

Restructuring the Postwar World, 1945–Present

Previewing Main Ideas

ECONOMICS Two conflicting economic systems, capitalism and communism, competed for influence and power after World War II. The superpowers in this struggle were the United States and the Soviet Union.

Geography Study the map and the key. What does the map show about the state of the world in 1949?

REVOLUTION In Asia, the Americas, and Eastern Europe, people revolted against repressive governments or rule by foreign powers. These revolutions often became the areas for conflict between the two superpowers.

Geography Look at the map. Which of the three areas mentioned was not Communist in 1949?

EMPIRE BUILDING The United States and the Soviet Union used military, economic, and humanitarian aid to extend their control over other countries. Each also tried to prevent the other superpower from gaining influence.

Geography Why might the clear-cut division shown on this map be misleading?

INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY

eEdition

- Interactive Maps
- Interactive Visuals
- Interactive Primary Sources



INTERNET RESOURCES

- Go to classzone.com for:
- Research Links
 - Internet Activities
 - Primary Sources
 - Chapter Quiz
 - Maps
 - Test Practice
 - Current Events

WORLD

1945



◀ United Nations formed.

1949
Communists take control of China.

1957
Soviets launch *Sputnik*.

1959
Cuba becomes Communist.
(Fidel Castro) ▶

1965



Cold War Enemies, 1949



1969

U.S. lands
astronauts
on the moon. ►



1975

Vietnam War
ends.

1990

Communists voted
out of power in
Nicaragua.

2000

South Korea and North Korea
meet to improve relations.

1985



1973

Arab forces attack
Israel in the Yom
Kippur War.

1989

► Berlin Wall is
knocked down
in Germany.

2003

First all-race election
in South Africa is held.
(Nelson Mandela) ►



If you were president, what policies would you follow to gain allies?

World War II has ended. You are the leader of a great superpower—one of two in the world. To keep the balance of power in your nation's favor, you want to gain as many allies as possible. You are particularly interested in gaining the support of nations in Africa, Asia, and Central and South America who do not yet favor either superpower.

You call your advisers together to develop policies for making uncommitted nations your allies.



EXAMINING *the issues*

- How might the actions taken affect your country? the other superpower?
- How might being caught in a struggle between superpowers affect a developing nation?

As a class, discuss how the conflict between the superpowers affects the rest of the world. As you read about how the superpowers tried to gain allies, notice the part weaker countries played in their conflict.

Cold War: Superpowers Face Off

MAIN IDEA

ECONOMICS The opposing economic and political philosophies of the United States and the Soviet Union led to global competition.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The conflicts between the United States and the Soviet Union played a major role in reshaping the modern world.

TERMS & NAMES

- United Nations
- Cold War
- iron curtain
- NATO
- containment
- Warsaw Pact
- Truman Doctrine
- brinkmanship
- Marshall Plan

SETTING THE STAGE During World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union had joined forces to fight against the Germans. The Soviet army marched west; the Americans marched east. When the Allied soldiers met at the Elbe River in Germany in 1945, they embraced each other warmly because they had defeated the Nazis. Their leaders, however, regarded each other much more coolly. This animosity caused by competing political philosophies would lead to a nearly half-century of conflict called the Cold War.

Allies Become Enemies

Even before World War II ended, the U.S. alliance with the Soviet Union had begun to unravel. The United States was upset that Joseph Stalin, the Soviet leader, had signed a nonaggression pact with Germany in 1939. Later, Stalin blamed the Allies for not invading German-occupied Europe earlier than 1944. Driven by these and other disagreements, the two allies began to pursue opposing goals.

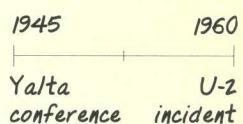
Yalta Conference: A Postwar Plan The war was not yet over in February 1945. But the leaders of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union met at the Soviet Black Sea resort of Yalta. There, they agreed to divide Germany into zones of occupation controlled by the Allied military forces. Germany also would have

► Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin meet at Yalta in 1945.



TAKING NOTES

Following Chronological Order Organize important early Cold War events in a time line.



to pay the Soviet Union to compensate for its loss of life and property. Stalin agreed to join the war against Japan. He also promised that Eastern Europeans would have free elections. A skeptical Winston Churchill predicted that Stalin would keep his pledge only if the Eastern Europeans followed “a policy friendly to Russia.”

Creation of the United Nations In June 1945, the United States and the Soviet Union temporarily set aside their differences. They joined 48 other countries in forming the **United Nations** (UN). This international organization was intended to protect the members against aggression. It was to be based in New York.

The charter for the new peacekeeping organization established a large body called the General Assembly. There, each UN member nation could cast its vote on a broad range of issues. An 11-member body called the Security Council had the real power to investigate and settle disputes, though. Its five permanent members were Britain, China, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union. Each could veto any Security Council action. This provision was intended to prevent any members of the Council from voting as a bloc to override the others.

Differing U.S. and Soviet Goals Despite agreement at Yalta and their presence on the Security Council, the United States and the Soviet Union split sharply after the war. The war had affected them very differently. The United States, the world’s richest and most powerful country, suffered 400,000 deaths. But its cities and factories remained intact. The Soviet Union had at least 50 times as many fatalities. One in four Soviets was wounded or killed. Also, many Soviet cities were demolished. These contrasting situations, as well as political and economic differences, affected the two countries’ postwar goals. (See chart below.) **A**

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

A Why did the United States and the Soviet Union split after the war?

Superpower Aims in Europe

INTERACTIVE

United States

- Encourage democracy in other countries to help prevent the rise of Communist governments
- Gain access to raw materials and markets to fuel booming industries
- Rebuild European governments to promote stability and create new markets for U.S. goods
- Reunite Germany to stabilize it and increase the security of Europe

Soviet Union

- Encourage communism in other countries as part of a worldwide workers’ revolution
- Rebuild its war-ravaged economy using Eastern Europe’s industrial equipment and raw materials
- Control Eastern Europe to protect Soviet borders and balance the U.S. influence in Western Europe
- Keep Germany divided to prevent its waging war again



SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps and Charts

- Drawing Conclusions** Which countries separated the Soviet Union from Western Europe?
- Comparing** Which U.S. and Soviet aims in Europe conflicted?

Eastern Europe's Iron Curtain

A major goal of the Soviet Union was to shield itself from another invasion from the west. Centuries of history had taught the Soviets to fear invasion. Because it lacked natural western borders, Russia fell victim to each of its neighbors in turn. In the 17th century, the Poles captured the Kremlin. During the next century, the Swedes attacked. Napoleon overran Moscow in 1812. The Germans invaded Russia during World Wars I and II.

Soviets Build a Buffer As World War II drew to a close, the Soviet troops pushed the Nazis back across Eastern Europe. At war's end, these troops occupied a strip of countries along the Soviet Union's own western border. Stalin regarded these countries as a necessary buffer, or wall of protection. He ignored the Yalta agreement and installed or secured Communist governments in Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland, and Yugoslavia.

The Soviet leader's American partner at Yalta, Franklin D. Roosevelt, had died on April 12, 1945. To Roosevelt's successor, Harry S. Truman, Stalin's reluctance to allow free elections in Eastern European nations was a clear violation of those countries' rights. Truman, Stalin, and Churchill met at Potsdam, Germany, in July 1945. There, Truman pressed Stalin to permit free elections in Eastern Europe. The Soviet leader refused. In a speech in early 1946, Stalin declared that communism and capitalism could not exist in the same world.

An Iron Curtain Divides East and West Europe now lay divided between East and West. Germany had been split into two sections. The Soviets controlled the eastern part, including half of the capital, Berlin. Under a Communist government, East Germany was named the German Democratic Republic. The western zones became the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949. Winston Churchill described the division of Europe:

MAIN IDEA

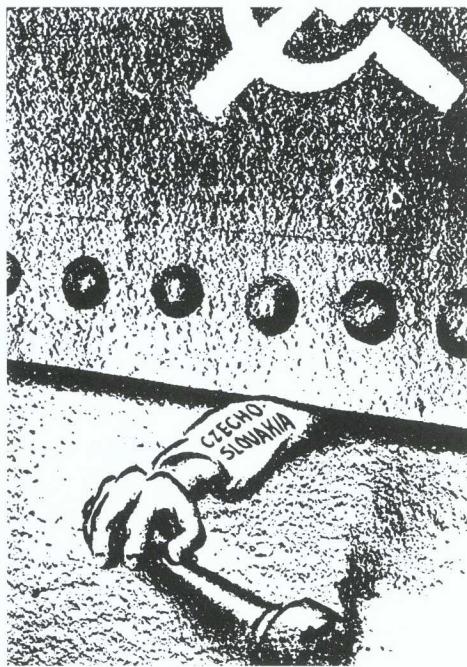
Analyzing Primary Sources
B Why might Winston Churchill use "iron curtain" to refer to the division between Western and Eastern Europe?

PRIMARY SOURCE **B**

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. . . . All these famous cities and the populations around them lie in the Soviet sphere and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, "Iron Curtain" speech, March 5, 1946

Churchill's phrase "**iron curtain**" came to represent Europe's division into mostly democratic Western Europe and Communist Eastern Europe.



▲ The Iron Curtain is shown dropping on Czechoslovakia in this 1948 political cartoon.

United States Tries to Contain Soviets

U.S.-Soviet relations continued to worsen in 1946 and 1947. An increasingly worried United States tried to offset the growing Soviet threat to Eastern Europe. President Truman adopted a foreign policy called **containment**. It was a policy directed at blocking Soviet influence and stopping the expansion of communism. Containment policies included forming alliances and helping weak countries resist Soviet advances.

The Truman Doctrine In a speech asking Congress for foreign aid for Turkey and Greece, Truman contrasted democracy with communism:

PRIMARY SOURCE

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions . . . free elections . . . and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression . . . fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms. I believe it must be the policy of the United States to support free people . . . resisting attempted subjugation [control] by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN, speech to Congress, March 12, 1947

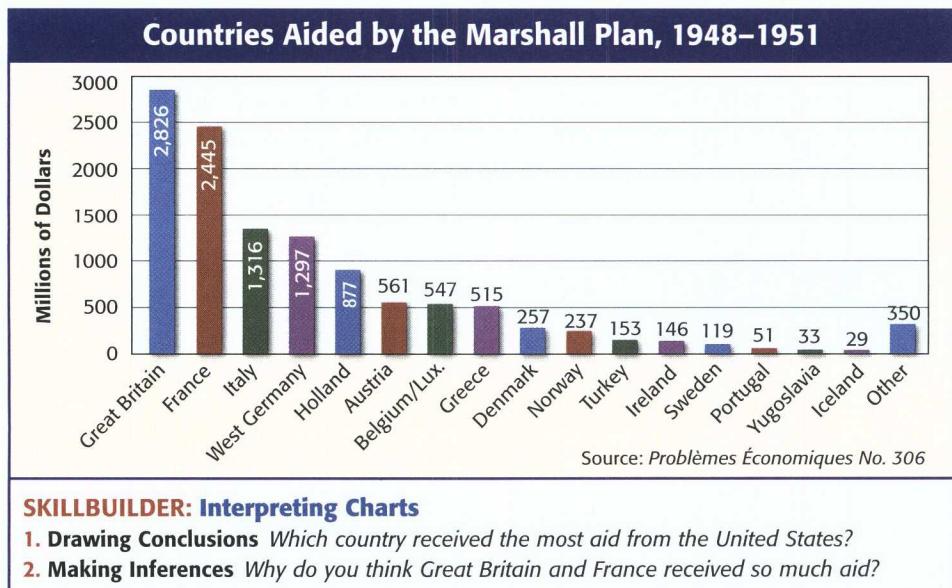
Truman's support for countries that rejected communism was called the **Truman Doctrine**. It caused great controversy. Some opponents objected to American interference in other nations' affairs. Others argued that the United States could not afford to carry on a global crusade against communism. Congress, however, immediately authorized more than \$400 million in aid to Turkey and Greece.

