslovakia the Velvet Revolution so called because it was peaceful—pushed the Communists out of power. In Poland the Solidarity movement forced free elections, and in 1990 Lech Walesa was elected president. Only in Romania, where some military forces remained loyal to the Communist dictator, was there significant bloodshed.

Perhaps the most dramatic changes took place in East Germany. The changes began when Hungary opened its border with Austria in August 1989. By the thousands, East Germans traveled to Hungary to cross this nowopen border to the West. Powerless to stop the flood of its citizens streaming into West Germany, the East German government opened the gates of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. Overjoyed Berliners spontaneously began tearing down the wall. The strongest symbol of Soviet repression-and of the Cold War itself-had finally fallen. Less than one year later, East Germany and West Germany were reunified as a single nation.

READING CHECK Summarize What changes took place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe after World War II?

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Online Ouiz Keyword: SHL ENA HP

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- **1. a. Describe** How has the U.S. economy changed since World War II? **b. Identify Cause and Effect** What social changes did the United States experience in the postwar years?
- **2. a. Describe** What were the major problems facing Western Europe after
 - **b. Explain** What was the significance of NATO and of the formation of organizations such as the European Economic Community?
 - c. Elaborate How might economic unity have contributed to peace in Western Europe in the postwar years?
- **3. a. Recall** What were **glasnost** and **perestroika**?
 - **b. Compare** How did Stalin's death affect both the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe?
 - **c. Evaluate** What effect did glasnost and perestroika have on Eastern Europe?

Critical Thinking

4. Identify Supporting Details Using your notes on the section and a graphic organizer like the one below, identify 10 important events that took place during the postwar years in North America, Western Europe, and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and put the events in chronological order.



FOCUS ON SPEAKING



5. Persuasion Write an outline for a speech that Mikhail Gorbachev might have given to persuade the Soviet people to support his policies of glasnost and perestroika. Support your outline with details from the section.



After the Cold War

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

The Soviet Union collapsed in 1991 and the Cold War came to an end, bringing changes to Europe and leaving the United States as the world's only superpower.

READING FOCUS

- 1. How did the Soviet Union break up?
- 2. What changes occurred in Europe after communism ended?
- 3. What challenges does the United States face today?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Boris Yeltsin ethnic cleansing Internet Saddam Hussein Persian Gulf War al Qaeda Osama bin Laden Taliban

TAKING Take notes

on the

important events in the Soviet Union, Europe, and the United States after the Cold War ended.



THE INSIDE STORY

How long can the desire for freedom be held down? The crackdown began one cold Friday in January

1991, as Soviet Red Army tanks rumbled into Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania. Lithuania was a Soviet republic that had declared independence the previous spring. Soviet leaders had rejected this claim of independence but had taken little action to punish Lithuania—until this moment.

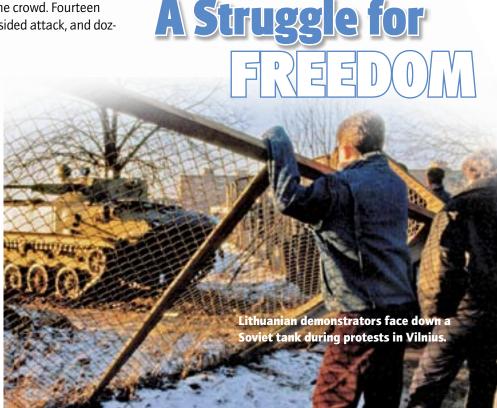
The Soviets quickly seized government buildings in Vilnius. But as Soviet tanks pushed toward the Vilnius radio and television broadcasting facilities, a crowd of 1,000 Lithuanian protestors met them. The protestors aimed to stop the Soviets from taking over the broadcast stations. In a violent response the Soviets opened fire on the unarmed protestors, driving the tanks through the crowd. Fourteen Lithuanians died during the brief, one-sided attack, and dozens more were injured.

