**The Big Ideas**

**SECTION 1: Development of the Cold War**
International rivalry between superpowers and growing nationalism in the Third World led to major conflicts in the Cold War. A period of conflict called the Cold War developed between the United States and the Soviet Union after 1945, forcing European nations to support one of the two major powers.

**SECTION 2: The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe**
A totalitarian system violates human rights in pursuit of political power. The Soviet Union faced revolts and protests in its attempt to gain and maintain control over Eastern Europe.

**SECTION 3: Western Europe and North America**
Throughout history people have struggled for rights. Post–World War II societies rebuilt their economies and communities, but not without upheaval and change.

The Soviet government displays its military strength in Moscow's annual May Day parade.

- 1961: Berlin Wall built
- 1962: Cuban missile crisis unfolds
- 1964: More U.S. troops sent to Vietnam
- 1965
- 1970

Visit the Glencoe World History—Modern Times Web site at wh.mt.glencoe.com and click on Chapter 12—Chapter Overview to preview chapter information.
When you read, you don’t take each piece of information in isolation. You need to think critically about what you’ve read, constantly evaluating and drawing conclusions. For example, your first reaction in reading about Napoleon might be that he was foolish to invade Russia and get thousands of French soldiers killed. This is an immediate reaction, but to have a well-formed evaluation of the past, you want to look at decisions and policies in context. What led up to that decision or policy?

While reading about the past, you should consider all the circumstances of a situation. Think of yourself as a judge, objectively taking in information from a variety of perspectives and thinking about motivation. Once you’ve done that, you are ready to evaluate decisions, policies, and behaviors, and come to a conclusion.

Read the following excerpt about Joseph Stalin from this chapter and write down your first impression of his leadership skills.

Stalin remained the undisputed master of the Soviet Union. He distrusted competitors, exercised sole power, and had little respect for other Communist Party leaders. He is reported to have said to members of his inner circle in 1952, “You are as blind as kittens. What would you do without me?”

Stalin’s suspicions added to the increasing repression of the regime. In 1946, the government decreed that all literary and scientific work must conform to the political needs of the state.

As you read this chapter, write a short paragraph explaining the state of the Soviet Union after World War II. Then look at your initial impression of Stalin. With a classmate, evaluate what Stalin’s words tell us about how he led the Soviet government.
**Historical Analysis Skill: Interpreting Economics**

**Historical Interpretation: Standard HI 6** Students conduct cost-benefit analyses and apply basic economic indicators to analyze the aggregate economic behavior of the U.S. economy.

Historians know that national and global economies play a vital role in influencing history. When a nation’s economy is weak, people might vote for new leaders, or even an entirely new political system. Economic trends affect the kinds of jobs people have, the way different social classes relate to one another, and how much money consumers spend.

As the Great Depression demonstrated, economic crises are a springboard for a variety of economic, political, and social problems. Historians also look at economic upturns, which often predict the economic behavior of social groups.

Read the following statements from Chapter 12 about American economic activity after World War II.

- An economic boom followed World War II. A shortage of consumer goods during the war had left Americans with both extra income and the desire to buy goods after the war.

- In addition, the growth of labor unions brought higher wages and gave more workers the ability to buy consumer goods. Between 1945 and 1973, real wages (the actual purchasing power of income) grew an average of 3 percent a year, the most prolonged advance in American history.

Based on what you’ve read in the previous chapter, write a brief summary on the home front in the United States during World War II. Then discuss whether the fact that there was an economic boom after the war was surprising. After reading this chapter, draw comparisons with the postwar economies of other former Allied and Axis powers.
The end of World War II in Europe had been met with great joy. One visitor in Moscow reported, “I looked out of the window [at 2 A.M.], almost everywhere there were lights in the windows—people were staying awake. Everyone embraced everyone else, someone sobbed aloud.”

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

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

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

**Why It Matters**

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

**History and You** Create a world map. As you read the chapter, color the map as a United States policy maker might have during the Cold War. Indicate the Soviet and United States spheres of influence as well as areas under contention.
Development of the Cold War

**Guide to Reading**

**Section Preview**
A period of conflict called the Cold War developed between the United States and the Soviet Union after 1945, forcing European nations to support one of the two major powers.

**Main Idea**
- After World War II, the differences between the United States and Soviet Union became very apparent, and the two powers became fierce rivals. (p. 584)
- As Cold War tensions increased, nations were forced to choose to support the Soviet Union or the United States. (p. 586)

**Content Vocabulary**
- satellite state
- policy of containment
- arms race
- deterrence
- domino theory

**Academic Vocabulary**
- aid
- occupy
- creation
- administration
- communications

**People and Events to Identify**
- Truman Doctrine
- Dean Acheson
- Marshall Plan
- NATO
- Warsaw Pact
- SEATO
- CENTO
- Nikita Khrushchev

**Places to Locate**
- Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany
- German Democratic Republic

**Reading Objectives**
1. Explain the major turning points in the development of the Cold War.
2. Describe the Cuban missile crisis.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Major Event</th>
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**California Standards in This Section**
Reading this section will help you master these California History–Social Science standards.

10.9.2: Analyze the causes of the Cold War, with the free world on one side and Soviet client states on the other, including competition for influence in such places as Egypt, the Congo, Vietnam, and Chile.

10.9.3: Understand the importance of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, which established the pattern for America’s postwar policy of supplying economic and military aid to prevent the spread of Communism and the resulting economic and political competition in arenas such as Southeast Asia (i.e., the Korean War, Vietnam War), Cuba, and Africa.

10.9.8: Discuss the establishment and work of the United Nations and the purposes and functions of the Warsaw Pact, SEATO, NATO, and the Organization of American States.
Confrontation of the Superpowers

Main Idea After World War II, the differences between the United States and Soviet Union became very apparent, and the two powers became fierce rivals.

Reading Connection Can you remember a time when you wanted to perform better than one of your rivals? Read to learn how the not-so-friendly rivalry between the United States and Soviet Union began.

Once the Axis Powers were defeated, the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union became clear. Stalin still feared the capitalist West, while the United States and other Western leaders feared communism. No one identified the coming conflict so clearly as British prime minister Winston Churchill.

Voices from the Past

On March 5, 1946, Winston Churchill gave a speech in Fulton, Missouri, expressing his growing concern about the rift between the Soviets and the West:

“From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of central and eastern Europe, Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia; all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in the Soviet sphere and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow.”

It did not take long for Soviet leader Joseph Stalin to reply: “In substance, Mr. Churchill now stands in the position of a firebrand of war.” Who, then, was responsible for beginning the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union? Both nations took steps that were unwise and might have been avoided, but it was not surprising that two nations, so different in policy and nature, would conflict.

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

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

A civil war in Greece created another area of conflict between the superpowers. The Communist People’s Liberation Army and anticommunist forces (supported by Great Britain) were fighting each other for control of Greece in 1946. But due to internal economic problems, Britain withdrew its aid from Greece.