The Marshall Plan Much of Western Europe lay in ruins after the war. There was also economic turmoil—a scarcity of jobs and food. In 1947, U.S. Secretary of State George Marshall proposed that the United States give aid to needy European countries. This assistance program, called the **Marshall Plan**, would provide food, machinery, and other materials to rebuild Western Europe. (See chart.) As Congress debated the \$12.5 billion program in 1948, the Communists seized power in Czechoslovakia. Congress immediately voted approval. The plan was a spectacular success. Even Communist Yugoslavia received aid after it broke away from Soviet domination. 

MAIN IDEA

Making Inferences

What was Truman's major reason for offering aid to other countries?



The Berlin Airlift While Europe began rebuilding, the United States and its allies clashed with the Soviet Union over Germany. The Soviets wanted to keep their former enemy weak and divided. But in 1948, France, Britain, and the United States decided to withdraw their forces from Germany and allow their occupation zones to form one nation. The Soviet Union responded by holding West Berlin hostage.

Although Berlin lay well within the Soviet occupation zone of Germany, it too had been divided into four zones. (See map on next page.) The Soviet Union cut off highway, water, and rail traffic into Berlin's western zones. The city faced starvation. Stalin gambled that the Allies would surrender West Berlin or give up

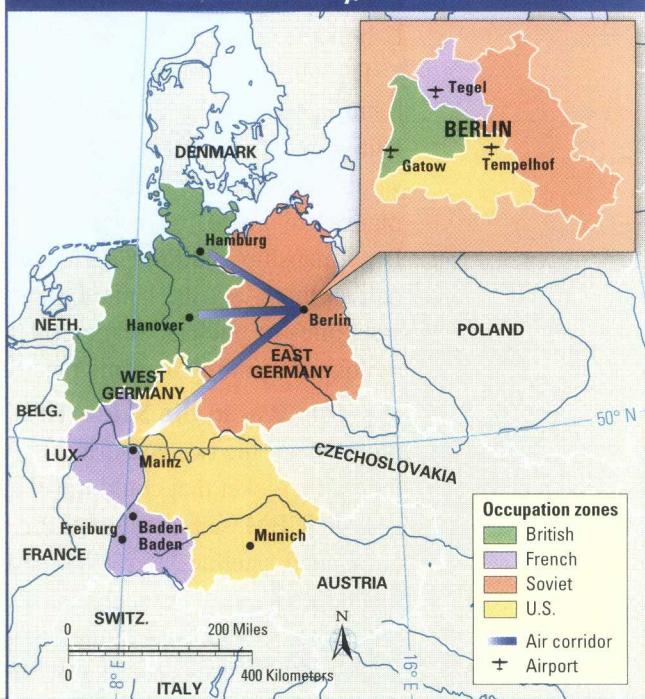
History in Depth

The Berlin Airlift

From June 1948 to May 1949, Allied planes took off and landed every three minutes in West Berlin. On 278,000 flights, pilots brought in 2.3 million tons of food, fuel, medicine, and even Christmas gifts to West Berliners.



Divided Germany, 1948–1949



MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

What Soviet actions led to the Berlin airlift?

their idea of reunifying Germany. But American and British officials flew food and supplies into West Berlin for nearly 11 months. In May 1949, the Soviet Union admitted defeat and lifted the blockade.

The Cold War Divides the World

These conflicts marked the start of the **Cold War** between the United States and the Soviet Union. A cold war is a struggle over political differences carried on by means short of military action or war. Beginning in 1949, the superpowers used spying, propaganda, diplomacy, and secret operations in their dealings with each other. Much of the world allied with one side or the other. In fact, until the Soviet Union finally broke up in 1991, the Cold War dictated not only U.S. and Soviet foreign policy, but influenced world alliances as well.

Superpowers Form Rival Alliances The Berlin blockade heightened Western Europe's fears of Soviet aggression. As a result, in 1949, ten western European nations joined with the United States and Canada to form a defensive military alliance. It was called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (**NATO**). An attack on any NATO member would be met with armed force by all member nations.

The Soviet Union saw NATO as a threat and formed its own alliance in 1955. It was called the **Warsaw Pact** and included the Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania. In 1961, the East Germans built a wall to separate East and West Berlin. The Berlin Wall symbolized a world divided into rival camps. However, not every country joined the new alliances. Some, like India, chose not to align with either side. And China, the largest Communist country, came to distrust the Soviet Union. It remained nonaligned.

The Threat of Nuclear War As these alliances were forming, the Cold War threatened to heat up enough to destroy the world. The United States already had atomic bombs. In 1949, the Soviet Union exploded its own atomic weapon. President Truman was determined to develop a more deadly weapon before the Soviets did. He authorized work on a thermonuclear weapon in 1950.

The hydrogen or H-bomb would be thousands of times more powerful than the A-bomb. Its power came from the fusion, or joining together, of atoms, rather than the splitting of atoms, as in the A-bomb. In 1952, the United States tested the first H-bomb. The Soviets exploded their own in 1953.

Dwight D. Eisenhower became the U.S. president in 1953. He appointed the firmly anti-Communist John Foster Dulles as his secretary of state. If the Soviet Union or its supporters attacked U.S. interests, Dulles threatened, the United States would "retaliate instantly, by means and at places of our own choosing." This willingness to go to the brink, or edge, of war became known as **brinkmanship**. Brinkmanship required a reliable source of nuclear weapons and airplanes to deliver them. So, the United States strengthened its air force and began producing stockpiles of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union responded with its own military buildup, beginning an arms race that would go on for four decades. **E**

The Cold War in the Skies The Cold War also affected the science and education programs of the two countries. In August 1957, the Soviets announced the development of a rocket that could travel great distances—an intercontinental ballistic missile, or ICBM. On October 4, the Soviets used an ICBM to push *Sputnik*, the first unmanned satellite, above the earth's atmosphere. Americans felt they had fallen behind in science and technology, and the government poured money into science education. In 1958, the United States launched its own satellite.

In 1960, the skies again provided the arena for a superpower conflict. Five years earlier, Eisenhower had proposed that the United States and the Soviet Union be able to fly over each other's territory to guard against surprise nuclear attacks. The Soviet Union said no. In response, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) started secret high-altitude spy flights over Soviet territory in planes called U-2s. In May 1960, the Soviets shot down a U-2 plane, and its pilot, Francis Gary Powers, was captured. This U-2 incident heightened Cold War tensions.

While Soviet Communists were squaring off against the United States, Communists in China were fighting a civil war for control of that country.

MAIN IDEA

Recognizing Effects

E How did the U.S. policy of brinkmanship contribute to the arms race?

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

TERMS & NAMES

1. For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

• United Nations • iron curtain • containment • Truman Doctrine • Marshall Plan • Cold War • NATO • Warsaw Pact • brinkmanship

USING YOUR NOTES

2. Which effect of the Cold War was the most significant? Explain.



MAIN IDEAS

3. What was the purpose in forming the United Nations?
4. What was the goal of the Marshall Plan?
5. What were the goals of NATO and the Warsaw Pact?

CRITICAL THINKING & WRITING

6. **COMPARING AND CONTRASTING** What factors help to explain why the United States and the Soviet Union became rivals instead of allies?
7. **ANALYZING MOTIVES** What were Stalin's objectives in supporting Communist governments in Eastern Europe?
8. **ANALYZING ISSUES** Why might Berlin be a likely spot for trouble to develop during the Cold War?
9. **WRITING ACTIVITY** **ECONOMICS** Draw a political cartoon that shows either capitalism from the Soviet point of view or communism from the U.S. point of view.

INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY INTERNET ACTIVITY

Use the Internet to research NATO today. Prepare a chart listing members today and the date they joined. Then compare it with a list of the founding members.

INTERNET KEYWORD

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

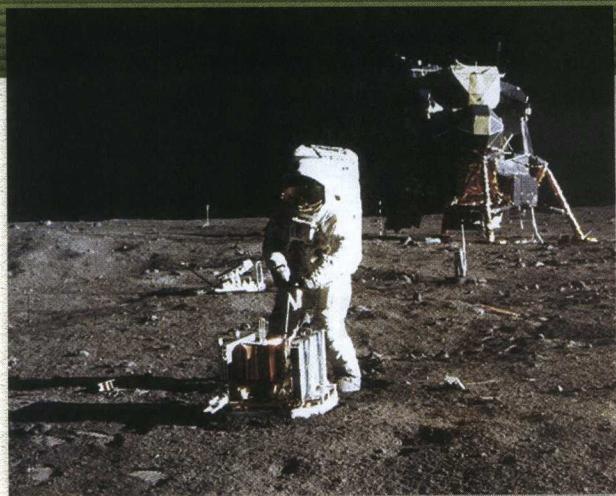
Science & Technology

The Space Race

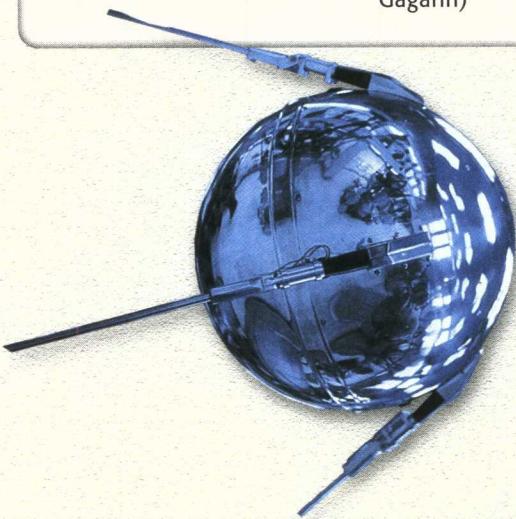
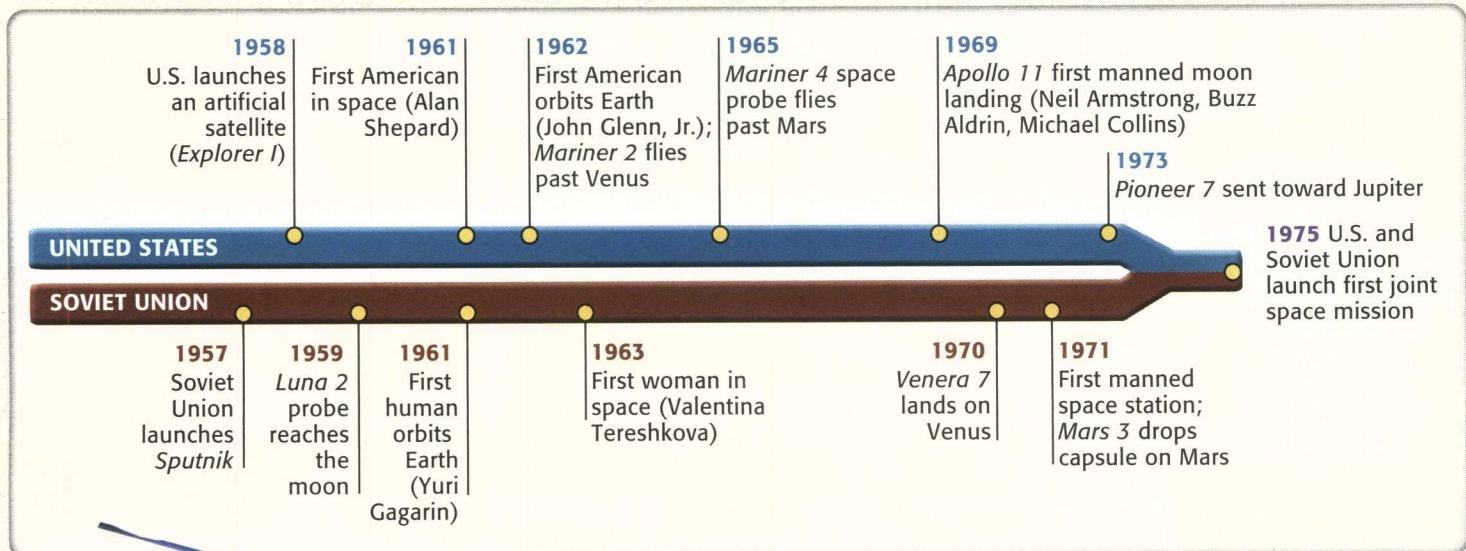
Beginning in the late 1950s, the United States and the Soviet Union competed for influence not only among the nations of the world, but in the skies as well. Once the superpowers had ICBMs (intercontinental ballistic missiles) to deliver nuclear warheads and aircraft for spying missions, they both began to develop technology that could be used to explore—and ultimately control—space. However, after nearly two decades of costly competition, the two superpowers began to cooperate in space exploration.

INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY

RESEARCH LINKS For more on the space race, go to classzone.com



▲ In a major technological triumph, the United States put human beings on the moon on July 20, 1969. Astronaut Buzz Aldrin is shown on the lunar surface with the lunar lander spacecraft.



▲ The Soviet Union launched *Sputnik*, the first successful artificial space satellite, on October 4, 1957. As it circled the earth every 96 minutes, Premier Nikita Khrushchev boasted that his country would soon be "turning out long-range missiles like sausages." The United States accelerated its space program. After early failures, a U.S. satellite was launched in 1958.



▲ The joint *Apollo* and *Soyuz* mission ushered in an era of U.S.-Soviet cooperation in space.

Connect to Today

- Comparing** Which destinations in space did both the United States and the Soviet Union explore?
 See Skillbuilder Handbook, page R7.
- Making Inferences** What role might space continue to play in achieving world peace?

2

Communists Take Power in China

MAIN IDEA

REVOLUTION After World War II, Chinese Communists defeated Nationalist forces and two separate Chinas emerged.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

China remains a Communist country and a major power in the world.

TERMS & NAMES

- Mao Zedong
- Jiang Jieshi
- commune
- Red Guards
- Cultural Revolution

SETTING THE STAGE In World War II, China fought on the side of the victorious Allies. But the victory proved to be a hollow one for China. During the war, Japan's armies had occupied and devastated most of China's cities. China's civilian death toll alone was estimated between 10 to 22 million persons. This vast country suffered casualties second only to those of the Soviet Union. However, conflict did not end with the defeat of the Japanese. In 1945, opposing Chinese armies faced one another.

TAKING NOTES

Recognizing Effects

Use a chart to identify the causes and effects of the Communist Revolution in China.

Cause	Effect
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

Communists vs. Nationalists

As you read in Chapter 14, a bitter civil war was raging between the Nationalists and the Communists when the Japanese invaded China in 1937. During World War II, the political opponents temporarily united to fight the Japanese. But they continued to jockey for position within China.

World War II in China Under their leader, **Mao Zedong** (MOW dzuh•dahng), the Communists had a stronghold in northwestern China. From there, they mobilized peasants for guerrilla war against the Japanese in the northeast. Thanks to their efforts to promote literacy and improve food production, the Communists won the peasants' loyalty. By 1945, they controlled much of northern China.

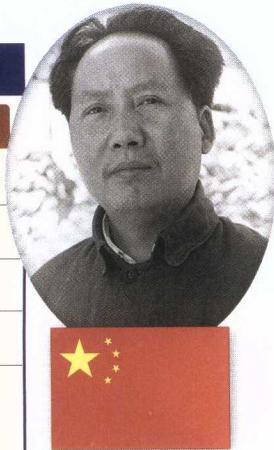
Meanwhile, the Nationalist forces under **Jiang Jieshi** (jee•ahng jee•shee) dominated southwestern China. Protected from the Japanese by rugged mountain ranges, Jiang gathered an army of 2.5 million men. From 1942 to 1945, the United States sent the Nationalists at least \$1.5 billion in aid to fight the Japanese. Instead of benefiting the army, however, these supplies and money often ended up in the hands of a few corrupt officers. Jiang's army actually fought few battles against the Japanese. Instead, the Nationalist army saved its strength for the coming battle against Mao's Red Army. After Japan surrendered, the Nationalists and Communists resumed fighting.

Civil War Resumes The renewed civil war lasted from 1946 to 1949. At first, the Nationalists had the advantage. Their army outnumbered the Communists' army by as much as three to one. And the United States continued its support by providing nearly \$2 billion in aid. The Nationalist forces, however, did little to win popular support. With China's economy collapsing, thousands of Nationalist soldiers deserted to the Communists. In spring 1949, China's major cities fell to



Chinese Political Opponents, 1945

Nationalists	Communists
Jiang Jieshi	Leader
Southern China	Area Ruled
United States	Foreign Support
Defeat of Communists	Domestic Policy
Weak due to inflation and failing economy	Public Support
Ineffective, corrupt leadership and poor morale	Military Organization
	Mao Zedong
	Northern China
	Soviet Union
	National liberation
	Strong due to promised land reform for peasants
	Experienced, motivated guerrilla army



SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Charts

- Drawing Conclusions** Which party's domestic policy might appeal more to Chinese peasants?
- Forming and Supporting Opinions** Which aspect of the Communist approach do you think was most responsible for Mao's victory? Explain.

MAIN IDEA

Recognizing Effects

A How did the outcome of the Chinese civil war contribute to Cold War tensions?

the well-trained Red forces. Mao's troops were also enthusiastic about his promise to return land to the peasants. The remnants of Jiang's shattered army fled south. In October 1949, Mao Zedong gained control of the country. He proclaimed it the People's Republic of China. Jiang and other Nationalist leaders retreated to the island of Taiwan, which Westerners called Formosa.

Mao Zedong's victory fueled U.S. anti-Communist feelings. Those feelings only grew after the Chinese and Soviets signed a treaty of friendship in 1950. Many people in the United States viewed the takeover of China as another step in a Communist campaign to conquer the world. A

The Two Chinas Affect the Cold War

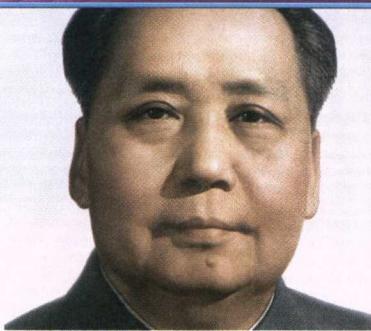
China had split into two nations. One was the island of Taiwan, or Nationalist China, with an area of 13,000 square miles. The mainland, or People's Republic of China, had an area of more than 3.5 million square miles. The existence of two Chinas, and the conflicting international loyalties they inspired, intensified the Cold War.

The Superpowers React After Jiang Jieshi fled to Taiwan, the United States helped him set up a Nationalist government on that small island. It was called the Republic of China. The Soviets gave financial, military, and technical aid to Communist China. In addition, the Chinese and the Soviets pledged to come to each other's defense if either was attacked. The United States tried to halt Soviet expansion in Asia. For example, when Soviet forces occupied the northern half of Korea after World War II and set up a Communist government, the United States supported a separate state in the south.

China Expands under the Communists In the early years of Mao's reign, Chinese troops expanded into Tibet, India, and southern, or Inner, Mongolia. Northern, or Outer, Mongolia, which bordered the Soviet Union, remained in the Soviet sphere.

In a brutal assault in 1950 and 1951, China took control of Tibet. The Chinese promised autonomy to Tibetans, who followed their religious leader, the Dalai Lama. When China's control over Tibet tightened in the late 1950s, the Dalai Lama fled to India. India welcomed many Tibetan refugees after a failed revolt in Tibet in

History Makers



Mao Zedong
1893–1976

Born into a peasant family, Mao embraced Marxist socialism as a young man. Though he began as an urban labor organizer, Mao quickly realized the revolutionary potential of China's peasants. In 1927, Mao predicted:

The force of the peasantry is like that of the raging winds and driving rain. . . . They will bury beneath them all forces of imperialism, militarism, corrupt officialdom, village bosses and evil gentry.

Mao's first attempt to lead the peasants in revolt failed in 1927. But during the Japanese occupation, Mao and his followers won widespread peasant support by reducing rents and promising to redistribute land.

INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY

RESEARCH LINKS For more on Mao Zedong, go to [classzone.com](#)

first Five-Year Plan, Mao proclaimed the “Great Leap Forward” in early 1958. This plan called for still larger collective farms, or **communes**. By the end of 1958, about 26,000 communes had been created. The average commune sprawled over 15,000 acres and supported over 25,000 people. In the strictly controlled life of the communes, peasants worked the land together. They ate in communal dining rooms, slept in communal dormitories, and raised children in communal nurseries. And they owned nothing. The peasants had no incentive to work hard when only the state profited from their labor.

The Great Leap Forward was a giant step backward. Poor planning and inefficient “backyard,” or home, industries hampered growth. The program was ended in 1961 after crop failures caused a famine that killed about 20 million people.

New Policies and Mao’s Response China was facing external problems as well as internal ones in the late 1950s. The spirit of cooperation that had bound the Soviet Union and China began to fade. Each sought to lead the worldwide Communist movement. As they also shared the longest border in the world, they faced numerous territorial disputes.

1959. As a result, resentment between India and China grew. In 1962, they clashed briefly over the two countries’ unclear border. The fighting stopped but resentment continued.

The Communists Transform China

For decades, China had been in turmoil, engaged in civil war or fighting with Japan. So, when the Communists took power, they moved rapidly to strengthen their rule over China’s 550 million people. They also aimed to restore China as a powerful nation.

Communists Claim a New “Mandate of Heaven” After taking control of China, the Communists began to tighten their hold. The party’s 4.5 million members made up just 1 percent of the population. But they were a disciplined group. Like the Soviets, the Chinese Communists set up two parallel organizations, the Communist party and the national government. Mao headed both until 1959.

Mao’s Brand of Marxist Socialism Mao was determined to reshape China’s economy based on Marxist socialism. Eighty percent of the people lived in rural areas, but most owned no land. Instead, 10 percent of the rural population controlled 70 percent of the farmland. Under the Agrarian Reform Law of 1950, Mao seized the holdings of these landlords. His forces killed more than a million landlords who resisted. He then divided the land among the peasants. Later, to further Mao’s socialist principles, the government forced peasants to join collective farms. Each of these farms was comprised of 200 to 300 households.

Mao’s changes also transformed industry and business. Gradually, private companies were nationalized, or brought under government ownership. In 1953, Mao launched a five-year plan that set high production goals for industry. By 1957, China’s output of coal, cement, steel, and electricity had increased dramatically. **B**

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

B What aspects of Marxist socialism did Mao try to bring to China?

After the failure of the Great Leap Forward and the split with the Soviet Union, Mao reduced his role in government. Other leaders moved away from Mao's strict socialist ideas. For example, farm families could live in their own homes and could sell crops they grew on small private plots. Factory workers could compete for wage increases and promotions.

Mao thought China's new economic policies weakened the Communist goal of social equality. He was determined to revive the revolution. In 1966, he urged China's young people to "learn revolution by making revolution." Millions of high school and college students responded. They left their classrooms and formed militia units called **Red Guards**.

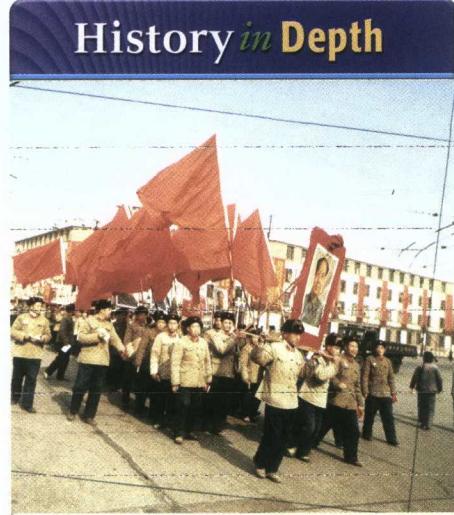
The Cultural Revolution The Red Guards led a major uprising known as the **Cultural Revolution**. Its goal was to establish a society of peasants and workers in which all were equal. The new hero was the peasant who worked with his hands. The life of the mind—intellectual and artistic activity—was considered useless and dangerous. To stamp out this threat, the Red Guards shut down colleges and schools. They targeted anyone who resisted the regime. Intellectuals had to "purify" themselves by doing hard labor in remote villages. Thousands were executed or imprisoned.