Even as they faced the Soviet assault, the protestors did not give up. Inside the radio station one last defiant message was sent over the airwaves before the Soviets broke into the building: "It is possible that [the army] can break us with force," the broadcast declared, "but no one will make us renounce freedom and independence." Indeed, although the Soviets soon gained control of Vilnius, tens of thousands of protestors gathered in the city's center to march for independence. Lithuanians had died in the Soviet crackdown, but the desire for freedom could not be put down.

The Breakup of the Soviet Union

The 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of Soviet-backed regimes in Eastern Europe showed the dramatic crumbling of Soviet power. Soon the Soviet Union itself was falling apart.

The Soviet Union Collapses The Soviet Union consisted of 15 separate republics. Some, such as the Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, which had been independent nations before World War II, had



long wanted their freedom. When Lithuania declared independence in 1990, it appeared that other republics planned to do the same. Soviet troops occupied Lithuania, but it was far from certain that the Soviet government had the will—or the power—to stop the independence movement.

In fact, the Soviet government was in crisis. In August 1991 hard-line Communist Party leaders sought to end Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms and preserve the Soviet Union by taking over the Soviet government in a coup d'état. The effort failed, largely because of the opposition of Boris Yeltsin, the leader of the republic of Russia. Yeltsin favored even more radical changes for the Soviet Union than Gorbachev had proposed and did not want to see hard-liners take over the Soviet Union.

Although the coup had failed, Gorbachev's power was largely gone. Republic after republic declared independence; and by the end of 1991, the Soviet government had ceased to function. Twelve of the republics eventually united in a loose confederation known as the Commonwealth of Independent States; but the mighty Soviet Union, once one of the two most powerful countries on the globe, no longer existed. After more than 40 years of tension and conflict, the Cold War was finally over.

Economic Change With the fall of the Soviet Union came the end of communism in the former Soviet republics. In Russia, the largest republic, Boris Yeltsin began a massive campaign to alter the economy's basic structure. His goal was to make the economy function more like a capitalist system.

Under the new market reforms, Yeltsin began to allow private ownership of businesses and land. Business owners and workers received more freedom to take advantage of economic opportunity. In return, however, they lost the guarantee of a government-backed job and other government supports.

Early results of Russia's reforms were mixed. A few entrepreneurs prospered, but most ordinary Russians did not. Meanwhile, prices rose sharply, and many Russians could not afford to buy goods in stores. Some began to question the benefits of market reform.

By the early 2000s Russia had rebounded somewhat from the economic crises that came with market reform. Still, the path from communism to capitalism was not an easy one.

Other Issues After the Soviet Union fell, underlying issues in the region bubbled to the top. Two of these issues were ethnic unrest and the need for new governments.



One example of ethnic unrest took place in Chechnya (CHECH-nya), an area in the Caucasus region of southwestern Russia. Unlike the republics that had broken away from the Soviet Union, Chechnya was considered part of Russia. When the Chechens tried to gain their independence from Russia, the dispute eventually led to bloody fighting and to an insurgency that still affects the region today. Another example of ethnic conflict occurred in a former Soviet republic in the early 1990s when the ethnic Armenian minority sought to break away from the country of Azerbaijan. Tens of thousands died in the fighting that followed.

For some of the former republics, the transition from communism to a new government has been challenging. For example, Ukraine held an election in 2004. Among widespread charges of fraud, the election had to be repeated. Still controversial, the results of the elections left Ukraine deeply divided. Such transitions continue to trouble the region.

READING CHECK Summarize How and why did the Soviet Union break up?

Europe after Communism

The collapse of the iron curtain brought new opportunities and new challenges to Europe. The end of communism brought much economic change as well as new threats to peace.

Conflict in Yugoslavia In Eastern Europe, Communist governments had maintained strict control over their people. In Yugoslavia this control had helped suppress tensions between the many different ethnic and religious groups that lived in that country's six republics. But as communism slowly collapsed, those tensions began to come to the surface.

Feelings of nationalism in Yugoslavia's republics grew as ethnic and religious tensions increased. Some republics declared independence. Serbia—and ethnic Serbs living in other republics—tried to prevent the breakup of Yugoslavia, and conflict soon broke out in several republics.

