

# Cold War Almanac

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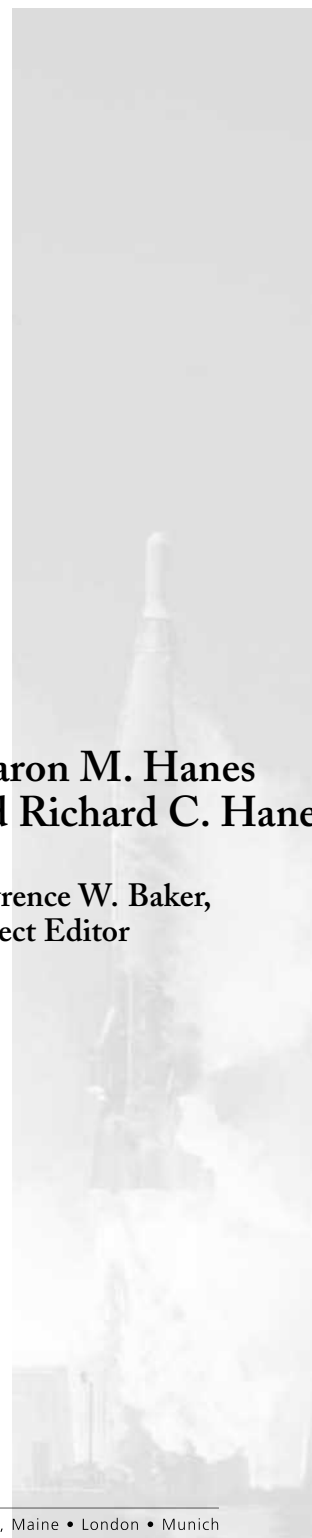
Volume 1

Sharon M. Hanes  
and Richard C. Hanes

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Project Editor

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## Cold War: Almanac

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# Introduction

Sometimes single events alter the course of history; other times, a chain reaction of seemingly lesser occurrences changes the path of nations. The intense rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that emerged immediately after World War II (1939–45) followed the second pattern. Known as the Cold War, the rivalry grew out of mutual distrust between two starkly different societies: communist Soviet Union and the democratic West, which was led by the United States and included Western Europe. Communism is a political and economic system in which the Communist Party controls all aspects of citizens' lives and private ownership of property is banned. It is not compatible with America's democratic way of life. Democracy is a political system consisting of several political parties whose members are elected to various government offices by vote of the people. The rapidly growing rivalry between the two emerging post-World War II superpowers in 1945 would dominate world politics until 1991. Throughout much of the time, the Cold War was more a war of ideas than one of battlefield combat. Yet for generations, the Cold War affected almost every aspect of American life and those who lived in numerous other countries around the world.



The global rivalry was characterized by many things. Perhaps the most dramatic was the cost in lives and public funds. Millions of military personnel and civilians were killed in conflicts often set in Third World countries. This toll includes tens of thousands of American soldiers in the Korean War (1950–53) and Vietnam War (1954–75) and thousands of Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. National budgets were stretched to support the nuclear arms races, military buildups, localized wars, and aid to friendly nations. On the international front, the United States often supported oppressive but strongly anti-communist military dictatorships. On the other hand, the Soviets frequently supported revolutionary movements seeking to overthrow established governments. Internal political developments within nations around the world were interpreted by the two superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States—in terms of the Cold War rivalry. In many nations, including the Soviet-dominated Eastern European countries, basic human freedoms were lost. New international military and peacekeeping alliances were also formed, such as the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization of American States (OAS), and the Warsaw Pact.

Effects of the Cold War were extensive on the home front, too. The U.S. government became more responsive to national security needs, including the sharpened efforts of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Created were the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the National Security Council (NSC), and the Department of Defense. Suspicion of communist influences within the United States built some individual careers and destroyed others. The national education priorities of public schools were changed to emphasize science and engineering after the Soviets launched the satellite *Sputnik*, which itself launched the space race.

What would cause such a situation to develop and last for so long? One major factor was mistrust for each other. The communists were generally shunned by other nations, including the United States, since they gained power in Russia in 1917 then organized that country into the Soviet Union. The Soviets' insecurities loomed large. They feared another invasion from the West through Poland, as had happened through the centuries. On the other hand, the West was highly suspicious of the harsh closed society of Soviet

communism. As a result, a move by one nation would bring a response by the other. Hard-liners on both sides believed long-term coexistence was not feasible.

A second major factor was that the U.S. and Soviet ideologies were dramatically at odds. The political, social, and economic systems of democratic United States and communist Soviet Union were essentially incompatible. Before the communist (or Bolshevik) revolution in 1917, the United States and Russia competed as they both sought to expand into the Pacific Northwest. In addition, Americans had a strong disdain for Russian oppression under their monarchy of the tsars. Otherwise, contact between the two growing powers was almost nonexistent until thrown together as allies in a common cause to defeat Germany and Japan in World War II.