Chaos threatened farm production and closed down factories. Civil war seemed possible. By 1968, even Mao admitted that the Cultural Revolution had to stop. The army was ordered to put down the Red Guards. Zhou Enlai (joh ehn•leye), Chinese Communist party founder and premier since 1949, began to restore order. While China was struggling to become stable, the Cold War continued to rage. Two full-scale wars were fought—in Korea and in Vietnam. ☰

MAIN IDEA

Drawing Conclusions

- ➲ Why did the Cultural Revolution fail?



The Red Guards

The Red Guards were students, mainly teenagers. They pledged their devotion to Chairman Mao and the Cultural Revolution. From 1966 to 1968, 20 to 30 million Red Guards roamed China's cities and countryside causing widespread chaos. To smash the old, non-Maoist way of life, they destroyed buildings and beat and even killed Mao's alleged enemies. They lashed out at professors, government officials, factory managers, and even parents.

Eventually, even Mao turned on them. Most were exiled to the countryside. Others were arrested and some executed.

SECTION

2

ASSESSMENT

TERMS & NAMES

- For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Mao Zedong
- Jiang Jieshi
- commune
- Red Guards
- Cultural Revolution

USING YOUR NOTES

- Which effect of the Communist Revolution in China do you think had the most permanent impact? Explain.

Cause	Effect
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

MAIN IDEAS

- How did the Chinese Communists increase their power during World War II?
- What actions did the Nationalists take during World War II?
- What was the goal of the Cultural Revolution?

CRITICAL THINKING & WRITING

- MAKING INFERENCES** Why did the United States support the Nationalists in the civil war in China?
- ANALYZING ISSUES** What policies or actions enabled the Communists to defeat the Nationalists in their long civil war?
- IDENTIFYING PROBLEMS** What circumstances prevented Mao's Great Leap Forward from bringing economic prosperity to China?
- WRITING ACTIVITY** **REVOLUTION** Write **summaries** of the reforms Mao Zedong proposed for China that could be placed on a propaganda poster.

CONNECT TO TODAY

CREATING A COMPARISON CHART

Find political, economic, and demographic information on the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, and make a **comparison chart**.

3

Wars in Korea and Vietnam

MAIN IDEA

REVOLUTION In Asia, the Cold War flared into actual wars supported mainly by the superpowers.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Today, Vietnam is a Communist country, and Korea is split into Communist and non-Communist nations.

TERMS & NAMES

- 38th parallel
- Douglas MacArthur
- Ho Chi Minh
- domino theory
- Ngo Dinh Diem
- Vietcong
- Vietnamization
- Khmer Rouge

SETTING THE STAGE When World War II ended, Korea became a divided nation. North of the **38th parallel**, a line that crosses Korea at 38 degrees north latitude, Japanese troops surrendered to Soviet forces. South of this line, the Japanese surrendered to American troops. As in Germany, two nations developed. (See map on next page.) One was the Communist industrial north, whose government had been set up by the Soviets. The other was the non-Communist rural south, supported by the Western powers.

TAKING NOTES

Comparing and Contrasting Use a diagram to compare and contrast the Korean and Vietnam Wars.

Korean War
both
Vietnam War

War in Korea

By 1949, both the United States and the Soviet Union had withdrawn most of their troops from Korea. The Soviets gambled that the United States would not defend South Korea. So they supplied North Korea with tanks, airplanes, and money in an attempt to take over the peninsula.

Standoff at the 38th Parallel On June 25, 1950, North Koreans swept across the 38th parallel in a surprise attack on South Korea. Within days, North Korean troops had penetrated deep into the south. President Truman was convinced that the North Korean aggressors were repeating what Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese had done in the 1930s. Truman's policy of containment was being put to the test. And Truman resolved to help South Korea resist communism.

South Korea also asked the United Nations to intervene. When the matter came to a vote in the Security Council, the Soviets were absent. They had refused to take part in the Council to protest admission of Nationalist China (Taiwan), rather than

▼ UN forces landing at Inchon in South Korea in 1950



Communist China, into the UN. As a result, the Soviet Union could not veto the UN's plan to send an international force to Korea to stop the invasion. A total of 15 nations, including the United States and Britain, participated under the command of General **Douglas MacArthur**.

Meanwhile, the North Koreans continued to advance. By September 1950, they controlled the entire Korean peninsula except for a tiny area around Pusan in the far southeast. That month, however, MacArthur launched a surprise attack. Troops moving north from Pusan met with forces that had made an amphibious landing at Inchon. Caught in this "pincer action," about half of the North Koreans surrendered. The rest retreated.

The Fighting Continues The UN troops pursued the retreating North Koreans across the 38th parallel into North Korea. They pushed them almost to the Yalu River at the Chinese border. The UN forces were mostly from the United States. The Chinese felt threatened by these troops and by an American fleet off their coast. In October 1950, they sent 300,000 troops into North Korea.

The Chinese greatly outnumbered the UN forces. By January 1951, they had pushed UN and South Korean troops out of North Korea. The Chinese then moved into South Korea and captured the capital of Seoul. "We face an entirely new war," declared MacArthur. He called for a nuclear attack against China. Truman viewed MacArthur's proposals as reckless. "We are trying to prevent a world war, not start one," he said. MacArthur tried to go over the President's head by taking his case to Congress and the press. In response, Truman removed him.

Over the next two years, UN forces fought to drive the Chinese and North Koreans back. By 1952, UN troops had regained control of South Korea. Finally, in July 1953, the UN forces and North Korea signed a cease-fire agreement. The border between the two Koreas was set near the 38th parallel, almost where it had been before the war. In the meantime, 4 million soldiers and civilians had died.

MAIN IDEA

Recognizing Effects

A What effects did the Korean war have on the Korean people and nation?



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps

- Movement** What was the northernmost Korean city UN troops had reached by November 1950?
- Movement** Did North or South Korean forces advance farther into the other's territory?

Korea concentrated on developing its industry and expanding foreign trade. A succession of dictatorships ruled the rapidly developing country. With the 1987 adoption of a democratic constitution, however, South Korea established free elections. During the 1980s and 1990s, South Korea had one of the highest economic growth rates in the world.

Political differences have kept the two Koreas apart, despite periodic discussions of reuniting the country. North Korea's possession of nuclear weapons is a major obstacle. The United States still keeps troops in South Korea.

War Breaks Out in Vietnam

Much like its involvement in the Korean War, the involvement of the United States in Vietnam stemmed from its Cold War containment policy. After World War II, stopping the spread of communism was the principal goal of U.S. foreign policy.

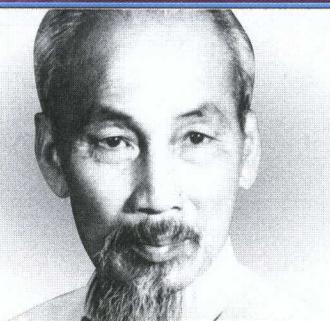
The Road to War In the early 1900s, France controlled most of resource-rich Southeast Asia. (French Indochina included what are now Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.) But nationalist independence movements had begun to develop. A young Vietnamese nationalist, **Ho Chi Minh**, turned to the Communists for help in his struggle. During the 1930s, Ho's Indochinese Communist party led revolts and strikes against the French.

The French responded by jailing Vietnamese protesters. They also sentenced Ho to death. He fled into exile, but returned to Vietnam in 1941, a year after the Japanese seized control of his country during World War II. Ho and other nationalists founded the Vietminh (Independence) League. The Japanese were forced out of Vietnam after their defeat in 1945. Ho Chi Minh believed that independence would follow, but France intended to regain its colony.

The Fighting Begins Vietnamese Nationalists and Communists joined to fight the French armies. The French held most major cities, but the Vietminh had widespread support in the countryside. The Vietminh used hit-and-run tactics to confine the French to the cities. In France the people began to doubt that their colony was worth the lives and money the struggle cost. In 1954, the French suffered a major military defeat at Dien Bien Phu. They surrendered to Ho.

The United States had supported France in Vietnam. With the defeat of the French, the United States saw a rising threat to the rest of Asia. President Eisenhower described this threat in terms of the **domino theory**. The Southeast Asian nations were like a row of dominos, he said. The fall of one to communism would lead to the fall of its neighbors. This theory became a major justification for U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War era. **B**

History Makers



Ho Chi Minh
1890–1969

When he was young, the poor Vietnamese Nguyen That (uhng•wihn thaht) Thanh worked as a cook on a French steamship. In visiting U.S. cities where the boat docked, he learned about American culture and ideals. He later took a new name—Ho Chi Minh, meaning "He who enlightens." Though a Communist, in proclaiming Vietnam's independence from France in 1945, he declared, "All men are created equal."

His people revered him, calling him Uncle Ho. However, Ho Chi Minh did not put his democratic ideals into practice. He ruled North Vietnam by crushing all opposition.

MAIN IDEA

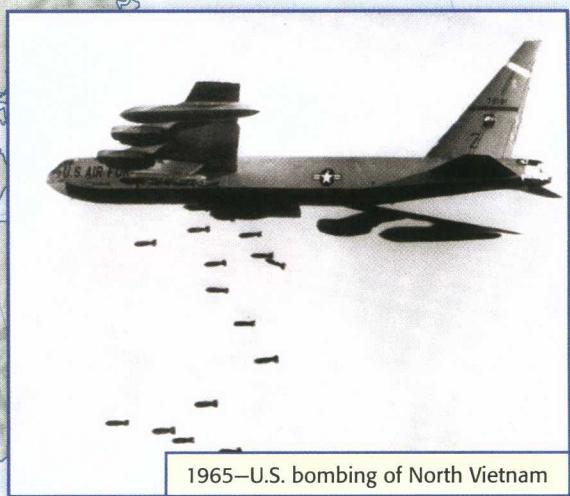
Making Inferences

B What actions might the United States have justified by the domino theory?

Vietnam—A Divided Country After France's defeat, an international peace conference met in Geneva to discuss the future of Indochina. Based on these talks, Vietnam was divided at 17° north latitude. North of that line, Ho Chi Minh's Communist forces governed. To the south, the United States and France set up an anti-Communist government under the leadership of **Ngo Dinh Diem** (NOH dihn D'YEM).