The most violent of these wars took place in the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which





Identifying the Dead

Thousands of Bosnian Muslims were executed by Serb forces during the war in Bosnia, their bodies buried in mass graves. As a result, the human remains have become mixed together. Can such remains be identified?

What facts do we have? Scientists and human rights groups have created databases with data about the victims. One database collects information from close relatives of missing persons, including a description of the person's height, hair color, and other identifying features. This database also collects information about the clothing and personal items the person might have had on him or her at the time of death, such as eyeglasses, jewelry, or personal documents. This data is then compared to the corpses in the mass graves, while photographs of jewelry or clothing found on exhumed bodies are shown to relatives. One woman, for example, identified her husband by the socks found on his body.



▲ Scientists gather remains from a mass grave in Bosnia.

Another database is a DNA database. The International Commission for Missing Persons has collected DNA samples from the bodies and from the relatives of missing people. Scientists then compare these DNA samples in order to match family members. By 2006 nearly 10,500 bodies had been identified through DNA testing.

Draw Conclusions Why do you think it is important for people to identify the remains of their loved ones?



declared its independence from Yugoslavia in 1992. Many Bosnian Serbs wanted to remain part of Yugoslavia, and they began a war to prevent Bosnian independence. During this war, Serbs used a policy of ethnic cleansing against Bosnian Muslims. Ethnic cleansing is the elimination of an ethnic group from society through killing or forced emigration. After much bloodshed a U.S.-led diplomatic effort finally ended the violence in Bosnia in 1995.

Soon after, another conflict began in the region. This time, fighting was located in the Serbian province of Kosovo, where Serbs and ethnic Albanians fought over control of the area. In the spring of 1999, after peace negotiations had failed, NATO airplanes bombed Serbian targets in an attempt to stop the conflict. NATO peacekeepers eventually took up positions in the region to help maintain order, although Kosovo remains a Serbian province today.

Economic Change The end of communism brought mixed results for the economies of Eastern Europe. The introduction of market reforms created new opportunities for many people. Some started new businesses. The highly skilled got well-paying management or

technical jobs in newly private enterprises.

Others in Eastern Europe have fared less well. Earnings have not risen for all workers, and many state-supported factories have closed, leading to high unemployment in some areas. These economic problems have led many Eastern Europeans to move to Western Europe, hoping to take advantage of opportunities there. This has led to strain in some parts of Western Europe, as newcomers compete with longtime residents for jobs and other resources.

The European Union Ongoing efforts to build an economic and political union among the nations of Europe resulted in the establishment of the European Union (EU) in 1992. In recent years a number of Eastern European nations and former Soviet republics have joined the EU, and others are scheduled to join in 2007. These steps have created a single economic unit that is large enough to compete with the United States. Many of the newer members, however, are far poorer than the older Western Europe members. As a result, some people in the wealthier nations worry that their own economies will suffer.

READING CHECK Summarize How has Europe changed since the end of communism?



A proposed European Constitution would further unify the members of the EU. All member states need to ratify the treaty for it to take effect; by mid-2006, 15 of the 25 members had ratified it.

The United States Today

The end of the Cold War affected the economic, political, and military situation facing the United States. In the 1990s and 2000s the nation adjusted to this new reality.

The Economy For the United States the 1990s was a time of economic success. Economic growth was strong and unemployment was low. Even the budget deficits that had

RECENT U.S. MILITARY **INVOLVEMENT, 2001-PRESENT**



Afghanistan, 2001–present

Invasion to overthrow the Taliban government and fight al Qaeda

Iraq, 2003–present

• Invasion to overthrow Saddam Hussein and establish democratic government

Haiti, 2004

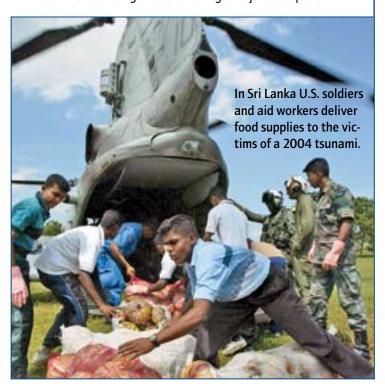
• Peacekeeping efforts after Haiti's leader was overthrown

South Asia, 2004–2005

Humanitarian aid following a devastating tsunami

Pakistan, 2005–2006

• Relief and rebuilding efforts following a major earthquake



grown so alarmingly in the 1980s shrank and disappeared by the end of the decade.