The Truman Doctrine President Harry S. Truman of the United States, alarmed by the British withdrawal and the possibility of Soviet expansion into the eastern Mediterranean, responded in early 1947 with the Truman Doctrine. The Truman Doctrine stated that the United States would provide money to countries (in this case, Greece) threatened by Communist expansion. If the Soviets were not stopped in Greece, the Truman argument ran, then the United States would have to face the spread of communism throughout the free world.
In 1949, the Soviet Union responded to the Marshall Plan by founding the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) for the economic cooperation of the Eastern European states. COMECON largely failed, however, because the Soviet Union was unable to provide the necessary financial aid.

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

The Division of Germany

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

The foreign ministers of the four occupying powers met repeatedly in an attempt to arrive at a final peace treaty with Germany but had little success. By February 1948, Great Britain, France, and the United States were making plans to unify the three Western sections of Germany (and Berlin) and create a West German government.

The Soviets opposed the creation of a separate West German state. They attempted to prevent it by mounting a blockade of West Berlin. Soviet forces did not allow trucks, trains, or barges to enter the city’s three Western zones. Food and supplies could no longer get through to the 2.5 million people in these zones.

The Western powers faced a dilemma. No one wanted World War III, but how could the people in the Western zones of Berlin be kept alive, when the whole city was inside the Soviet zone? The solution was the Berlin Airlift—supplies would be flown in by American and British airplanes. For over 10 months, more than 200,000 flights carried 2.3 million tons (2.1 million t) of supplies into the zone. The Soviets, who also wanted to avoid war, finally gave in and lifted the blockade in May 1949.

In September 1949, the Federal Republic of Germany, or West Germany, was formally created. Its capital was Bonn. Less than a month later, a separate East German state, the German Democratic Republic, was set up by the Soviets. East Berlin became that

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

The Marshall Plan

The Truman Doctrine was followed in June 1947 by the European Recovery Program. Proposed by General George C. Marshall, U.S. secretary of state, it is better known as the Marshall Plan. Marshall, who had been the chief of staff for the U.S. Army during World War II, won the Nobel Peace Prize for his work on the European Recovery Program.

The Marshall Plan was designed to rebuild the prosperity and stability of war-torn Europe. It included $13 billion in aid for Europe’s economic recovery. Underlying the Marshall Plan was the belief that Communist aggression was successful in countries where there were economic problems.

The Marshall Plan was not meant to shut out the Soviet Union or its economically and politically dependent Eastern European satellite states. These nations refused to participate, however. The Soviets saw the Marshall Plan as an attempt to buy the support of countries.
nation’s capital. Berlin, which only a few years earlier had been the center of the 1,000-year Reich, was now divided into two parts, a reminder of the division of West and East.

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

**Spread of the Cold War**

As Cold War tensions increased, nations were forced to choose to support the Soviet Union or the United States.

**Reading Connection** In the war on terrorism in the early 2000s, did some nations attempt to stay neutral? Read to learn how communist and noncommunist alliances came about.

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

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

**New Military Alliances**
The search for security during the Cold War led to the formation of new military alliances. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed in April 1949 when Belgium, Luxembourg, France, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Italy, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, and Iceland signed a treaty with the United States and Canada. All the powers who signed agreed to provide mutual help if any one of them was attacked. A few years later, West Germany, Turkey, and Greece also joined.

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

New military alliances spread to the rest of the world after the United States became involved in the Korean War (discussed in Chapter 16). The war began in 1950 as an attempt by the Communist government of North Korea, which was allied with the Soviet Union, to take over South Korea. The Korean War confirmed American fears of Communist expansion. More determined than ever to contain Soviet power, the United States extended its military alliances around the world.
To stem Soviet aggression in the East, the United States, Great Britain, France, Pakistan, Thailand, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand formed the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). The Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), which included Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Great Britain, and the United States, was meant to prevent the Soviet Union from expanding to the south. By the mid-1950s, the United States found itself allied militarily with 42 states around the world.

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

The search for security soon took the form of deterrence. This policy held that huge arsenals of nuclear weapons on both sides prevented war. The belief was that neither side would launch a nuclear attack because the other side would be able to strike back with devastating power.

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

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

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

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

The Cuban Missile Crisis  During the administration of John F. Kennedy, the Cold War confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union reached frightening levels. In 1959, a left-wing revolutionary named Fidel Castro overthrew the Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista and set up a Soviet-supported totalitarian regime in Cuba (see Chapter
the United States had invaded Cuba, an option that Kennedy fortunately had rejected. The realization that the world might have been destroyed in a few days had a profound influence on both sides. A hotline communications system between Moscow and Washington, D.C., was installed in 1963. The two superpowers could now communicate quickly in times of crisis.

14). President Kennedy approved a secret plan for Cuban exiles to invade Cuba in the hope of causing a revolt against Castro. The invasion was a disaster. Many of the exiles were killed or captured when they attempted a landing at the Bay of Pigs.

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

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

**Reading Check** **Making Inferences** What proved to be most important to both the United States and Soviet Union during the Cuban missile crisis?
Vietnam and the Domino Theory

Main Idea With the goal of stopping the spread of communism, the United States entered the war in Vietnam.

Reading Connection Remember how Germany forced its own government and ideas on the European countries it invaded during World War II? Read to learn how the United States feared the spread of communism.

The United States soon became drawn into a new struggle that had an important impact on the Cold War—the Vietnam War (see Chapter 16). In 1964, under President Lyndon B. Johnson, increasing numbers of U.S. troops were sent to Vietnam. Their purpose was to keep the Communist regime of North Vietnam from gaining control of South Vietnam.

U.S. policy makers saw the conflict in terms of a domino theory. If the Communists succeeded in South Vietnam, other countries in Asia would also fall (like dominoes) to communism.

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

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

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

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

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

Examining What did the Vietnam War prove about the state of global communism?
Youth Protest in the 1960s

The decade of the 1960s witnessed a dramatic change in traditional manners and morals. The new standards were evident in dramatically higher divorce rates. Movies, plays, and books broke new ground in dealing with taboo subjects.

The youth movement was the most obvious sign of the times. New attitudes toward sex and the use of drugs were two of its features. Young people also questioned authority and rebelled against the older generation. Spurred on by the Vietnam War, the youth rebellion in the United States had become a youth protest movement by the second half of the 1960s. People active in the movement were often called “hippies.” Although it started in the United States, the youth movement was found in other countries, too, as the Paris student protest of 1968 showed.