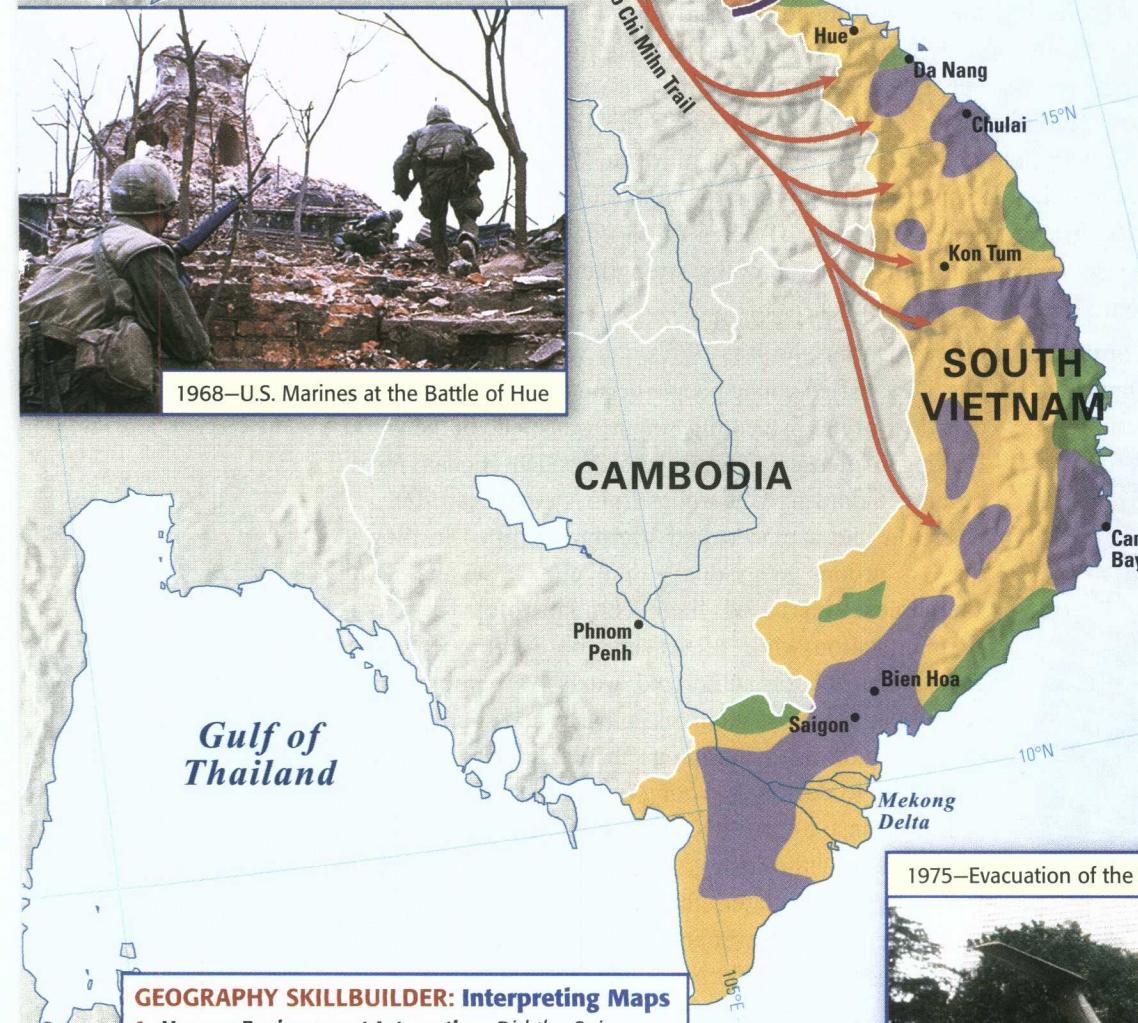


War in Vietnam, 1957–1973



1965—U.S. bombing of North Vietnam

South China Sea



Areas controlled in 1973

- Yellow: National Liberation Front (Vietcong)
- Purple: Saigon government
- Green: Contested areas

N
0 Miles
0 Kilometers

GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps

- Human-Environment Interaction** Did the Saigon government or the Vietcong control more of South Vietnam in 1973?
- Movement** Through what other countries did North Vietnamese troops move to invade South Vietnam?

1975—Evacuation of the U.S. embassy in Saigon



Diem ruled the south as a dictator. Opposition to his government grew. Communist guerrillas, called **Vietcong**, began to gain strength in the south. While some of the Vietcong were trained soldiers from North Vietnam, most were South Vietnamese who hated Diem. Gradually, the Vietcong won control of large areas of the countryside. In 1963, a group of South Vietnamese generals had Diem assassinated. But the new leaders were no more popular than he had been. It appeared that a takeover by the Communist Vietcong, backed by North Vietnam, was inevitable.

The United States Gets Involved

Faced with the possibility of a Communist victory, the United States decided to escalate, or increase, its involvement. Some U.S. troops had been serving as advisers to the South Vietnamese since the late 1950s. But their numbers steadily grew, as did the numbers of planes and other military equipment sent to South Vietnam.

U.S. Troops Enter the Fight In August 1964, U.S. President Lyndon Johnson told Congress that North Vietnamese patrol boats had attacked two U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. As a result, Congress authorized the president to send U.S. troops to fight in Vietnam. By late 1965, more than 185,000 U.S. soldiers were in combat on Vietnamese soil. U.S. planes had also begun to bomb North Vietnam. By 1968, more than half a million U.S. soldiers were in combat there.

The United States had the best-equipped, most advanced army in the world. Yet it faced two major difficulties. First, U.S. soldiers were fighting a guerrilla war in unfamiliar jungle terrain. Second, the South Vietnamese government that they were defending was becoming more unpopular. At the same time, support for the Vietcong grew, with help and supplies from Ho Chi Minh, the Soviet Union, and China. Unable to win a decisive victory on the ground, the United States turned to air power. U.S. forces bombed millions of acres of farmland and forest in an attempt to destroy enemy hideouts. This bombing strengthened peasants' opposition to the South Vietnamese government.

The United States Withdraws During the late 1960s, the war grew increasingly unpopular in the United States. Dissatisfied young people began to protest the tremendous loss of life in a conflict on the other side of the world. Bowing to intense public pressure, President Richard Nixon began withdrawing U.S. troops from Vietnam in 1969.

Nixon had a plan called **Vietnamization**. It allowed for U.S. troops to gradually pull out, while the South Vietnamese increased their combat role. To pursue Vietnamization while preserving the South Vietnamese government, Nixon authorized a massive bombing campaign against North Vietnamese bases and supply routes. He also authorized bombings in neighboring Laos and Cambodia to destroy Vietcong hiding places.

In response to protests and political pressure at home, Nixon kept withdrawing U.S. troops. The last left in 1973. Two years later, the North Vietnamese overran South Vietnam. The war ended, but more than 1.5 million Vietnamese and 58,000 Americans lost their lives.

▼ The skulls and bones of Cambodian citizens form a haunting memorial to the brutality of its Communist government in the 1970s.



Postwar Southeast Asia

War's end did not bring an immediate halt to bloodshed and chaos in Southeast Asia. Cambodia (also known as Kampuchea) was under siege by Communist rebels.

During the war, it had suffered U.S. bombing when it was used as a sanctuary by North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops.

Cambodia in Turmoil In 1975, Communist rebels known as the **Khmer Rouge** set up a brutal Communist government under the leadership of Pol Pot. In a ruthless attempt to transform Cambodia into a Communist society, Pol Pot's followers slaughtered 2 million people. This was almost one quarter of the nation's population. The Vietnamese invaded in 1978. They overthrew the Khmer Rouge and installed a less repressive government. But fighting continued. The Vietnamese withdrew in 1989. In 1993, under the supervision of UN peacekeepers, Cambodia adopted a democratic constitution and held free elections.

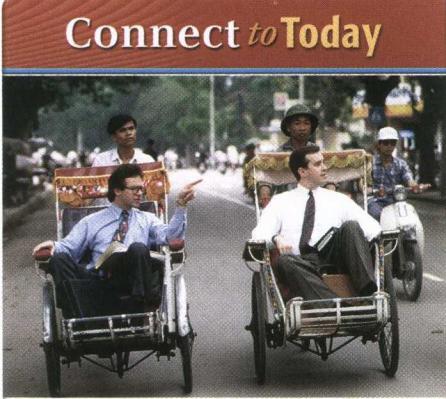
MAIN IDEA

Recognizing Effects

Q What was one of the effects of Pol Pot's efforts to turn Cambodia into a rural society?

Vietnam after the War After 1975, the victorious North Vietnamese imposed tight controls over the South. Officials sent thousands of people to "reeducation camps" for training in Communist thought. They nationalized industries and strictly controlled businesses. They also renamed Saigon, the South's former capital, Ho Chi Minh City. Communist oppression caused 1.5 million people to flee Vietnam. Most escaped in dangerously overcrowded ships. More than 200,000 "boat people" died at sea. The survivors often spent months in refugee camps in Southeast Asia. About 70,000 eventually settled in the United States or Canada. Although Communists still govern Vietnam, the country now welcomes foreign investment. The United States normalized relations with Vietnam in 1995.

While the superpowers were struggling for advantage during the Korean and Vietnam wars, they also were seeking influence in other parts of the world.



Vietnam Today

Vietnam remains a Communist country. But, like China, it has introduced elements of capitalism into its economy. In 1997, a travel magazine claimed that Hanoi, the capital of Vietnam, "jumps with vitality, its streets and shops jammed with locals and handfuls of Western tourists and businesspeople." Above, two executives tour the city.

Along Hanoi's shaded boulevards, billboards advertise U.S. and Japanese copiers, motorcycles, video recorders, and soft drinks. On the streets, enterprising Vietnamese businesspeople offer more traditional services. These include bicycle repair, a haircut, a shave, or a tasty snack.

SECTION

3

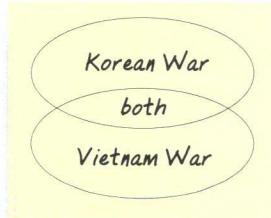
ASSESSMENT

TERMS & NAMES

1. For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.
• 38th parallel • Douglas MacArthur • Ho Chi Minh • domino theory • Ngo Dinh Diem • Vietcong • Vietnamization • Khmer Rouge

USING YOUR NOTES

2. In what ways were the causes and effects of the wars in Korea and Vietnam similar?



MAIN IDEAS

3. What role did the United Nations play in the Korean War?
4. How did Vietnam become divided?
5. What was the Khmer Rouge's plan for Cambodia?

CRITICAL THINKING & WRITING

6. **ANALYZING MOTIVES** What role did the policy of containment play in the involvement of the United States in wars in Korea and Vietnam?
7. **IDENTIFYING CAUSES** How might imperialism be one of the causes of the Vietnam War?
8. **FORMING OPINIONS** Do you think U.S. involvement in Vietnam was justified? Why or why not?
9. **WRITING ACTIVITY** **EMPIRE BUILDING** Write a two-paragraph **expository essay** for either the United States or the Soviet Union supporting its involvement in Asia.

CONNECT TO TODAY

WRITING A BIOGRAPHY

Research the present-day leader of one of the countries discussed in this section. Then write a three-paragraph **biography**.

4

The Cold War Divides the World

MAIN IDEA

REVOLUTION The superpowers supported opposing sides in Latin American and Middle Eastern conflicts.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Many of these areas today are troubled by political, economic, and military conflict and crisis.

TERMS & NAMES

- Third World
- nonaligned nations
- Fidel Castro
- Anastasio Somoza
- Daniel Ortega
- Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini

SETTING THE STAGE Following World War II, the world's nations were grouped politically into three "worlds." The first was the industrialized capitalist nations, including the United States and its allies. The second was the Communist nations led by the Soviet Union. The **Third World** consisted of developing nations, often newly independent, who were not aligned with either superpower. These nonaligned countries provided yet another arena for competition between the Cold War superpowers.

TAKING NOTES

Determining Main Ideas
Use a chart to list main points about Third World confrontations.

Country	Conflict
Cuba	
Nicaragua	
Iran	

Fighting for the Third World

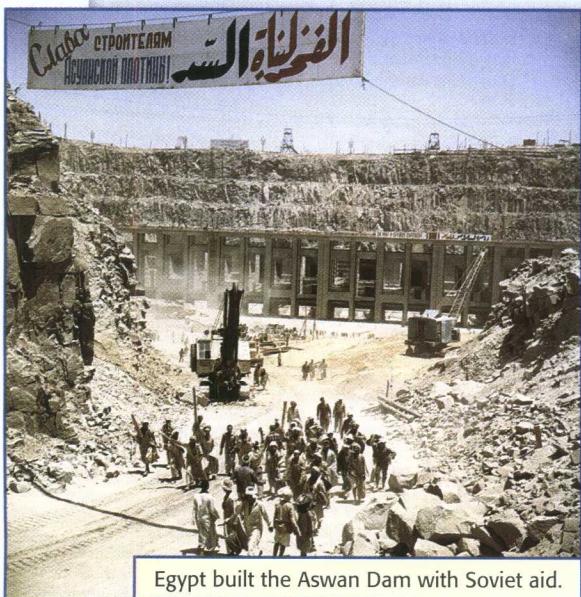
The Third World nations were located in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. They were economically poor and politically unstable. This was largely due to a long history of colonialism. They also suffered from ethnic conflicts and lack of technology and education. Each needed a political and economic system around which to build its society. Soviet-style communism and U.S.-style free-market democracy were the main choices.

Cold War Strategies The United States, the Soviet Union, and, in some cases, China, used a variety of techniques to gain influence in the Third World. (See feature on next page.) They backed wars of revolution, liberation, or counterrevolution. The U.S. and Soviet intelligence agencies—the CIA and the KGB—engaged in various covert, or secret, activities, ranging from spying to assassination attempts. The United States also gave military aid, built schools, set up programs to combat poverty, and sent volunteer workers to many developing nations. The Soviets offered military and technical assistance, mainly to India and Egypt.