Much of the success of the 1990s came from developments in computer technology. The growing availability of powerful, inexpensive computers helped businesses more efficiently store, manage, and use information. Computer software, equipment, and knowledge-known as information technology, or IT—improved rapidly, helping workers in many industries become more productive.

The 1990s also saw the emergence and rapid growth of the Internet, a system of networks that connects computers around the world. The development of Internet technology seemed to create tremendous opportunities for commerce. Entrepreneurs started hundreds of Internet-related companies known as dotcoms, after the ".com" that appears in many Internet addresses. Investors eagerly bought billions of dollars worth of stock in dot-coms, but many had gone out of business by the end of the decade, contributing to a slowdown of the U.S. economy.

Although the economy began to improve in the early 2000s, high energy costs, increased government spending, and a rising national debt remained areas of economic concern. At the same time, the gap between the incomes of the richest and poorest Americans continued to widen. The U.S. poverty rate also increased during the early 2000s, leading to a higher rate than in most other industrialized nations.

New Conflicts Even as the Cold War was coming to an end, the United States faced a new conflict in the Middle East. Iraq, led by dictator Saddam Hussein, attacked neighboring Kuwait in August 1990. The invasion troubled the United States in part because Iraq seemed to threaten the oil supplies produced by Kuwait and nearby Saudi Arabia.

After negotiations failed to convince Iraq to leave Kuwait, the United States led a multinational force into battle in the Persian Gulf War. The coalition troops quickly freed Kuwait, and Saddam agreed to obey firm new limits on his military forces and weapons.

U.S. forces also took part in peacekeeping missions around the globe, including the NATO operations in Kosovo. In the early 1990s, 43 American soldiers died in the African country of Somalia when the UN famine relief program

they were assisting became involved in conflict. In 1994 U.S. forces helped restore Haiti's elected government after a coup.

U.S. leaders also continued to work toward a solution to the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. There were some bright spots, including the 1993 Oslo Accords, in which the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) recognized Israel's right to exist and Israel recognized the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. Overall, however, the conflict continued to defy a peaceful resolution.

The War on Terror The 1990s also saw the beginning of a series of terrorist attacks on American targets within the United States and overseas, including bombings of the World Trade Center, in New York City, in 1993 and the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998. Over time, U.S. officials began to see that these and other attacks were planned and carried out by the Islamist terrorist organization al Qaeda, which was led by Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden saw the United States as an enemy of Islam and claimed that his goal of a worldwide Islamic revolution required the destruction of the United States.

Al Qaeda launched its deadliest attack on September 11, 2001. On that day, terrorists hijacked four passenger airplanes and crashed them into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, outside Washington, D.C. One plane crashed in rural Pennsylvania. Nearly 3,000 people died in the attacks.

In what soon became known as the war on terror or the war on terrorism, U.S. officials responded quickly to the attacks, targeting al Qaeda and the Taliban. The Taliban was a group that was then governing Afghanistan according to a strict interpretation of Islamic law. The Taliban supported and protected members of al Qaeda. In the fall of 2001, a U.S.-led military campaign invaded Afghanistan and forced out the Taliban.

President George W. Bush then focused on Iraq. Saddam Hussein had used chemical weapons against Iran in the 1980s, and some U.S. officials claimed that he still possessed such weapons and that he supported anti-American terrorist organizations.

A U.S.-led invasion attacked Iraq in March 2003 and quickly toppled the Iraqi government. American weapons inspectors, however, failed to find stockpiles of biological or chemical weapons or any evidence proving Saddam had a role in the September 11 attacks.