It was during the meetings of the allied leaders in Yalta and Potsdam in 1945 when peaceful postwar cooperation was being sought that the collision course of the two new superpowers started becoming more evident. The end of World War II had brought the U.S. and Soviet armies face-to-face in central Europe in victory over the Germans. Yet the old mistrusts between communists and capitalists quickly dominated diplomatic relations. Capitalism is an economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention. A peace treaty ending World War II in Europe was blocked as the Soviets and the U.S.-led West carved out spheres of influence. Western Europe and Great Britain aligned with the United States and collectively was referred to as the “West”; Eastern Europe would be controlled by the Soviet Communist Party. The Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellite countries were collectively referred to as the “East.” The two powers tested the resolve of each other in Germany, Iran, Turkey, and Greece in the late 1940s.

In 1949, the Soviets successfully tested an atomic bomb and Chinese communist forces overthrew the National Chinese government, and U.S. officials and American citizens feared a sweeping massive communist movement was overtaking the world. A “red scare” spread through America. The term “red” referred to communists, especially the Soviets. The public began to suspect that communists or communist sympathizers lurked in every corner of the nation.



Meanwhile, the superpower confrontations spread from Europe to other global areas: Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. Most dramatic were the Korean and Vietnam wars, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the military standoffs in Berlin, Germany. However, bloody conflicts erupted in many other areas as the United States and Soviet Union sought to expand their influence by supporting or opposing various movements.

In addition, a costly arms race lasted decades despite sporadic efforts at arms control agreements. The score card for the Cold War was kept in terms of how many nuclear weapons one country had aimed at the other. Finally, in the 1970s and 1980s, the Soviet Union could no longer keep up with the changing world economic trends. Its tightly controlled and highly inefficient industrial and agricultural systems could not compete in world markets while the government was still focusing its wealth on Cold War confrontations and the arms race. Developments in telecommunications also made it more difficult to maintain a closed society. Ideas were increasingly being exchanged despite longstanding political barriers. The door was finally cracked open in the communist European nations to more freedoms in the late 1980s through efforts at economic and social reform. Seizing the moment, the long suppressed populations of communist Eastern European nations and fifteen Soviet republics demanded political and economic freedom.

Through 1989, the various Eastern European nations replaced long-time communist leaders with noncommunist officials. By the end of 1991, the Soviet Communist Party had been banned from various Soviet republics, and the Soviet Union itself ceased to exist. After a decades-long rivalry, the end to the Cold War came swiftly and unexpectedly.

A new world order dawned in 1992 with a single superpower, the United States, and a vastly changed political landscape around much of the globe. Communism remained in China and Cuba, but Cold War legacies remained elsewhere. In the early 1990s, the United States was economically burdened with a massive national debt, the former Soviet republics were attempting a very difficult economic transition to a more capitalistic open market system, and Europe, starkly divided by the Cold War, was reunited once again and sought to establish a new union including both Eastern and Western European nations.

# Reader's Guide

**C***old War: Almanac* presents a comprehensive overview of the Cold War, the period in history from 1945 until 1991 that was dominated by the rivalry between the world's superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The *Almanac* covers the origins of the Cold War, including the fierce divisions created by the differences between American democracy and capitalism and Soviet communism; the key programs and treaties, such as the Marshall Plan, Berlin Airlift, and Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI); how the general public coped with the rivalry and consequent nuclear buildup; government changes designed to make society feel more secure; the end of the Cold War, brought about by the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the dissolution of the Soviet Union; and the aftereffects of the Cold War, still felt in the twenty-first century.

## Coverage and features

*Cold War: Almanac* is divided into fifteen chapters, each focusing on a particular topic or time period, such as the origins of the Cold War, the beginning of the nuclear age, the



arms race, espionage, anticommunist campaigns and political purges on the home fronts, détente, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Berlin Airlift and the Berlin Wall, the Korean and Vietnam wars, and the ending of the Cold War. Each chapter contains three types of sidebars: “Words to Know” and “People to Know” boxes, which define important terms and individuals discussed in the chapter; and boxes that describe people, events, and facts of special interest. Each chapter concludes with a list of additional sources students can go to for more information. More than 140 black-and-white photographs and maps help illustrate the material.

Each volume of *Cold War: Almanac* begins with a timeline of important events in the history of the Cold War; “Words to Know” and “People to Know” sections that feature important terms and people from the entire Cold War era; and a “Research and Activity Ideas” section with suggestions for study questions, group projects, and oral and dramatic presentations. The two volumes conclude with a general bibliography and a subject index so students can easily find the people, places, and events discussed throughout *Cold War: Almanac*.