Association of Nonaligned Nations Other developing nations also needed assistance. They became important players in the Cold War competition between the United States, the Soviet Union, and later, China. But not all Third World countries wished to play a role in the Cold War. As mentioned earlier India vowed to remain neutral. Indonesia, a populous island nation in Southeast Asia, also struggled to stay uninvolved. In 1955, it hosted many leaders from Asia and Africa at the Bandung Conference. They met to form what they called a "third force" of independent countries, or **nonaligned nations**. Some nations, such as India and Indonesia, were able to maintain their neutrality. But others took sides with the superpowers or played competing sides against each other.

How the Cold War Was Fought

During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union both believed that they needed to stop the other side from extending its power. What differentiated the Cold War from other 20th century conflicts was that the two enemies did not engage in a shooting war. Instead, they pursued their rivalry by using the strategies shown below.



Major Strategies of the Cold War

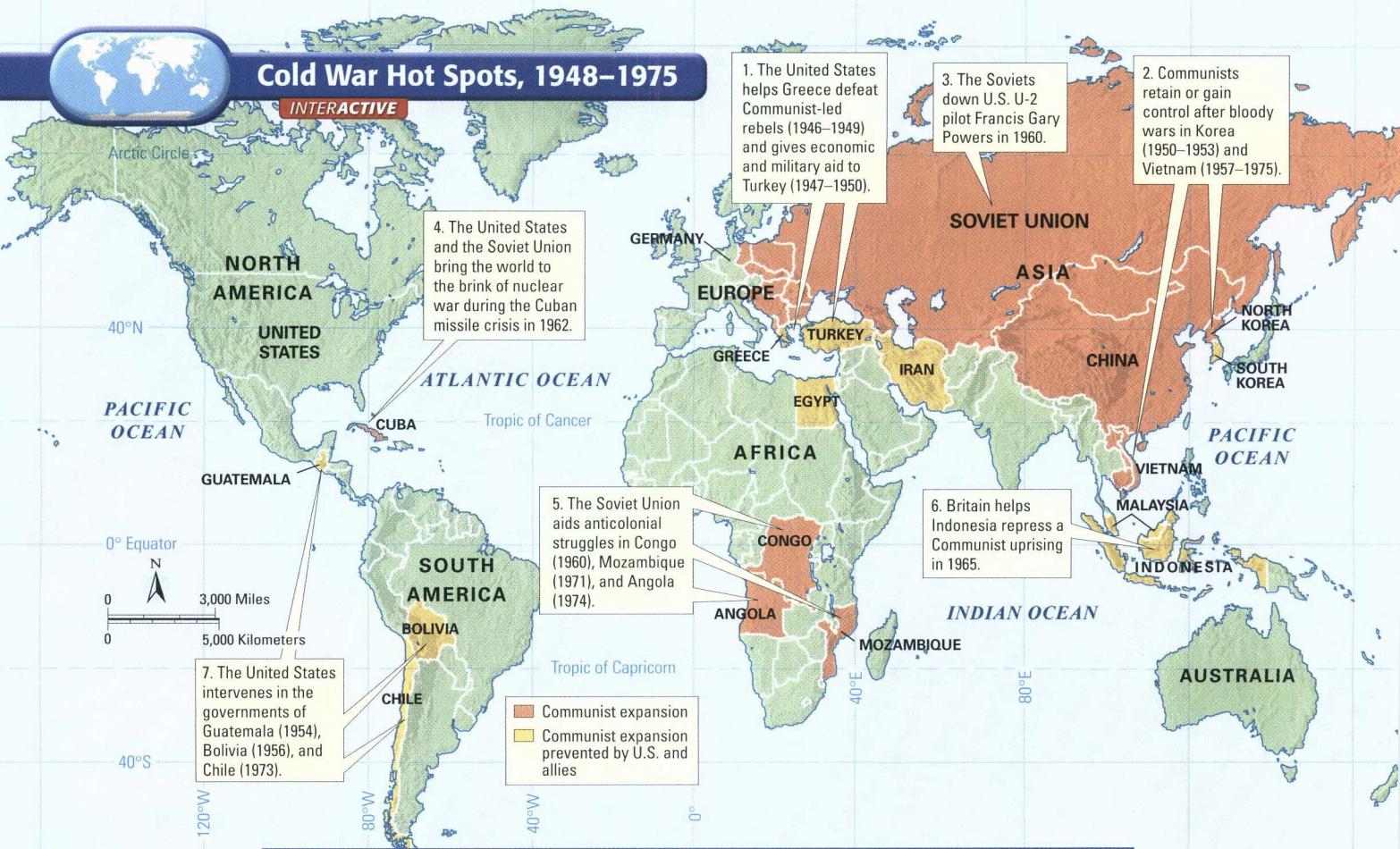
Foreign Aid	Espionage	Multinational Alliances
The two superpowers tried to win allies by giving financial aid to other nations. For instance, Egypt took aid from the Soviet Union to build the Aswan High Dam (see photograph above).	Fearing the enemy might be gaining the advantage, each side spied on the other. One famous incident was the Soviet downing of a U.S. U-2 spy plane in 1960.	To gain the support of other nations, both the Soviet Union and the United States entered into alliances. Two examples of this were NATO and the Warsaw Pact (shown on map above).
Propaganda	Brinkmanship	Surrogate Wars
Both superpowers used propaganda to try to win support overseas. For example, Radio Free Europe broadcast radio programs about the rest of the world into Eastern Europe.	The policy of brinkmanship meant going to the brink of war to make the other side back down. One example was the Cuban Missile Crisis.	The word surrogate means substitute. Although the United States and the Soviet Union did not fight each other directly, they fought indirectly by backing opposing sides in many smaller conflicts.

SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Visuals

- Generalizing** Judging from the map, how would you describe the effect on Europe of multinational alliances?
- Analyzing Motives** What motive did the two superpowers have for fighting surrogate wars?

Cold War Hot Spots, 1948–1975

INTERACTIVE



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Maps

- Location** On what continents identified on the map did Cold War conflicts not occur?
- Region** About what fraction of the globe did Communists control by 1975?

Confrontations in Latin America

After World War II, rapid industrialization, population growth, and a lingering gap between the rich and the poor led Latin American nations to seek aid from both superpowers. At the same time, many of these countries alternated between short-lived democracy and harsh military rule. As described in Chapter 12, U.S. involvement in Latin America began long before World War II. American businesses backed leaders who protected U.S. interests but who also often oppressed their people. After the war, communism and nationalistic feelings inspired revolutionary movements. These found enthusiastic Soviet support. In response, the United States provided military and economic assistance to anti-Communist dictators.

Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution In the 1950s, Cuba was ruled by an unpopular dictator, Fulgencio Batista, who had U.S. support. Cuban resentment led to a popular revolution, which overthrew Batista in January 1959. A young lawyer named **Fidel Castro** led that revolution. At first, many people praised Castro for bringing social reforms to Cuba and improving the economy. Yet Castro was a harsh dictator. He suspended elections, jailed or executed his opponents, and tightly controlled the press.

When Castro nationalized the Cuban economy, he took over U.S.-owned sugar mills and refineries. In response, Eisenhower ordered an embargo on all trade with Cuba. Castro then turned to the Soviets for economic and military aid.



In 1960, the CIA began to train anti-Castro Cuban exiles. In April 1961, they invaded Cuba, landing at the Bay of Pigs. However, the United States did not provide the hoped for air support. Castro's forces easily defeated the invaders, humiliating the United States.

Nuclear Face-off: the Cuban Missile Crisis The failed Bay of Pigs invasion convinced Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev that the United States would not resist Soviet expansion in Latin America. So, in July 1962, Khrushchev secretly began to build 42 missile sites in Cuba. In October, an American spy plane discovered the sites. President John F. Kennedy declared that missiles so close to the U.S. mainland were a threat. He demanded their removal and also announced a naval blockade of Cuba to prevent the Soviets from installing more missiles.

Castro protested his country's being used as a pawn in the Cold War:

PRIMARY SOURCE

Cuba did not and does not intend to be in the middle of a conflict between the East and the West. Our problem is above all one of national sovereignty. Cuba does not mean to get involved in the Cold War.

FIDEL CASTRO, quoted in an interview October 27, 1962

But Castro and Cuba were deeply involved. Kennedy's demand for the removal of Soviet missiles put the United States and the Soviet Union on a collision course. People around the world feared nuclear war. Fortunately, Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles in return for a U.S. promise not to invade Cuba. A

The resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis left Castro completely dependent on Soviet support. In exchange for this support, Castro backed Communist revolutions in Latin America and Africa. Soviet aid to Cuba, however, ended abruptly with the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. This loss dealt a crippling blow to the Cuban economy. But the aging Castro refused to adopt economic reforms or to give up power.

Civil War in Nicaragua Just as the United States had supported Batista in Cuba, it had funded the Nicaraguan dictatorship of **Anastasio Somoza** and his family since 1933. In 1979, Communist Sandinista rebels toppled Somoza's son. Both the United States and the Soviet Union initially gave aid to the Sandinistas and their leader, **Daniel Ortega** (awr•TAY•guh). The Sandinistas, however, gave assistance to other Marxist rebels in nearby El Salvador. To help the El Salvadoran government fight those rebels, the United States supported Nicaraguan anti-Communist forces called the Contras or *contrarevolucionarios*. B

The civil war in Nicaragua lasted more than a decade and seriously weakened the country's economy. In 1990, President Ortega agreed to hold free elections, the first in the nation's history. Violeta Chamorro, a reform candidate, defeated him. The Sandinistas were also defeated in elections in 1996 and 2001.

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

- A) What differing U.S. and Soviet aims led to the Cuban missile crisis?

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

- B) Why did the U.S. switch its support from the Sandinistas to the Contras?

History Makers



Fidel Castro

1926–

The son of a wealthy Spanish-Cuban farmer, Fidel Castro became involved in politics at the University of Havana. He first tried to overthrow the Cuban dictator, Batista, in 1953. He was imprisoned, but vowed to continue the struggle for independence:

Personally, I am not interested in power nor do I envisage assuming it at any time. All that I will do is to make sure that the sacrifices of so many compatriots should not be in vain.

Despite this declaration, Castro has ruled Cuba as a dictator for more than 40 years.

INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY

INTERNET ACTIVITY Create a time line of the important events in Castro's rule of Cuba. Go to classzone.com for your research.

Confrontations in the Middle East

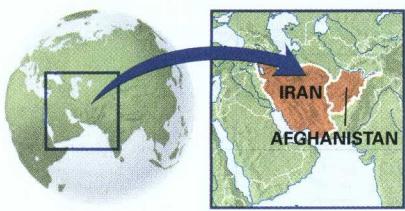
As the map on page 550 shows, Cold War confrontations continued to erupt around the globe. The oil-rich Middle East attracted both superpowers.

Religious and Secular Values Clash in Iran Throughout the Middle East, oil industry wealth fueled a growing clash between traditional Islamic values and modern Western materialism. In no country was this cultural conflict more dramatically shown than in Iran (Persia before 1935). After World War II, Iran's leader,

Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi (pah•luh•vee), embraced Western governments and wealthy Western oil companies. Iranian nationalists resented these foreign alliances and united under Prime Minister Muhammed Mossadeq (moh•sah•DEHK). They nationalized a British-owned oil company and, in 1953, forced the shah to flee. Fearing Iran might turn to the Soviets for support, the United States helped restore the shah to power.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives
 Why did the United States support the shah of Iran?



The United States Supports Secular Rule With U.S. support, the shah westernized his country. By the end of the 1950s, Iran's capital, Tehran, featured gleaming skyscrapers, foreign banks, and modern factories. Millions of Iranians, however, still lived in extreme poverty. The shah tried to weaken the political influence of Iran's conservative Muslim leaders, known as ayatollahs (eye•uh• TOH•luhz), who opposed Western influences. The leader of this religious opposition, **Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini** (koh• MAY•nee), was living in exile. Spurred by his tape-recorded messages, Iranians rioted in every major city in late 1978. Faced with overwhelming opposition, the shah fled Iran in 1979. A triumphant Khomeini returned to establish an Islamic state and to export Iran's militant form of Islam.