After the invasion U.S. and coalition forces occupied Iraq and began a massive rebuilding program. Iraqis elected a new government and approved a new constitution, but the nation faced ongoing violence as religious extremists and former Saddam loyalists attacked non-Iragis as well as Iragis who cooperated with foreign troops. As U.S. and Iraqi casualties increased, it became clear that rebuilding a stable Iraq would take years.

READING CHECK Summarize What threats does the United States face today?



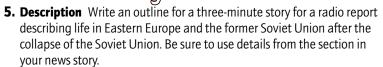
Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- **1. a. Recall** What events led to the breakup of the Soviet Union? **b. Identify Cause and Effect** How did the breakup of the Soviet Union affect Russia and the other former Soviet republics?
 - c. Make Judgments Was the end of communism in the Soviet Union positive or negative for the former Soviet republics? Explain your answer.
- 2. a. Recall Which country experienced widespread ethnic conflict following the collapse of its Communist regime?
 - **b. Make Generalizations** What effect did the fall of communism have on European economies?
- **3. a. Identify** How have al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden affected U.S. policy in the post–Cold War era?
 - **b. Summarize** How has the U.S. economy changed in the years following the end of the Cold War?
 - **c. Evaluate** Do you think the United States has become safer and more secure since the end of the Cold War, or less so? Explain.

Critical Thinking

4. Identify Supporting Details Use your notes on the section and a graphic organizer like this one to describe the similarities and differences among the former Soviet Union, other parts of Europe, and the United States during the years after the Cold War.

FOCUS ON SPEAKING



HISTORY & Geography

The Nuclear Age

Today nuclear weapons and other nuclear materials are found around the world. Although nuclear materials can be used for peaceful purposes, the spread of nuclear weapons poses a serious threat to the world's safety. Mounted on long-range missiles, these weapons can travel thousands of miles in minutes and in the hands of terrorists or aggressive governments could cause widespread devastation.

As fears of nuclear war grew during the Cold War, so did international efforts to limit nuclear weapons. By 2006 nearly all the world's nations had signed an agreement pledging to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons. Still, at least nine nations possess nuclear weapons today and others are believed to be secretly developing such weapons.

GLOBAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS, 1945-2005 70 60 50 40 Nuclear Weapons (in thousands) 30 20 1945 1975 Year Sources: Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists; Global Security Newswire



TIME LINE

Nuclear Weapons



July 16, 1945 In New Mexico, the United States tests the world's first atomic bomb.



its first atomic bomb, years earlier than most U.S. experts had predicted.



1972 Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev and U.S. president Richard Nixon sign the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.





1983 U.S. president Ronald Reagan proposes the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), a missile defense system in space.



2006 North Korea continues to develop nuclear weapons at its Yongbyon nuclear facility.

SKILLS INTERPRETING MAPS

- **1. Place** Which countries have nuclear weapons?
- 2. Regions Which areas of the world have the greatest number of nuclear facilities? Do all countries with nuclear facilities have nuclear weapons?

Document-Based Investigation

The Collapse of the Soviet Union

Historical Context The documents below provide information about the final years of the Soviet Union.

Task Study the selections and answer the questions that follow. After you have studied all the documents, you will be asked to write an essay about the collapse of the Soviet Union. You will need to use evidence from these selections and from the chapter to support the position you take in your essay.

DOCUMENT 1

A Cartoonist's View

The cartoon at right, created by the American artist Dick Adair, shows a crowd of angry Soviet citizens protesting conditions in their country. The men looking down at the crowd represent Soviet government officials and military leaders.



DOCUMENT 2

A U.S. Intelligence Report

The following document is an excerpt from a June 1991 Central Intelligence Agency report to the U.S. Congress.

Six years after Mikhail Gorbachev launched the policies and reforms that have come to be known as *perestroyka*, the Soviet economy is in crisis. Output is declining at an accelerating rate, inflation threatens to rage out of control, interregional trade has broken down, and the center and the republics are engaged in a fierce political struggle over the future of the multinational state . . . Even if reform proceeds anew, tough economic times are in store for the Soviets.