## **U•X•L Cold War Reference Library**

*Cold War: Almanac* is only one component of the three-part U•X•L Cold War Reference Library. The other two titles in this set are:

- *Cold War: Biographies* (two volumes) presents the life stories of fifty individuals who played key roles in the Cold War superpower rivalry. Though primarily a competition between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Cold War is a story of individual personalities that critically influenced the direction of the rivalry at various crossroads and in different regions of the world. Profiled are well-known figures such as Joseph Stalin, Harry Truman, Nikita Khrushchev, Henry Kissinger, John F. Kennedy, Mao Zedong, and Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as lesser-known individuals such as physicist and father of the Soviet atomic bomb Igor Kurchatov, British foreign minister Ernest Bevin, and longtime U.S. foreign policy analyst George F. Kennan.
- *Cold War: Primary Sources* (one volume) this book tells the story of the Cold War in the words of the people who

lived and shaped it. Thirty-one excerpted documents provide a wide range of perspectives on this period of history. Included are excerpts from presidential press conferences; addresses to U.S. Congress and Soviet Communist Party meetings; public speeches; telegrams; magazine articles; radio and television addresses; and later reflections by key government leaders.

- A cumulative index of all three titles in the U•X•L Cold War Reference Library is also available.

## **Acknowledgments**

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## **Dedication**

To Aaron and Kara Hanes, that their children may learn about the events and ideas that shaped the world through the latter half of the twentieth century.

## **Comments and suggestions**

We welcome your comments on *Cold War: Almanac* and suggestions for other topics to consider. Please write: Editors, *Cold War: Almanac*, U•X•L, 27500 Drake Rd., Farmington Hills, Michigan 48331-3535; call toll free: 1-800-877-4253; fax to 248-699-8097; or send e-mail via <http://www.gale.com>.

## Words to Know

### A

**Alliance for Progress:** A program designed to block the spread of communism by improving the overall quality of life for Latin Americans. The Alliance attempted to reduce disease, increase literacy, and ease poverty throughout Latin America.

**Allied Control Council:** An organization of military governors from each of the four zones of Germany.

**Allies:** Alliances of countries in military opposition to another group of nations. In World War II, the Allied powers included Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

**Annihilation:** Complete destruction.

**Armistice:** A temporary agreement to end fighting in a war; a cease-fire.

**Arms race:** A key aspect of superpower rivalry in which one superpower amasses weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, to keep up with another superpower or to gain an edge.



**Asymmetrical response:** The potentially much harsher retaliation of a nation already attacked.

**Atomic bomb:** An explosive device that releases nuclear energy (energy that comes from an atom's core). All previous explosive devices were powered by rapid burning or decomposition of a chemical compound; they only released energy from the outermost electrons of an atom. Nuclear explosives are energized by splitting an atom, a process called fission.

**Atomic Energy Commission (AEC):** A unit established by Congress in July 1946 that managed the nuclear research facilities in Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Hanford, Washington; and Los Alamos, New Mexico.

**Authoritarian:** A political system in which authority is centered in a ruling party that demands complete obedience of its citizens and is not legally accountable to the people.

## **B**

**Bay of Pigs:** The failed U.S.-backed invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs by fifteen hundred Cuban exiles opposed to Fidel Castro, on April 17, 1961.

**Berlin airlift:** Massive shipments of food and goods, airlifted into the Western sector of Berlin, organized by the Western powers, after the Soviets halted all shipments of supplies and food from the eastern zone into West Berlin. The Americans nicknamed the airlift Operation Vittles, while the British dubbed the effort Operation Plain Fare.

**Berlin blockade:** A ten-and-a-half-month stoppage by the Soviets of shipments of supplies and food through East Germany into West Berlin. The Soviets also cut all coal-generated electricity supplied from East Germany to Berlin's western sectors, and land and water routes from West Germany into Berlin were closed.

**Berlin Wall:** A wall dividing the Soviet-controlled sector of Berlin from the three Western-controlled zones, built in an attempt to stem the tide of refugees seeking asylum in the West.

**Big Three:** The trio of U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin; also refers to the countries of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union.

**Blacklisting:** Denying employment to anyone found connected to a group that in any way had anything to do with subversive activities, real or imagined.

**Bolshevik:** A member of the revolutionary political party of Russian workers and peasants that became the Communist Party after the Russian Revolution of 1917; the terms Bolshevik and communist became interchangeable, with communist eventually becoming more common.

**Brinkmanship:** An increased reliance on nuclear weapons as a deterrent to threats of communist expansion in the world; an international game played between the Soviet Union and the United States of who had the highest number of and the most powerful weapons with which to threaten the enemy.

**Bugs:** Listening devices planted in such places as telephones and in walls to allow eavesdropping on conversations.

## C

**Capitalism:** An economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention.

**Central committee:** The important administrative body in the Communist Party overseeing day-to-day party activities.

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers—the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Collectivism:** A system that combines many local holdings, such as farms or industry, into a single unit that is supervised by the government.