Khomeini's Anti-U.S. Policies Strict adherence to Islam ruled Khomeini's domestic policies. But hatred of the United States, because of U.S. support for the shah, was at the heart of his foreign policy. In 1979, with the ayatollah's blessing, young Islamic revolutionaries seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran. They took more than 60 Americans hostage and demanded the United States force the shah to face trial. Most hostages remained prisoners for 444 days before being released in 1981.

Khomeini encouraged Muslim radicals elsewhere to overthrow their secular governments. Intended to unify Muslims, this policy heightened tensions between Iran and its neighbor and territorial rival, Iraq. A military leader, Saddam Hussein (hoo•SAYN), governed Iraq as a secular state.

▼ Ayatollah Khomeini (inset) supported the taking of U.S. hostages by Islamic militants in Tehran in 1979.



War broke out between Iran and Iraq in 1980. The United States secretly gave aid to both sides because it did not want the balance of power in the region to change. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, had long been a supporter of Iraq. A million Iranians and Iraqis died in the war before the UN negotiated a ceasefire in 1988.

The Superpowers Face Off in Afghanistan For several years following World War II, Afghanistan maintained its independence from both the neighboring Soviet Union and the United States. In the 1950s, however, Soviet influence in the country began to increase. In the late 1970s, a Muslim revolt threatened to topple Afghanistan's Communist regime. This revolt led to a Soviet invasion in 1979.

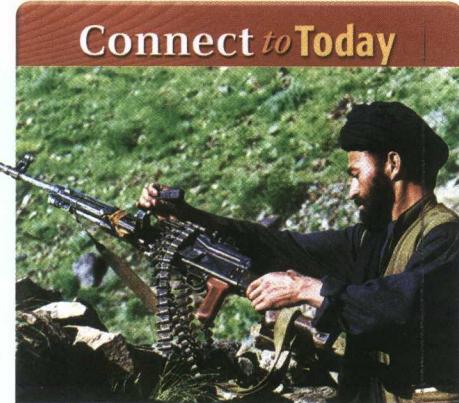
The Soviets expected to prop up the Afghan Communists and quickly withdraw. Instead, just like the United States in Vietnam, the Soviets found themselves stuck. And like the Vietcong in Vietnam, rebel forces outmaneuvered a military superpower. Supplied with American weapons, the Afghan rebels, called mujahideen, or holy warriors, fought on.

The United States had armed the rebels because they considered the Soviet invasion a threat to Middle Eastern oil supplies. President Jimmy Carter warned the Soviets against any attempt to gain control of the Persian Gulf. To protest the invasion, he stopped U.S. grain shipments to the Soviet Union and ordered a U.S. boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics. In the 1980s, a new Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachev, acknowledged the war's devastating costs. He withdrew all Soviet troops by 1989. By then, internal unrest and economic problems were tearing apart the Soviet Union itself.

MAIN IDEA

Comparing

D In what ways were U.S. involvement in Vietnam and Soviet involvement in Afghanistan similar?



The Taliban

Islamic religious students, or taliban, were among the *mujahideen* rebels who fought the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Various groups of students loosely organized themselves during a civil war among *mujahideen* factions that followed the Soviet withdrawal in 1989.

In 1996, one of these groups, called the Taliban, seized power and established an Islamic government. At first, they were popular among many Afghans. But they imposed a repressive rule especially harsh on women, and failed to improve the lives of the people. They also gave sanctuary to international Islamic terrorists. In 2001, an anti-terrorist coalition led by the United States drove them from power.

SECTION

4

ASSESSMENT

TERMS & NAMES

1. For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- Third World • nonaligned nations • Fidel Castro • Anastasio Somoza • Daniel Ortega • Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini

USING YOUR NOTES

2. Which confrontation had the most lasting significance?

Country	Conflict
Cuba	
Nicaragua	
Iran	

MAIN IDEAS

3. How was the Cuban Missile Crisis resolved?
4. What was significant about the 1990 elections in Nicaragua?
5. Why did the Soviet Union invade Afghanistan?

CRITICAL THINKING & WRITING

6. **MAKING INFERENCES** What advantages and disadvantages might being nonaligned have offered a developing nation during the Cold War?
7. **COMPARING** What similarities do you see among U.S. actions in Nicaragua, Cuba, and Iran?
8. **ANALYZING CAUSES** What were the reasons that Islamic fundamentalists took control of Iran?
9. **WRITING ACTIVITY** **REVOLUTION** For either Cuba, Nicaragua, or Iran, write an annotated **time line** of events discussed in this section.

CONNECT TO TODAY WRITING AN OPINION PAPER

Research the effects of the U.S. trade embargo on Cuba. Write a two-paragraph **opinion paper** on whether it would be in the best interests of the United States to lift that embargo.

5

The Cold War Thaws

MAIN IDEA

EMPIRE BUILDING The Cold War began to thaw as the superpowers entered an era of uneasy diplomacy.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The United States and the countries of the former Soviet Union continue to cooperate and maintain a cautious peace.

TERMS & NAMES

- Nikita Khrushchev • détente
- Richard M. Nixon
- Leonid Brezhnev • SALT
- John F. Kennedy • Ronald Reagan
- Lyndon Johnson

SETTING THE STAGE In the postwar years, the Soviet Union kept a firm grip on its satellite countries in Eastern Europe. These countries were Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, and East Germany. (Yugoslavia had broken away from Soviet control in 1948, although it remained Communist.) The Soviet Union did not allow them to direct and develop their own economies. Instead, it insisted that they develop industries to meet Soviet needs. These policies greatly hampered Eastern Europe's economic recovery.

TAKING NOTES

Outlining Organize main ideas and details about the Cold War thaw.

I. *Soviet Policy in Eastern Europe and China*

A.

B.

II. *From Brinkmanship to Détente*

Soviet Policy in Eastern Europe and China

More moderate Soviet leaders came to power after Stalin's death. They allowed satellite countries somewhat more independence, as long as they remained allied with the Soviet Union. During the 1950s and 1960s, however, growing protest movements in Eastern Europe threatened the Soviet grip on the region. Increasing tensions with China also diverted Soviet attention and forces.

Destalinization and Rumblings of Protest After Stalin died in 1953, **Nikita Khrushchev** became the dominant Soviet leader. In 1956, the shrewd, tough Khrushchev denounced Stalin for jailing and killing loyal Soviet citizens. His speech signaled the start of a policy called destalinization, or purging the country of Stalin's memory. Workers destroyed monuments of the former dictator. Khrushchev called for "peaceful competition" with capitalist states.

But this new Soviet outlook did not change life in satellite countries. Their resentment at times turned to active protest. In October 1956, for example, the Hungarian army joined protesters to overthrow Hungary's Soviet-controlled government. Storming through the capital, Budapest, mobs waved Hungarian flags with the Communist hammer-and-sickle emblem cut out. "From the youngest child to the oldest man," one protester declared, "no one wants communism."

A popular and liberal Hungarian Communist leader named Imre Nagy (IHM•ray nahj) formed a new government. Nagy promised free elections and demanded Soviet troops leave. In response, Soviet tanks and infantry entered Budapest in November. Thousands of Hungarian freedom fighters armed themselves with pistols and bottles, but were overwhelmed. A pro-Soviet government was installed, and Nagy was eventually executed.

History Makers



Imre Nagy (1896–1958)

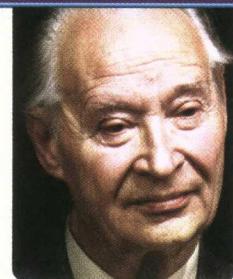
Imre Nagy was born into a peasant family in Hungary. During World War I, he was captured by the Soviets and recruited into their army. He then became a Communist.

Nagy held several posts in his country's Communist government, but his loyalty remained with the peasants. Because of his independent approach, he fell in and out of favor with the Soviet Union. In October 1956, he led an anti-Soviet revolt. After the Soviets forcefully put down the uprising, they tried and executed him.

In 1989, after Communists lost control of Hungary's government, Nagy was reburied with official honors.



▲ Czech demonstrators fight Soviet tanks in 1968.



Alexander Dubček (1921–1992)

Alexander Dubček was the son of a Czech Communist Party member. He moved rapidly up through its ranks, becoming party leader in 1968.

Responding to the spirit of change in the 1960s, Dubček instituted broad reforms during the so-called Prague Spring of 1968. The Soviet Union reacted by sending tanks into Prague to suppress a feared revolt. The Soviets expelled Dubček from the party. He regained political prominence in 1989, when the Communists agreed to share power in a coalition government. When Czechoslovakia split into two nations in 1992, Dubček became head of the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia.

The Revolt in Czechoslovakia Despite the show of force in Hungary, Khrushchev lost prestige in his country as a result of the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. In 1964, party leaders voted to remove him from power. His replacement, **Leonid Brezhnev**, quickly adopted repressive domestic policies. The party enforced laws to limit such basic human rights as freedom of speech and worship. Government censors controlled what writers could publish. Brezhnev clamped down on those who dared to protest his policies. For example, the secret police arrested many dissidents, including Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, winner of the 1970 Nobel Prize for literature. They then expelled him from the Soviet Union. A

Brezhnev made clear that he would not tolerate dissent in Eastern Europe either. His policy was put to the test in early 1968. At that time, Czech Communist leader Alexander Dubček (DOOB-chehk) loosened controls on censorship to offer his country socialism with "a human face." This period of reform, when Czechoslovakia's capital bloomed with new ideas, became known as Prague Spring. However, it did not survive the summer. On August 20, armed forces from the Warsaw Pact nations invaded Czechoslovakia. Brezhnev justified this invasion by claiming the Soviet Union had the right to prevent its satellites from rejecting communism, a policy known as the Brezhnev Doctrine.

The Soviet-Chinese Split While many satellite countries resisted Communist rule, China was committed to communism. In fact, to cement the ties between Communist powers, Mao and Stalin had signed a 30-year treaty of friendship in 1950. Their spirit of cooperation, however, ran out before the treaty did.

The Soviets assumed the Chinese would follow Soviet leadership in world affairs. As the Chinese grew more confident, however, they resented being in Moscow's shadow. They began to spread their own brand of communism in Africa and other

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

- A Why was Nikita Khrushchev removed from power in 1964?

parts of Asia. In 1959, Khrushchev punished the Chinese by refusing to share nuclear secrets. The following year, the Soviets ended technical economic aid. The Soviet-Chinese split grew so wide that fighting broke out along their common border. After repeated incidents, the two neighbors maintained a fragile peace.

From Brinkmanship to Détente

In the 1970s, the United States and the Soviet Union finally backed away from the aggressive policies of brinkmanship that they had followed during the early post-war years. The superpowers slowly moved to lower tensions.

Brinkmanship Breaks Down The brinkmanship policy followed during the presidencies of Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson led to one terrifying crisis after another. Though these crises erupted all over the world, they were united by a common fear. Nuclear war seemed possible.

In 1960, the U-2 incident prevented a meeting between the United States and the Soviet Union to discuss the buildup of arms on both sides. Then, during the administration of **John F. Kennedy** in the early 1960s, the Cuban Missile Crisis made the superpowers' use of nuclear weapons a real possibility. (See page 551.) The crisis ended when Soviet ships turned back to avoid a confrontation at sea. "We're eyeball to eyeball," the relieved U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk said, "and I think the other fellow just blinked." But Kennedy's secretary of defense, Robert McNamara, admitted how close the world had come to disaster:

PRIMARY SOURCE B

In the face of an air attack [on Cuba] and in the face of the probability of a ground attack, it was certainly possible, and I would say probable, that a Cuban sergeant or Soviet officer in a missile silo, without authority from Moscow, would have launched one or more of those intermediate-range missiles, equipped with a nuclear warhead, against one or more of the cities on the East Coast of the United States.

ROBERT McNAMARA, quoted in *Inside the Cold War*

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Primary Sources

B Do you think that Robert McNamara's view of the Soviet threat in Cuba was justified? Explain.

Tensions remained high. After the assassination of Kennedy in 1963, **Lyndon Johnson** assumed the presidency. Committed to stopping the spread of communism, President Johnson escalated U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam.