In the 1960s, the lyrics of rock music reflected the rebellious mood of many young people. Bob Dylan, a well-known recording artist, expressed their feelings. His 1964 song “The Times They Are A-Changin’” has been called an “anthem for the protest movement.” Some of its words show why:

Come gather round people
Wherever you roam
And admit that the waters
Around you have grown
And accept it that soon
You’ll be drenched to the bone
If your time to you
Is worth savin’
Then you better start swimmin’
Or you’ll sink like a stone
For the times they are a-changin’

Come mothers and fathers
Throughout the land
And don’t criticize
What you can’t understand
Your sons and your daughters
Are beyond your command
Your old road
Is rapidly agin’
Please get out of the new one
If you can’t lend your hand
For the times they are a-changin’
American student opposition to the Vietnam War was one of the strongest causes for student unity. The anti-war movement had support in other countries and among all age groups. In this 1966 photo, Australians protested the war. The sign reading “Children Burnt for LBJ” is a reference to Vietnamese children, while “LBJ” stands for American president Lyndon Baines Johnson.

In May 1968, French students joined with workers in a general strike that paralyzed the nation. Inspired partly by American and Czech students, the French students were protesting what they saw as an outdated university system, while workers were protesting low salaries. In late May, the French riot police restored order, and many students were arrested and taken to jail.

The 1960s generation lent energy to political protests. Here, Czech youths demonstrate against the Soviet tanks which rolled into Prague on August 21, 1968, to damp down a reform movement. The student sign reads, “The USSR—Never Again.” The protesters did not oppose socialism, but a Soviet system that repressed free speech. In March 1969, the Soviets brutally suppressed all remaining opposition.

**Connecting to the Past**

1. **Identifying** What does Bob Dylan say is the consequence of not changing?

2. **Comparing** Are there artists today who have the same outlook as Bob Dylan?

3. **Writing about History** What social or political issues concern young people around the world today? Are they being expressed in music, literature, TV, or movies? Write a brief essay focusing on one or two examples.
The Soviet Union faced revolts and protests in its attempt to gain and maintain control over Eastern Europe.

**Main Idea**
- The Soviet Union recovered rapidly after World War II, but it could not maintain high levels of industrial production. (p. 593)
- After World War II, Soviet control of Eastern Europe became firmly entrenched. (p. 594)

**Content Vocabulary**
- heavy industry
- de-Stalinization

**Academic Vocabulary**
- conform
- symbol

**People to Identify**
- Alexander Solzhenitsyn
- Tito
- Imre Nagy
- Alexander Dubček

**Places to Locate**
- Soviet Union
- Poland
- Hungary
- Czechoslovakia
- Albania
- Yugoslavia

**Reading Objectives**
1. List Khrushchev's policies of de-Stalinization.
2. Explain how the Soviet Union exerted power over Eastern Europe.

**Preview of Events**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Khrushchev named general secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Solzhenitsyn’s <em>One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich</em> is published</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Khrushchev is voted out of office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>The Soviet Army invades Czechoslovakia</td>
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**California Standards in This Section**

Reading this section will help you master these California History–Social Science standards.

10.9: Students analyze the international developments in the post-World War II world.

10.9.5: Describe the uprisings in Poland (1952), Hungary (1956), and Czechoslovakia (1968) and those countries' resurgence in the 1970s and 1980s as people in Soviet satellites sought freedom from Soviet control.

10.9.7: Analyze the reasons for the collapse of the Soviet Union, including the weakness of the command economy, burdens of military commitments, and growing resistance to Soviet rule by dissidents in satellite states and the non-Russian Soviet republics.
Recovery Soviet-Style

**Main Idea** The Soviet Union recovered rapidly after World War II, but it could not maintain high levels of industrial production.

**Reading Connection** In a democracy, does a change in the administration drastically alter American life? Read to learn how the Soviet Union changed after the death of Joseph Stalin.

World War II devastated the **Soviet Union**. To create a new industrial base, Soviet workers were expected to produce goods for export. The incoming capital was used to buy machinery or Western technology, not consumer goods, so Soviet workers got little in return for their hard labor. This same strict life was found in Eastern Europe where the Soviet Union controlled the communist governments of this region. Periodically, the peoples of Eastern Europe rebelled.

**Voices from the Past**

In 1956, Hungary revolted against the harsh control of the Soviets. As it sent in troops, the Soviet Union claimed that anti-democratic forces were responsible for the discontent:

"Forces of reaction and counterrevolution . . . are trying to take advantage of the discontent of part of the working people to undermine the foundations of the people’s democratic order in Hungary and to restore the old landlord and capitalist order. The Soviet government and all the people deeply regret that the development of events in Hungary has led to bloodshed. On the request of the Hungarian People’s Government the Soviet government consented to the entry into Budapest of the Soviet Army units to assist the Hungarian authorities to establish order in the town."

Ordinary people were shortchanged, however. For example, the growth rate for heavy industry was three times that for consumer goods, and the housing shortage was severe. An average Russian family lived in a one-room apartment. A British official in Moscow reported that "every room is both a living room by day and a bedroom by night."

Stalin remained the undisputed master of the Soviet Union. He distrusted competitors, exercised sole power, and had little respect for other Communist Party leaders. He is reported to have said to members of his inner circle in 1952, “You are as blind as kittens. What would you do without me?”

Stalin’s suspicions added to the increasing repression of the regime. In 1946, the government decreed that all literary and scientific work must **conform** to the political needs of the state. Along with this anti-intellectual campaign came political terror. A new series of purges seemed likely in 1953, but Stalin’s death on March 5 prevented more bloodletting.

**Reading Check** What costs did Stalin’s economic policy impose on the Russian people?

**The Khrushchev Era** A group of leaders succeeded Stalin, but the new general secretary of the Communist Party, Nikita Khrushchev, soon emerged as the chief Soviet politician. Once in power, Khrushchev took steps to undo some of the worst features of Stalin’s regime.

At the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party in 1956, Khrushchev condemned Stalin for his “administrative violence, mass repression, and terror.” The process of eliminating the more ruthless policies of Stalin became known as **de-Stalinization**.

Khrushchev loosened government controls on literary works. In 1962, for example, he allowed the

**The Reign of Stalin** Economic recovery under Stalin was spectacular in some respects. By 1950, Russian industrial production had surpassed prewar levels by 40 percent. New power plants, canals, and giant factories were built. **Heavy industry**, the manufacture of machines and equipment for factories and mines, also increased. This increased production was targeted for military use. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union’s reputation as a world power grew when it tested hydrogen bombs in 1953 and sent the first satellite, **Sputnik I**, into space in 1957.
publication of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, a grim portrayal of life in a Siberian forced-labor camp written by Alexander Solzhenitsyn (SOHL•zhuh•NEET•suhn). Each day, as Solzhenitsyn related, prisoners were marched from the prison camp in a remote location to a work project through subzero temperatures: “There were escort guards all over the place, . . . their machine guns sticking out and pointed right at your face. And there were guards with gray dogs.” Many Soviets identified with Ivan as a symbol of the suffering they had endured under Stalin.

Khrushchev tried to place more emphasis on satisfying consumers by producing more consumer goods. He also attempted to increase agricultural output by growing corn and cultivating vast lands east of the Ural Mountains. His agricultural policies were not successful, however, and damaged his reputation in the party.