DOCUMENT (3)

The Soviet Premier's Complaint

At a government meeting in October 1990, the premier of the Soviet Union, Nikolai Ryzhkov, complained about the country's deteriorating situation.

How long can we take this?! The government has turned into whipping boys! No one listens to us! You summon someone and they don't even show up! No one follows directions! The country is out of control! We're in the midst of a complete collapse! All the media are against us . . . We have to get back the support of [Soviet newspapers] . . . And get rid of, fire, half of those in television.

DOCUMENT 4

Mikhail Gorbachev's Opinion

Former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev wrote about the causes of the nation's collapse in his 2000 book, On My Country and the World.

Were there problems in the Soviet Union, including ethnic problems? Yes, there were political, economic, and social problems—and problems between nationalities . . .

[Under Stalin's rule the Soviet Union's] borders were carved out arbitrarily, the rights of one or another nationality were flagrantly violated, and during and immediately after World War II many nationalities were subjected to wholesale repression. They were deported from their ancient homelands and resettled in remote parts of the country. Tens of thousands of people perished in the process. Even under these conditions, however, closer ties and joint efforts among the various nationalities in the Soviet Union allowed all of them to accelerate their development sharply . . . The different nations and nationalities grew stronger, and each acquired an increasingly profound sense of its own identity.

In other words, contradictory processes were at work . . . Severe problems accumulated and were not resolved. Why did this happen? The official conception was that relations among the nationalities . . . were in sufficiently good shape, that in general there were no serious problems.

DOCUMENT 5

Ronald Reagan's View

During a January 1989 speech, U.S. president Ronald Reagan remembered a visit to the Soviet Union.

Once, during the heady days of the Moscow summit, Nancy [Reagan] and I decided to ... visit the shops on Arbat Street—that's a little street just off Moscow's main shopping area. Even though our visit was a surprise, every Russian there immediately recognized us and called out our names and reached for our hands. We were just about swept away by the warmth. You could almost feel the possibilities in all that joy. But within seconds, [Soviet secret police] pushed their way toward us and began pushing and shoving the people in the crowd. It was an interesting moment. It reminded me that while the man on the street in the Soviet Union yearns for peace, the government is Communist. And those who run it are Communists, and that means we and they view such issues as freedom and human rights very differently.

We must keep up our quard, but we must also continue to work together to lessen and eliminate tension and mistrust. My view is that President Gorbachev is different from previous Soviet leaders. I think he knows some of the things wrong with his society and is trying to fix them. We wish him well.



READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

DOCUMENT 1

- **a. Describe** What are Soviet citizens complaining about?
- **b. Analyze** According to the cartoonist, how are Soviet officials reacting to these problems?

DOCUMENT 2

- **a. Recall** What does the report say about the Soviet Union?
- **b. Evaluate** Would the authors of this document agree or disagree with Document 1?

DOCUMENT 3

- **a. Identify** What is Ryzhkov complaining about?
- **b. Interpret** Does he believe the government is responsible for the country's problems? Explain your answer.

DOCUMENT 4

a. Summarize What problems does Gorbachev say the Soviet Union had?

b. Interpret Does he blame Soviet officials for contributing to this problem?

DOCUMENT 5

- **a. Recall** What does Reagan believe his experience showed about the nature of the Communist Soviet Union?
- **b. Interpret** Do you think he was biased about the Soviet system? Why or why not?

DOCUMENT-BASED ESSAY QUESTION



What events or causes helped bring about the collapse of the Soviet Union? Using the documents above and information from the chapter, form a thesis that explains your position. Then write a short essay to support your position.

See Skills Handbook, pp. H25, H27, H33

Chapter Review

VISUAL STUDY GUIDE



Causes and Effects of the Cold War

CAUSES

Systems of Government

- Soviet Union was a Communist dictatorship.
- United States is a democratic republic.

Postwar Conflict

- Both sides disagreed over Eastern Europe.
- Soviet Union established Communist governments throughout Eastern Europe.
- United States resisted Soviet expansion and aided countries seeking to resist communism.