The United States Turns to Détente Widespread popular protests wracked the United States during the Vietnam War. And the turmoil did not end with U.S. withdrawal. As it tried to heal its internal wounds, the United States backed away from its policy of direct confrontation with the Soviet Union. **Détente**, a policy of lessening Cold War tensions, replaced brinkmanship under **Richard M. Nixon**.

President Nixon's move toward détente grew out of a philosophy known as realpolitik. This term comes from the German word meaning "realistic politics." In practice, realpolitik meant dealing with other nations in a practical and flexible manner. While the United States continued to try to contain the spread of communism, the two superpowers agreed to pursue détente and to reduce tensions.

Nixon Visits Communist Powers Nixon's new policy represented a personal reversal as well as a political shift for the country. His rise in politics in the 1950s was largely due to his strong anti-Communist position. Twenty years later, he became the first U.S. president to visit Communist China. The visit made sense in a world in which three, not just two,

▼ U.S. president Nixon visits China in 1972, accompanied by Chinese premier Zhou Enlai (left).

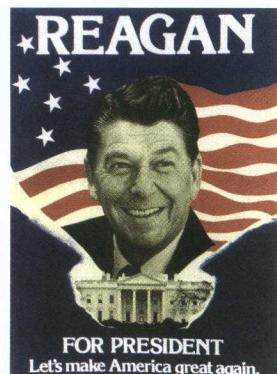


Vocabulary

Détente is a French word meaning "a loosening."

superpowers eyed each other suspiciously. “We want the Chinese with us when we sit down and negotiate with the Russians,” Nixon explained.

Three months after visiting Beijing in February 1972, Nixon visited the Soviet Union. After a series of meetings called the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (**SALT**), Nixon and Brezhnev signed the SALT I Treaty. This five-year agreement, limited to 1972 levels the number of intercontinental ballistic and submarine-launched missiles each country could have. In 1975, 33 nations joined the United States and the Soviet Union in signing a commitment to détente and cooperation, the Helsinki Accords.



▲ Ronald Reagan's 1980 political poster highlights the strong patriotic theme of his campaign.

The Collapse of Détente

Under presidents Nixon and Gerald Ford, the United States improved relations with China and the Soviet Union. In the late 1970s, however, President Jimmy Carter was concerned over harsh treatment of protesters in the Soviet Union. This threatened to prevent a second round of SALT negotiations. In 1979, Carter and Brezhnev finally signed the SALT II agreement. When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan later that year, however, the U.S. Congress refused to ratify SALT II. Concerns mounted as more nations, including China and India, began building nuclear arsenals.

Reagan Takes an Anti-Communist Stance A fiercely anti-Communist U.S. president, **Ronald Reagan**, took office in 1981. He continued to move away from détente. He increased defense spending, putting both economic and military pressure on the Soviets. In 1983, Reagan also announced the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), a program to protect against enemy missiles. It was not put into effect but remained a symbol of U.S. anti-Communist sentiment.

Tensions increased as U.S. activities such as arming Nicaragua’s Contras pushed the United States and Soviet Union further from détente. However, a change in Soviet leadership in 1985 brought a new policy toward the United States and the beginnings of a final thaw in the Cold War. Meanwhile, as you will learn in the next chapter, developing countries continued their own struggles for independence.

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

- C In what ways did Nixon’s and Reagan’s policies toward the Soviet Union differ?

SECTION

5

ASSESSMENT

TERMS & NAMES

1. For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Nikita Khrushchev • Leonid Brezhnev • John F. Kennedy • Lyndon Johnson • détente • Richard M. Nixon • SALT • Ronald Reagan

USING YOUR NOTES

2. What do you consider the most significant reason for the collapse of détente?

- I. Soviet Policy in Eastern Europe and China
A.
B.
II. From Brinkmanship to Détente

MAIN IDEAS

3. What effects did destalinization have on Soviet satellite countries?
4. What changes did Alexander Dubček seek to make in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and what happened?
5. Why was the policy of brinkmanship replaced?

CRITICAL THINKING & WRITING

6. **DEVELOPING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE** In view of Soviet policies toward Eastern Europe in the postwar era, what reasons did people in Eastern Europe have for resistance?
7. **EVALUATING DECISIONS** Do you think it was a wise political move for Nixon to visit Communist China and the Soviet Union? Why or why not?
8. **RECOGNIZING EFFECTS** What was the result of Reagan’s move away from détente?
9. **WRITING ACTIVITY** **REVOLUTION** Write a short poem or song lyrics expressing protest against Communist rule by a citizen of a country behind the Iron Curtain.

CONNECT TO TODAY WRITING A SUMMARY

Look through a major newspaper or newsmagazine for articles on Eastern European countries. Then, write a brief **summary** of recent developments there.

Chapter 17 Assessment

TERMS & NAMES

For each term or name below, briefly explain its connection to the restructuring of the postwar world since 1945.

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. containment | 6. Vietnamization |
| 2. Cold War | 7. Fidel Castro |
| 3. Mao Zedong | 8. Nikita Khrushchev |
| 4. Cultural Revolution | 9. détente |
| 5. 38th parallel | 10. SALT |

MAIN IDEAS

Cold War: Superpowers Face Off

Section 1 (pages 531–537)

11. Why did some Americans oppose the Truman Doctrine?
12. How did the Soviet Union respond to the U.S. policy of brinkmanship?

Communists Take Power in China

Section 2 (pages 538–541)

13. Who did the superpowers support in the Chinese civil war?
14. What were the results of Mao Zedong's Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution?

Wars in Korea and Vietnam

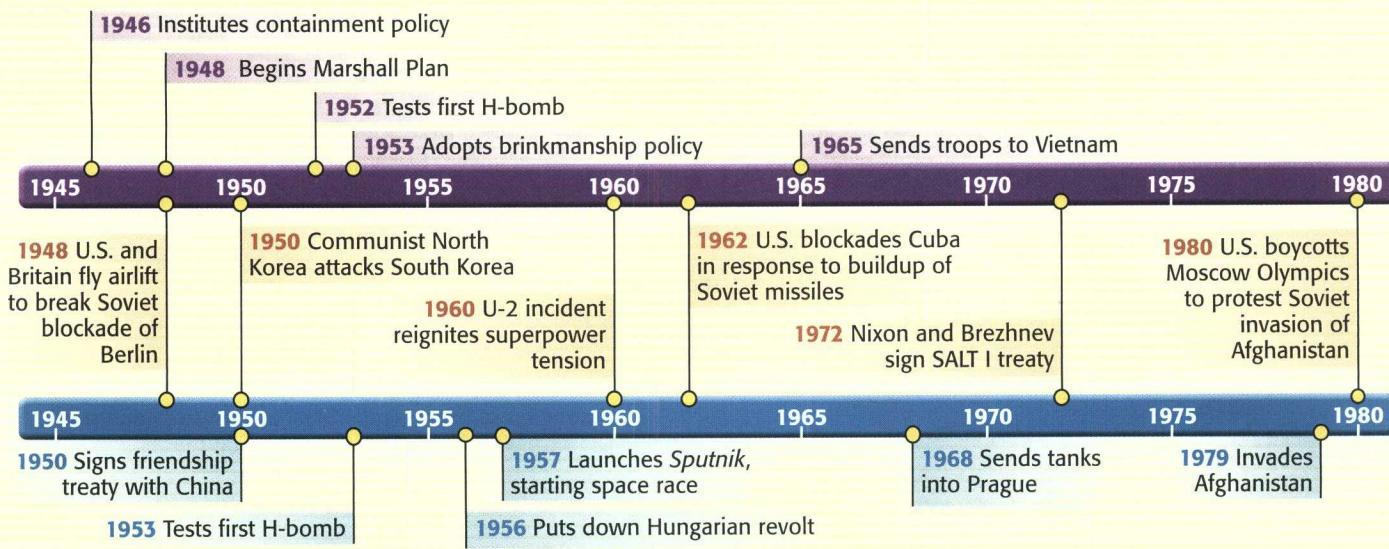
Section 3 (pages 542–547)

15. What effects did the Korean War have on Korea's land and its people?
16. What difficulties did the U.S. Army face fighting the war in Vietnam?

VISUAL SUMMARY

United States

Cold War, 1946–1980



The Cold War Divides the World

Section 4 (pages 548–553)

17. Why did developing nations often align themselves with one or the other superpower?
18. How did the Soviet Union respond to the Bay of Pigs?

The Cold War Thaws

Section 5 (pages 554–557)

19. In what ways did Soviet actions hamper Eastern Europe's economic recovery after World War II?
20. What policies characterized realpolitik?

CRITICAL THINKING

1. USING YOUR NOTES

Use a diagram to show superpower Cold War tactics.



2. COMPARING

EMPIRE BUILDING In what ways were the United States and the Soviet Union more similar than different?

3. HYPOTHEZING

ECONOMICS How might the Cold War have proceeded if the United States had been economically and physically damaged in World War II?

4. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

REVOLUTION Which two Cold War events do you think had the greatest impact on the U.S. decision to pursue détente?

5. MAKING INFERENCES

Why do you think the United States and the Soviet Union chose cooperation in space after years of competition?

STANDARDS-BASED ASSESSMENT

Use the quotation and your knowledge of world history to answer questions 1 and 2.

Additional Test Practice, pp. S1-S33

The following poem by Ho Chi Minh was broadcast over Hanoi Radio on January 1, 1968.

PRIMARY SOURCE

*This Spring far outshines the previous Springs,
Of victories throughout the land come happy tidings.
South and North, rushing heroically together, shall
smite the American invaders!*

Go Forward!

Total victory shall be ours.

HO CHI MINH, quoted in *America and Vietnam*

1. In Ho's opinion, who was the enemy in the Vietnam War?

- A. the South Vietnamese
- B. the changing seasons
- C. the United States
- D. the French

2. What purpose might the North Vietnamese have had in broadcasting this poem?

- A. to show that their political leader was also a poet
- B. to warn the United States that it would be defeated
- C. to single out the North Vietnamese people for special attention
- D. to be used as propaganda to show that North and South were fighting together

Use the chart and your knowledge of world history to answer question 3.

U.S.–Soviet Military Power, 1986–1987

U.S.		Soviet
1,010	Intercontinental ballistic missiles	1,398
640	Submarine-launched missiles	983
260	Long-range bombers	160
24,700	Nuclear warheads	36,800
0	Antiballistic missile launchers	100
14	Aircraft carriers	5
2,143,955	Armed forces personnel	5,130,000

Sources: *The Military Balance 1986–1987; Nuclear Weapons Databook, Vol. IV, Soviet Nuclear Weapons*

3. The chart clearly shows that

- A. the United States had more troops than the Soviet Union.
- B. the Soviet Union had clear superiority in the number of ballistic missiles.
- C. the United States and the Soviet Union were equal in nuclear warheads.
- D. the Soviet Union had more aircraft carriers.

INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY

TEST PRACTICE Go to classzone.com

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ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT

1. Interact with History

On page 530, you considered what policies a nation might follow to gain allies. Now that you have learned more about the Cold War, would your decision change? Discuss your ideas with a small group.

2. WRITING ABOUT HISTORY

Study the information in the infographic on how the Cold War was fought on page 549. Write a two-paragraph **persuasive essay** on which means was the most successful for the United States and which was most successful for the Soviet Union.

Consider the following:

- who received foreign aid
- whether propaganda was successful
- how strong the military alliances were
- what was gained in surrogate wars

INTEGRATED TECHNOLOGY

Creating an Interactive Time Line

In October 1962, President John F. Kennedy and his advisers had to defuse a potentially devastating nuclear standoff with the Soviet Union. Using books, the Internet, and other resources, create an interactive time line of the crisis. Use graphics software to add maps and photographs. In addition to noting key dates, use the time line to address some of the following:

- Who were members of Kennedy's inner circle during the crisis?
- What did Kennedy say about the events in his first public address to the nation?
- How did Soviet premier Nikita Krushchev approach the crisis in Cuba?
- What details did Americans learn only after the crisis had been resolved?