The agricultural weaknesses, combined with increased military spending, hurt the Soviet economy. The industrial growth rate, which had soared in the early 1950s, now declined dramatically from 13 percent in 1953 to 7.5 percent in 1964.

Foreign policy failures also damaged Khrushchev’s reputation. His rash plan to place missiles in Cuba was the final straw. While he was away on vacation in 1964, a special meeting of the Soviet leaders voted him out of office—the public statement was that his health had deteriorated—and forced him into retirement.

**Reading Check** What did the Soviet leaders vote Khrushchev out of power?

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**Eastern Europe:**

*Behind the Iron Curtain*

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**Main Idea** After World War II, Soviet control of Eastern Europe became firmly entrenched.

**Reading Connection** During the age of imperialism, European powers controlled their colonial peoples in a number of ways. Read to learn how the Soviet Union maintained tight control over Eastern Europe.

At the end of World War II, Soviet military forces occupied all of Eastern Europe and most of the Balkans except for Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia. All of the occupied states came under Soviet control.

**Communist Patterns of Control** The timetable of the Soviet takeover varied from country to country. Between 1945 and 1947, Soviet-controlled Communist governments became firmly entrenched in East Germany, Bulgaria, Romania, **Poland**, and **Hungary**. In **Czechoslovakia**, where there was a strong tradition of democracy and a multiparty system, the Soviets did not seize control of the government until 1948. At that time they dissolved all parties but the Communist Party.

**Albania** and **Yugoslavia** were exceptions to this pattern of Soviet dominance. During the war, both countries had had strong Communist movements that resisted the Nazis. After the war, local Communist parties took control. Communists in Albania set up a Stalinist-type regime that grew more and more independent of the Soviet Union.

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**People In History**

**Nikita Khrushchev**

1894–1971—Soviet leader

First secretary of the Communist Party after Stalin’s death, Khrushchev eventually came to be the sole Soviet ruler. In 1956, he denounced the rule of Stalin, arguing that “Stalin showed in a whole series of cases his intolerance, his brutality and his abuse of power. . . . He was a very distrustful man, sickly suspicious. Everywhere and in everything he saw enemies, two-facers, and spies.”

Khrushchev alienated other Soviet leaders by his policy in Cuba. He had other problems with the higher Soviet officials as well. They frowned on his tendency to crack jokes and play the clown. They also were displeased when he tried to curb their privileges.
In Yugoslavia, Josip Broz, known as Tito, had been the leader of the Communist resistance movement. After the war, he moved toward the creation of an independent communist state in Yugoslavia. Stalin hoped to take control of Yugoslavia, just as he had done in other Eastern European countries. Tito, however, refused to give in to Stalin’s demands. He gained the support of the people by portraying the struggle as one of Yugoslav national freedom. Tito ruled Yugoslavia until his death in 1980. Although Yugoslavia had a Communist government, it was not a Soviet satellite state.

Between 1948 and Stalin’s death in 1953, the Eastern European satellite states, directed by the Soviet Union, followed Stalin’s example. They instituted Soviet-type five-year plans with emphasis on heavy industry rather than consumer goods. They began to collectivize agriculture. They eliminated all non-communist parties and set up the institutions of repression—secret police and military forces.

**Revolts Against Communism** Communism did not develop deep roots among the peoples of Eastern Europe. In some cases, there was a long history of hostility between Russia and certain countries, such as Poland. Since the Soviets exploited them economically and made living conditions harsh, Eastern Europeans disliked the Soviet system.

After Stalin’s death, many Eastern European states felt freer to pursue a new course. In the late 1950s and 1960s, the Soviet Union decided that this was unacceptable. The Soviet Union made it clear that it would not allow its satellite states—especially Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia—to be independent.

In 1956, protests erupted in Poland. In response, the Polish Communist Party adopted a series of reforms in October 1956 and elected Władysław Gomułka as first secretary. Gomułka declared that Poland had the right to follow its own socialist path. Fearful of Soviet armed response, however, the Poles compromised. Poland pledged to remain loyal to the Warsaw Pact.

Developments in Poland in 1956 led Hungarian Communists to seek the same kinds of reforms. Unrest in Hungary, combined with economic difficulties,
led to calls for revolt. To quell the rising rebellion, Imre Nagy, the Hungarian leader, declared Hungary a free nation on November 1, 1956, and promised free elections. It soon became clear that this might spell the end of Communist rule there.

Khrushchev was in no position at home to allow this to happen. Three days after Nagy’s declaration, the Soviet army attacked the Hungarian capital of Budapest and the Soviets reestablished control in the country. The Soviets seized Nagy, who was executed two years later.

The situation in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s was different. There, Stalin had placed “Little Stalin,” Antonin Novotny, in power himself in 1953. By the late 1960s, however, Novotny had alienated many members of his own party. He was especially disliked by Czechoslovakia’s writers. A writers’ rebellion, which encouraged the people to take control of their own lives, led to Novotny’s resignation in 1968.

In January 1968, Alexander Dubček (DOOB•chehk) was elected first secretary of the Communist Party. He introduced a number of reforms, including freedom of speech and press and the freedom to travel abroad. He relaxed censorship, began to pursue an independent foreign policy, and promised a gradual democratization of the political system. Dubček hoped to create “socialism with a human face.” A period of euphoria broke out that came to be known as the “Prague Spring.”

The euphoria proved to be short-lived. To forestall the spreading of this “spring fever,” the Soviet army invaded Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and crushed the reform movement. Gustav Husák replaced Dubček and did away with his reforms, reestablishing the old order.

Critical Thinking
Why do you think the Soviets crushed the reform movement?

Reading Check
What caused the battles between the Eastern European states and the Soviet Union?
Western Europe and North America

Section Preview
Post–World War II societies rebuilt their economies and communities, but not without upheaval and change.

Main Idea
- After the end of World War II, most of Western Europe recovered economically and the region became more unified. (p. 598)
- In the years following World War II, the United States faced a range of difficult social and political issues. (p. 600)
- After World War II, advances in technology and the struggle for rights led to rapid change in Western society. (p. 603)

Content Vocabulary
- welfare state, bloc, real wages, civil rights movement, consumer society, women’s liberation movement

Academic Vocabulary
- role, publish

People and Events to Identify
- Charles de Gaulle, European Economic Community, John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., Simone de Beauvoir

Places to Locate
- France, West Germany

Reading Objectives
1. Describe how the EEC benefited its members.
2. List the major social changes in Western society after 1945.

Reading Strategy
Categorizing Information
Use a table like the one below to list programs instituted by Great Britain, the United States, and Canada to promote social welfare.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Great Britain</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

California Standards in This Section

Reading this section will help you master these California History–Social Science standards.

10.9: Students analyze the international developments in the post–World War II world.

10.9.1: Compare the economic and military power shifts caused by the war, including the Yalta Pact, the development of nuclear weapons, Soviet control over Eastern European nations, and the economic recoveries of Germany and Japan.
Western Europe: Recovery and New Unity

Main Idea After the end of World War II, most of Western Europe recovered economically and the region became more unified.