Cold War

EFFECTS

Military

- Arms race between Soviet Union and United States led to the threat of nuclear war.
- Confrontations took place around the world, including Germany, Cuba, Korea, and many other locations.

Political

- Both sides formed a variety of alliances.
- Soviet Union eventually collapsed, and United States became the world's sole superpower.

Major Events in Europe and North America since 1945

- **1948** Berlin airlift begins
- **1949** NATO forms
- **1950** Korean War starts
- **1952** United States tests hydrogen bomb
- 1955 Warsaw Pact forms
- **1957** Soviets launch *Sputnik*
- **1961** Construction begins on Berlin Wall
- **1962** Cuban missile crisis takes place
- 1972 SALT I agreement is signed
- **1985** Mikhail Gorbachev comes to power
- 1988 Major arms control agreement is reached
- 1989 Iron curtain begins to crumble in Eastern Europe
- **1991** Soviet Union collapses
- **1992** European Union established
- **2001** Al Qaeda attacks the United States
- **2003** United States invades Iraq

Review Key Terms and People

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance to Europe or North America between 1945 and the present.

- 1. containment
- 2. perestroika
- 3. Saddam Hussein
- 4. Sputnik
- **5.** iron curtain

- 6. détente
- 7. hydrogen bomb
- 8. Marshall Plan
- 9. al Qaeda
- 10. Cold War

History's Impact video program

Review the video to answer the closing question: How has the European Union changed the way Europeans live today?



Comprehension and Critical Thinking

SECTION 1 (pp. 877–881)

11. a. Recall When and why did Cold War tensions begin to appear?

b. Contrast How did Allied plans for Eastern Europe differ?

c. Make Judgments Was the U.S. policy of containment effective at preventing the spread of communism? Why or why not?

SECTION 2 (pp. 882–887)

12. a. Describe How did the United States and Soviet Union compete during the Cold War?

b. Identify Cause and Effect What were the causes and effects of the Cuban missile crisis?

c. Elaborate Why do you think the United States and the Soviet Union cared about having influence in countries around the world?

SECTION 3 (pp. 888–893)

13. a. Identify How did cultural changes affect the United States in the years after World War II?

b. Identify Cause and Effect Why did Mikhail Gorbachev propose glasnost and perestroika?

c. Make Judgments How effective do you think the Soviet system was at controlling public dissent? Explain your answer.

SECTION 4 (pp. 894–899)

14. a. Describe What events brought about the breakup of the Soviet Union?

b. Summarize What threats has the United States faced since the end of the Cold War?

c. Evaluate Was the end of communism in Eastern Europe completely positive for those nations? Why or why not?

Reading Skills

Making Inferences Use what you know about making inferences to answer the questions below.

- 15. Given what you know about the Cold War, how do you think Americans reacted to the Soviet test of a hydrogen bomb in 1953?
- **16.** How do you think Soviet citizens responded to Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika?

Analyzing Primary Sources

Reading Like a Historian This photograph shows demonstrators in the Soviet republic of Lithuania in 1991, protesting the Soviet military crackdown after Lithuania declared its independence.



- **17. Describe** How would you describe the people taking part in this protest?
- **18.** Infer Why do you think the protest march was a peaceful march instead of a violent uprising?

Using the Internet

go.hrw.com Practice Online Keyword: SHL ENA

19. The Cold War and the fear of nuclear war had a profound effect on people in the United States, the Soviet Union, and around the world. Using the Internet, research the effects of Cold War anxieties on movies, books, and other aspects of popular culture. Then write an illustrated report about your findings.

WRITING ABOUT HISTORY



Persuasion: Writing an Evaluation *During the* Cold War, each side developed weapons that were capable of completely destroying the enemy. Defense strategies centered on the idea that the threat of massive nuclear retaliation would deter the enemy from starting a conflict.

20. Assignment: In an essay, evaluate the wisdom of a war strategy that involved the assured destruction of both sides. To provide support for your evaluation, use information from this chapter and from other research as needed.