Reading Connection Do you remember reading about the economic recovery of Germany after World War I? Read to learn how West Germany and East Germany recovered after World War II.

With the economic aid of the Marshall Plan, Western Europe recovered relatively rapidly from World War II. Between 1947 and 1950, European countries received $9.4 billion for new equipment and raw materials. By 1950, industrial output in Europe was 30 percent above prewar levels. This economic recovery continued well into the 1950s and 1960s, decades of dramatic growth and unequaled prosperity. This economic wealth brought cultural changes in society, too, and youth were often at the forefront.

Voices from the Past

Student revolts were a part of larger problems that faced Western society after 1945. The 1960s were a major period of cultural shifts. In 1968, student protesters scribbled these words on the walls of a building at the University of Paris:

"May 1968. World revolution is the order of the day.
To be free in 1968 is to take part.
Make love, not war.
The mind travels faster than the heart but it doesn’t go as far.
Exam = servility, social promotion, hierarchic society.
Love each other.
Are you consumers or participants?
Revolution, I love you."

France and de Gaulle The history of France for nearly a quarter of a century after the war was dominated by one man—the war hero Charles de Gaulle. In 1946, de Gaulle helped establish a new government called the Fourth Republic. It featured a strong parliament and a weak presidency. No party was strong enough to dominate, and the government was largely ineffective.

Unhappy with the Fourth Republic, de Gaulle withdrew from politics. Then, in 1958, he returned. Leaders of the Fourth Republic, frightened by bitter divisions caused by a crisis in the French colony of Algeria (discussed in Chapter 15), asked de Gaulle to form a new government and revise the constitution.

In 1958, de Gaulle drafted a new constitution for the Fifth Republic that greatly enhanced the power of the president. The president would now have the right to choose the prime minister, dissolve parliament, and supervise both defense and foreign policy. The constitution was overwhelmingly approved by French voters, and de Gaulle became the first president of the Fifth Republic.

As the new president, de Gaulle sought to return France to a position of great power. To achieve the status of a world power, de Gaulle invested heavily in nuclear arms. In 1960, France exploded its first nuclear bomb.

During de Gaulle’s presidency, the French economy grew at an annual rate of 5.5 percent, faster than that of the United States. France became a major industrial producer and exporter, especially of automobiles and weapons.

Nevertheless, problems remained. Large government deficits and a rise in the cost of living led to unrest. In May 1968, a series of student protests was followed by a general labor strike. Tired and discouraged, de Gaulle resigned from office in April 1969 and died within a year.
The Economic Miracle of West Germany

The three Western zones of Germany were unified as the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949. From 1949 to 1963, Konrad Adenauer (A•düh•n•OWR), the leader of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), served as chancellor (head of state). Adenauer sought respect for West Germany. He cooperated with the United States and other Western European nations and especially wanted to work with France—Germany’s long-time enemy.

Under Adenauer, West Germany experienced an “economic miracle.” The finance minister, Ludwig Erhard, played a major role in the West German economic revival. Unemployment fell from 8 percent in 1950 to 0.4 percent in 1965. To maintain its economic expansion, West Germany even brought in hundreds of thousands of “guest workers” on visas from Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia.

Adenauer resigned in 1963, after 14 years of guiding West Germany through its postwar recovery. Ludwig Erhard succeeded Adenauer as chancellor and largely continued his policies.

An economic downturn in the mid-1960s opened the door to the Social Democratic Party, which became the leading party in 1969. The leader of the Social Democrats, a moderate socialist party, was Willy Brandt, the mayor of West Berlin.

The Decline of Great Britain

The end of World War II left Great Britain with massive economic problems. In elections immediately after the war, the Labour Party overwhelmingly defeated the Conservative Party headed by Churchill—a shock for the man who had led the fight against Hitler.

The Labour Party had promised far-reaching reforms, especially in the area of social welfare. Under Clement Attlee, the new prime minister, the Labour government set out to create a modern welfare state—a state in which the government takes responsibility for providing citizens with services and a minimal standard of living.

In 1946, the new government passed the National Insurance Act and the National Health Service Act. The insurance act provided funds for the unemployed, the sick, and the aged. The health act created a system of socialized medicine that ensured medical care for all. The British welfare state soon became the norm for most European states.

The cost of building a welfare state at home forced Britain to reduce expenses abroad. This meant the dismantling of the British Empire. Economic necessity forced Britain to give in to the demands of its many colonies for national independence. Britain was no longer able to play the role of a world power.

Continuing economic problems brought the Conservatives back into power from 1951 to 1964. Although they favored private enterprise, the Conservatives accepted the welfare state and even extended it by financing an ambitious building program to improve British housing.

Charles de Gaulle

Charles de Gaulle had an unshakable faith in his mission to restore the greatness of the French nation. De Gaulle followed a military career and, before World War II, he argued for a new type of mobile tank warfare. After France fell to the Nazis, he fled to Britain and became leader of the French Resistance.

As president of France, de Gaulle realized that France was wasting its economic strength by maintaining its colonial empire. By 1962, he had granted independence to France’s black African colonies and to Algeria. At the same time, he believed that playing an important role in the Cold War would enhance France’s stature. For that reason, he pulled France out of NATO, saying that France did not want to be an American “vassal state.”

Charles de Gaulle
1890–1970—French president

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Reading Check

Why did de Gaulle invest heavily in nuclear arms?
The signing of the Rome Treaty in 1957 established the European Economic Community (EEC).

1. **Interpreting Maps** What countries were members of the EEC in 1957?
2. **Applying Geography Skills** What geographical factors could help to explain why some European countries joined the EEC in 1957 but others did not?

**The Move Toward Unity** As we have seen, the divisions created by the Cold War led the nations of Western Europe to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949. The destructiveness of two world wars caused many thoughtful Europeans to consider the need for some additional form of European unity. National feeling was still too powerful, however, for European nations to give up their political sovereignty. As a result, the desire for unity focused chiefly on the economic arena, not the political one.

In 1957, France, West Germany, the Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg), and Italy signed the Rome Treaty. This treaty created the **European Economic Community** (EEC), also known as the Common Market.

The EEC was a free-trade area made up of the six member nations. These six nations would impose no tariffs, or import charges, on each other’s goods. However, as a group, they would be protected by a tariff imposed on goods from non-EEC nations. In this way, the EEC encouraged cooperation among the member nations’ economies. All the member nations benefited economically.

By the 1960s, the EEC had become an important trading bloc—a group of nations with a common purpose. With a total population of 165 million, the EEC was the world’s largest exporter and purchaser of raw materials.

**Making Comparisons** Compare the economic recoveries of France and Great Britain.

**American Dominance**

In the years following World War II, the United States faced a range of difficult social and political issues.

**Main Idea** In the years following World War II, the United States faced a range of difficult social and political issues.

**Reading Connection** Are the issues politicians debate today most often political or economic? Read to learn about the controversies in American history from 1945 to 1970.

Between 1945 and 1970, the ideals of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s New Deal largely determined the agenda in American domestic politics. The New Deal had brought basic changes to American society. They included a dramatic increase in the role of the federal government, the rise of unions as a force in the economy and politics, the beginning of a welfare state, and a greater emphasis on the need to deal fairly with minorities in society, especially African Americans.

Since Roosevelt was a Democrat, the New Deal tradition was reinforced when other Democrats were elected president—Harry S. Truman in 1948, John F. Kennedy in 1960, and Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964. Even the election of a Republican, Dwight D. Eisenhower, in 1952 and 1956 did not change the basic direction of the New Deal. “Should any political party attempt to abolish Social Security and eliminate labor laws,” President Eisenhower once said, “you would not hear of that party again in our political history.”

An economic boom followed World War II. A shortage of consumer goods during the war had left Americans with both extra income and the desire to buy goods after the war. In addition, the growth of labor unions brought higher wages and gave more workers the ability to buy consumer goods. Between 1945 and 1973, **real wages** (the actual purchasing power of income) grew an average of 3 percent a year, the most prolonged advance in American history.
Prosperity was not the only characteristic of the early 1950s, however. Cold War struggles abroad led to the widespread fear that Communists had infiltrated the United States. President Truman’s attorney general warned that Communists were “everywhere—in factories, offices, butcher stores, on street corners, in private businesses.” For many Americans, proof of this threat became more evident when thousands of American soldiers were sent to Korea to fight and die in a war against Communist aggression.

This climate of fear produced a dangerous political agitator, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. His charges that hundreds of supposed Communists were in high government positions helped create a massive “Red Scare”—fear of Communist subversion. Under McCarthy, several individuals, including intellectuals and movie stars, were questioned about Communist activities. When McCarthy attacked alleged “Communist conspirators” in the U.S. Army, he was condemned by the Senate in 1954. Very quickly, his anti-Communist crusade came to an end.

**Reading Check** Describing What effect did the Cold War have on many Americans?

### Economic Miracles: Germany and Japan

Both Germany and Japan were devastated by World War II. Their economies were in shambles. Their cities lay in ruins. At the end of the twentieth century, though, Germany and Japan were two of the world’s greatest economic powers. What explains their economic miracles?

Because of the destruction of the war, both countries were forced to build new industrial plants. For many years, neither country spent much on defense. Their governments focused instead on rebuilding the infrastructure (roads, bridges, canals, and buildings) that had been destroyed during the war. Both German and Japanese workers had a long tradition of hard work and basic skills.

In both countries, U.S. occupation policy was committed to economic recovery, a goal that was made easier by American foreign aid.

**The 1960s and President Johnson** The 1960s began on a youthful and optimistic note. At age 43, **John F. Kennedy** became the youngest elected president in the history of the United States. His administration was cut short when the president was killed by an assassin on November 22, 1963. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson then became president. Johnson won a new term as president in a landslide victory in 1964.

President Johnson used his stunning victory to pursue the growth of the welfare state, begun in the New Deal. Johnson’s programs included health care for the elderly, various measures to combat poverty, and federal assistance for education.

Johnson’s other domestic passion was the civil rights movement, or equal rights for African Americans. The civil rights movement had its beginnings in 1954, when the United States Supreme Court ruled that the practice of racial segregation (separation) in public schools was illegal. According to Chief Justice Earl Warren, “separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.” African Americans also boycotted segregated buses, restaurants, and other public places.

**Comparing Cultures**

The United States has never experienced the kind of destruction experienced by Germany and Japan during World War II. How might your life be different if the United States was in the process of rebuilding after a war? What cultural, political, and economic factors might influence the process of rebuilding in the United States?
backlash,” meaning that whites now became less sympathetic to the cause of racial equality. Racial tensions continued to divide the nation.

Antiwar protests also divided the American people after President Johnson sent American troops to war in Vietnam (see Chapter 16). As the war progressed through the second half of the 1960s, the protests grew. Then, in 1970, four students at Kent State University were killed and nine others were wounded by the Ohio National Guard during a student demonstration. The tragedy startled the nation. By this time many Americans were less willing to continue the war.

The combination of antiwar demonstrations and riots in the cities caused many people to call for “law and order.” This was the appeal used by Richard Nixon, the Republican presidential candidate in 1968. With Nixon’s election in 1968, a shift to the political right in American politics began.

Interpreting

In your opinion, what was President Johnson’s most important policy?

Picturing History

Gunfire breaks up an antiwar protest at Kent State University, Ohio, in 1970. Today, a memorial inscribed “Inquire, Learn, Reflect” marks the site where four students were killed by the National Guard. What message or lesson is conveyed to you by the events at Kent State?

In August 1963, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of a growing movement for racial equality, led a march on Washington, D.C., to dramatize the African American desire for equality. King advocated the principle of passive disobedience practiced by Mohandas Gandhi. King’s march and his impassioned plea for racial equality had an electrifying effect on the American people. By the end of 1963, a majority of the American people called civil rights the most significant national issue.

President Johnson took up the cause of civil rights. The Civil Rights Act in 1964 created the machinery to end segregation and discrimination in the workplace and all public places. The Voting Rights Act the following year made it easier for African Americans to vote in Southern states.

Laws alone, however, could not guarantee the Great Society that Johnson talked about creating. He soon faced bitter social unrest.

Social Upheaval In the North and West, African Americans had had voting rights for many years. Local patterns of segregation, however, meant that African Americans had higher unemployment rates than whites. In the summer of 1965, race riots broke out in the Watts district of Los Angeles. Thirty-four people died, and over a thousand buildings were destroyed. In 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated. Riots hit at least a hundred cities, including Washington, D.C. The riots led to a “white
American-Canadian Relations In some ways, Canada had a parallel experience to the United States. For 25 years after World War II, a prosperous Canada set out on a new path of industrial development. Canada had always had a strong export economy based on abundant natural resources. Now it developed electronic, aircraft, nuclear, and chemical engineering industries on a large scale. Much of the Canadian growth, however, was financed by American capital, which led to U.S. ownership of Canadian businesses.

Some Canadians feared American economic domination of Canada. Canadians also worried about playing a secondary role politically and militarily to the United States. They sought to establish their own identity in world politics, and were a founding member of the United Nations in 1945 and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949.

The Liberal Party dominated Canadian politics throughout most of this period. Under Lester Pearson, the Liberal government created Canada’s welfare state by enacting a national social security system (the Canada Pension Plan) and a national health insurance program.

Reading Check Explaining Why did some Canadians fear U.S. domination of their economy?

Changing Values in Western Society

Main Idea After World War II, advances in technology and the struggle for rights led to rapid change in Western society.

Reading Connection Have you or your family members ever used credit cards? Read to learn how easy credit was only one change of the 1950s.

After World War II, Western society witnessed rapid change. Such new inventions as computers, televisions, and jet planes altered the pace and nature of human life. The rapid changes in postwar society led many to view it as a new society.

A New Social Structure Postwar Western society was marked by a changing social structure. The most noticeable changes were in the middle class. In the United States, the middle class expanded significantly, as the average income of families roughly tripled between 1940 and 1955.

By now the middle class included many types of occupations. Traditionally, businesspeople, merchants, lawyers, doctors, and teachers made up the middle class. Since early in the twentieth century, however, new groups such as the managers and technicians for corporations and government agencies had joined the ranks of the middle class. After World War II, these occupations multiplied, especially with the growth of government agencies.

Changes also occurred among the lower classes. The shift of people from rural to urban areas continued. The number of people in farming had been declining for a long time, but now it declined drastically. By the 1950s, the number of farmers in most parts of Europe had dropped by 50 percent. The number of industrial workers also began to decline while the number of white-collar workers increased.

At the same time, a noticeable increase in the real wages of workers made it possible for them to imitate the buying patterns of the middle class. Already in the 1920s, some historians have suggested that a new kind of society was developing, a consumer society—one that was preoccupied with buying goods, not producing them. By the 1950s, consumption patterns had definitely changed in many Western countries.

Buying on credit became widespread in the 1950s. Workers could now buy such products as televisions, washing machines, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and stereos. The automobile was the most visible symbol of the new consumerism. In 1948, there were 5 million cars in all of Europe. By the 1960s, there were almost 45 million.

Women in the Postwar World Women’s participation in both World Wars led to important gains for them. They achieved one of the major aims of the
nineteenth-century women’s movement, the right to vote. After World War I, many governments had expressed thanks to women by granting them voting rights. Sweden, Great Britain, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Austria, and Czechoslovakia did so in 1918, followed by the United States in 1920. French women finally gained the vote in 1944, while Italian women did so in 1945.

During World War II, women had entered the workforce in huge numbers. At the war’s end, however, they were removed to provide jobs for soldiers returning home. For a time, women fell back into traditional roles. Birthrates rose, creating a “baby boom” in the late 1940s and the 1950s.

By the end of the 1950s, however, the birthrate had begun to fall, and with it, the size of families. The structure of the workplace changed once again as the number of married women in the workforce increased in both Europe and the United States.

These women, especially working-class women, faced an old problem. They still earned less than men for equal work. For example, in the 1960s, women earned 60 percent of men’s wages in Britain, 50 percent in France, and 63 percent in West Germany.

In addition, women still tended to enter traditionally female jobs. Many faced the double burden of earning income and raising a family. Such inequalities led increasing numbers of women to rebel.

By the late 1960s, women had begun to assert their rights again. In the late 1960s came renewed interest in feminism, or the women’s liberation movement, as it was now called.

The work of Simone de Beauvoir (duh•boh•VAHW) was very important to the emergence of the postwar women’s liberation movement. In 1949, she published her highly influential work, The Second Sex. In it, she argued that as a result of male-dominated societies, women had been defined mostly by how they were different from men and consequently they were treated as second-class citizens. De Beauvoir’s book influenced both the American and European women’s movements.

Student Revolt As we have seen, students in American universities in the mid- to late 1960s launched an antiwar protest movement. At the same time, European students were engaging in protests of their own.

Before World War II, it was mostly members of Europe’s wealthier classes who went to universities. After the war, European states began to encourage more people to gain higher education by eliminating fees. As a result, universities saw an influx of students from the middle and lower classes. Enrollments grew dramatically. In France, 4.5 percent of young people went to universities in 1950. By 1965, the figure had increased to 14.5 percent.

There were problems, however. Many European university classrooms were overcrowded, and many professors paid little attention to their students. Growing discontent led to an outburst of student revolts in the late 1960s.

This student radicalism had several causes. Many of these protests were an extension of the revolts in U.S. universities, which were often sparked by student opposition to the Vietnam War. Some students, particularly in Europe, wished to reform the university system. They did not believe that universities responded to their needs or to the realities of the modern world. Others felt that they were becoming
small cogs in the large and impersonal bureaucratic wheels of the modern world. Student protest movements in both Europe and the United States reached a high point in 1968. By the early 1970s, the movements had largely disappeared.

The student protests of the late 1960s caused many people to rethink some of their basic assumptions. Looking back, however, we can see that the student upheavals were not a turning point in the history of postwar Europe, as some people thought at the time.

In the 1970s and 1980s, student rebels would become middle-class professionals. The vision of revolutionary politics would remain mostly a memory.

Reading Check  
Identifying What was the women's liberation movement trying to accomplish?
The following excerpts represent Soviet and American viewpoints during the early Cold War period. Read them to learn how each viewed Soviet power.

**SOURCE 1: A Communist’s Speech**

*After the Soviet Union’s defeat of Germany on the Eastern Front in the Second World War, the Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin delivered the following speech in February 1946.*

It would be wrong to believe that the Second World War broke out accidentally or as a result of the mistakes of some or other statesmen... In reality, the war broke out as an inevitable result of the development of world economic and political forces on the basis of modern monopoly capitalism...

As to our country, for her the war was the severest and hardest of all the wars our Motherland has ever experienced in her history. But the war... laid bare all the facts and events in the rear and at the front, it mercilessly tore off all the veils and covers which had concealed the tired faces of States, governments, and parties, and placed them on the stage without masks, without embellishments, and with all their shortcomings and virtues...

And so, what are the results of the war...

Our victory means, in the first place, that our Soviet social system has won, that the Soviet social system successfully withstood the trial in the flames of war and proved its perfect viability.

It is well known that the foreign press more than once asserted that the Soviet social system... was doomed to failure, that the Soviet system is a “house of cards”... imposed upon the people by the organs of the “Cheka,” [secret police] that a slight push from outside would be enough to blow this “house of cards” to smithereens.

Now we can say that the war swept away all these assertions of the foreign press as groundless. The war has shown that the Soviet social system is a truly popular system, which has grown from the people and enjoys its powerful support...

More than that, the point is now not whether the Soviet social system is viable... since after the objective lessons of the war no single skeptic now... [has] doubts concerning the viability of the Soviet social system. The point now is that the Soviet social system has proved more viable and stable than a non-Soviet social system, that the Soviet social system is a better form of organization than any non-Soviet social system.

**SOURCE 2: The American Reaction to Communism**

*This passage is an excerpt from a once-classified report of the National Security Council. Completed in 1950, it discusses American foreign policy during the Cold War.*

Our overall policy at the present time may be described as one designed to foster a world environment in which the American system can survive and...
flourish. It therefore rejects the concept of isolation and affirms the necessity of our positive participation in the world community.

This broad intention embraces two subsidiary policies. One is a policy which we would probably pursue even if there were no Soviet threat. It is a policy of attempting to develop a healthy international community. The other is the policy of “containing” the Soviet system. . . .

As for the policy of “containment,” it is one which seeks by all means short of war to (1) block further expansion of Soviet power, (2) expose the falsities of the Soviet pretensions, (3) induce a retraction of the Kremlin's control and influence and (4) in general, so foster the seeds of destruction within the Soviet system that the Kremlin is brought at least to the point of modifying its behavior to conform to generally accepted international standards. . . .

It is quite clear from Soviet theory and practice that the Kremlin seeks to bring the free world under its dominion by the methods of the cold war. The preferred technique is to subvert by infiltration and intimidation. Every institution of our society is an instrument which it is sought to stultify and turn against our purposes. Those that touch most closely our material and moral strength are obviously the prime targets, labor unions, civil enterprises, schools, churches, and all media for influencing opinion. The effort is not so much to make them serve obvious Soviet ends as to prevent them from serving our ends, and thus to make them sources of confusion in our economy, our culture, and our body politic. . . .

SOURCE 3: An American Diplomat on the Soviets

In February 1946, George Kennan, an American diplomat in Russia, wired his government—in telegraph style—his opinion about the goals of Soviet leaders.

1. To undermine general political and strategic potential of major Western powers. Efforts will be made in such countries to disrupt national self-confidence, to hamstring measures of national defense, to increase social and industrial unrest, to stimulate all forms of disunity. . . .

2. On unofficial plane particularly violent efforts will be made to weaken power and influence of Western powers over colonial, backward, or dependent peoples. . . .

3. Resentment among dependent peoples will be stimulated. And while latter are being encouraged to seek independence of Western powers, Soviet-dominated puppet political machines will be undergoing preparation to take over domestic power in respective colonial areas when independence is achieved.

5. Everything possible will be done to set major Western powers against each other. . . . Where suspicions exist, they will be fanned; where not, ignited. No effort will be spared to discredit and combat all efforts which threaten to lead to any sort of unity or cohesion among others from which Russia might be excluded. . . .

6. In general, all Soviet efforts on unofficial international plane will be negative and destructive in character, designed to tear down sources of strength beyond reach of Soviet control. This is only in line with basic Soviet instinct that there can be no compromise with rival power and that constructive work can start only when Communist power is dominant. . . .

Historical Analysis

Source 1: According to Stalin, what has the Soviet victory in World War II proven?
Source 2: What two major foreign policies did the American National Security Council propose?
Source 3: According to Kennan, what is the Soviet plan of attack?

Comparing and Contrasting Sources

1. According to the above passages, how would Soviet goals conflict with those of the Americans?
2. Why do both American accounts view the Soviets as a global, not just an American, concern?
Reviewing Content Vocabulary

1. The actual purchasing power of income is called ___.
2. The idea that allowing communist aggressors to take over one country will encourage them to take over other nations has been called the ___.
3. The process of removing Stalin’s influence from the Soviet government, economy, and social system was called ___.
4. A nation that is preoccupied with the desire to provide its people with material goods may be said to be a ___.
5. Governments that intervene in the economy to assure a minimal standard of living for all are said to be ___.
6. The attempt of noncommunist world powers to prevent a further spread of communism to other states was called a ___.
7. The ___ is a force that is working for greater equality and rights for women.
8. A country that was economically and politically dependent on the Soviet Union was called a ___.
9. The United States and the Soviet Union were involved in a growing ___ in which both countries built up their armies and weapons.
10. After World War II, the Soviets concentrated on developing ___, the manufacture of machines and equipment for factories.

Reviewing the Main Ideas

Section 1
23. What was COMECON and why was it formed?
24. What happened during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962?

Section 2
25. Describe what happened when satellite states tried to become independent of the Soviet Union.

Chapter Summary
Following World War II, two new superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, engaged in a Cold War that was fought around the globe.

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<tr>
<td>Berlin (1949)</td>
<td>Soviets and Western powers divide Germany.</td>
<td>Western powers airlift supplies to Soviet-blockaded West Berlin.</td>
<td>Blockade is lifted.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Korea (1950–1953)</td>
<td>Civil war begins when North Korea invades South Korea.</td>
<td>United Nations forces fight to save South Korea from communism.</td>
<td>United States extends military alliances around the world.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cuba (1962)</td>
<td>Soviets support Castro’s totalitarian regime in Cuba.</td>
<td>United States invades Bay of Pigs; Soviets place nuclear missiles in Cuba; United States blockades Cuba.</td>
<td>Soviets withdraw missiles; hotline is established between Moscow and Washington, D.C.</td>
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Self-Check Quiz
Visit the Glencoe World History—Modern Times Web site at wh.mt.glencoe.com and click on Chapter 12—Self-Check Quiz to prepare for the Chapter Test.

Section 3

27. Name the social movements that altered American society after World War II.

28. What book influenced the women’s movement in America and Europe? What was its significance to the movement?

Critical Thinking

29. Analyzing How did de-Stalinization help Khrushchev gain control of the Soviet government?

30. Explaining Is containment an important or pressing issue in American foreign policy today? Explain your reasoning.

31. Reading Skill Evaluating The Cuban missile crisis developed out of a tense power struggle between two nuclear powers. What decisions created the crisis? What else might have been done?

Writing About History

32. Historical Analysis Interpreting Economics Look up how much money the United States government spent on the arms race during a year in the 1950s. Write a one-page essay exploring why this expenditure was a priority in the post–World War II economy.

33. Big Idea In an essay, identify and explain possible reasons for the comparatively slow growth of social benefits provided to Americans, compared to the rapid growth of these programs in Europe, after World War II.

Analyzing Sources Read the following excerpt from Solzhenitsyn’s One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich in which prisoners march from the prison camp to a work project through temperatures of seventeen degrees below zero:

“There were escort guards all over the place, . . . their machine guns sticking out and pointed right at your face. And there were guards with gray dogs.”

34. Why might Soviets identify with this story?

35. Why did Khrushchev allow this book to be published?

Analyzing Maps and Charts

Using the map on this page, answer the following questions.

36. How many miles did the blockade zone of Cuba extend from west to east?

37. Why was the United States so concerned that the Soviets were placing missiles in Cuba? What other islands fall within the blockade zone?

Standards Practice

Directions: Use the quote and your knowledge of world history to answer the following question.

“And even today woman is heavily handicapped, though her situation is beginning to change. Almost nowhere is her legal status the same as man’s, and frequently it is much to her disadvantage. Even when her rights are legally recognized in the abstract, long-standing custom prevents their full expression. . . .”

—The Second Sex, Simone de Beauvoir

38. Simone de Beauvoir’s book The Second Sex was published in 1949. Her book was influential because it

A helped women gain the right to vote.

B contributed to a women’s movement in the 1950s and 1960s.

C greatly increased the number of married women in the labor force.

D influenced and shaped the student protest movement.

CA Standard 10.10.3 Discuss the important trends in the regions today and whether they appear to serve the cause of individual freedom and democracy.