**Colonialism:** An economic system in which Western European nations controlled various underdeveloped countries located around the world.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Containment:** A key U.S. Cold War policy to restrict the territorial growth of communist rule.

**Counterculture:** A rebellion of Americans, mostly youth, against the established U.S. social values largely spawned by opposition to the Vietnam War.

**Counterinsurgency:** A military strategy to fight guerilla forces rising against established governments.

**Coup d'état:** The violent and forceful act of changing a government's leadership.

**Covert:** Secret.

**Cryptosystems:** Secret code systems that protect countries' communications; also called cipher; a cryptonologist "deciphered" the secret codes.

**Cuban Missile Crisis:** A showdown in October 1962 that brought the Soviet Union and the United States close to war over the existence of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba.

## **D**

**Decolonization:** When a country's people subjected to rule by a foreign power seek to overturn that rule and gain national independence.

**Deficit spending:** When a government spends more money than the revenue coming in; a key feature of the Cold War arms race with high military expenses.

**Democracy:** A system of government that allows multiple political parties. Their members are elected to various government offices by popular vote of the people.



**Destalinization:** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's effort to introduce social reforms to the Soviet Union by providing greater personal freedoms, lessening the powers of the secret police, closing concentration and hard-labor camps, and restoring certain legal processes.

**Détente:** A lessening of tensions between nations.

**Deterrence:** An attempt to discourage another nation from initiating hostile activity by threatening severe retaliation such as nuclear war.

**Dictatorship:** A form of government in which a person wields absolute power and control over the people.

**Disarmament:** The reduction of weapons and armed forces of a nation.

**Dissidents:** Those who actively disagree with the ruling authority.

**Doctrine:** A particular idea or policy embraced by a state or group.

**Domino theory:** The belief that if one country falls to communism then nearby nations will be taken over one after another.

## E

**Eisenhower Doctrine:** A doctrine giving the U.S. president the right to use force in the Middle East against any form of communist aggression.

**Espionage:** The act of spying on others to discover military or political secrets.

**Expansionism:** The policy of a nation to gain more territory by taking over control of other countries.

## F

**Fascism:** A dictatorship based on strong nationalism and often racism.

**Fifth Amendment:** An amendment to the U.S. Constitution that protects people from having to testify against themselves in formal hearings.

**Fission:** A process in which the nucleus of an atom of a heavy element is split into two nuclei, resulting in lighter el-

ements releasing a substantial amount of energy; the process utilized in atomic bombs such as that dropped on Hiroshima, Japan, in 1945.

**Flexible response:** The military strategy to maintain both sufficient conventional and nuclear weapons so that hostile actions by another nation may be met with a similar level of force.

**Fusion:** The joining together of atomic nuclei of the element hydrogen, generating an incredible amount of heat; the process utilized in hydrogen bombs.

## G

**Glasnost:** A plan for greater freedom of expression put into place by Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev in the mid-1980s.

## H

**Hollywood Ten:** Ten producers, directors, and screenwriters from Hollywood who were called before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to explain their politics and reveal what organizations they were part of. Eight of the ten had communist affiliations.

**House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC):** A congressional group established to investigate and root out any communist influences within the United States.

**Human rights:** A broad notion that all people, simply by being human, deserve certain economic and political freedoms of opportunity such as freedom from various kinds of deprivations including freedom from oppression, unlawful imprisonment and execution, torture, persecution, and exploitation.

**Hydrogen bomb:** A bomb more powerful than the atomic bomb that derives its explosive energy from a nuclear fusion reaction.

## I

**Ideology:** A body of beliefs.

**Imperialism:** A policy of expanding the rule of one nation over foreign countries.

**Industrialization:** A large-scale introduction of industry into an area, normally replacing agriculture to some degree.

**Intercontinental ballistic missile:** A missile that has a range of over 3,500 nautical miles.

**Intermediate-range ballistic missile:** A missile that has a range of between 800 and 1,500 nautical miles.

**Internationalist:** A person who promotes cooperation among nations.

**Isolationism:** A policy of avoiding official agreements with other nations in order to remain neutral.

## J

**Junta:** A group of military leaders in political control.

## K

**Kiloton:** Approximately equal to the amount of explosive force (energy released) of 1,000 tons of TNT, a conventional (non-nuclear) explosive.

**Korean War (1950–53):** A conflict that began when North Korean communist troops crossed the thirty-eighth parallel into South Korea.

## L

**Land reform:** A common feature of nationalist movements that often involves taking away large land holdings owned by foreigners and parceling them out to its citizens for small farming operations.

## M

**Manhattan Project:** A project begun in 1942—during World War II (1939–45)—with the goal of building an atomic weapon before scientists in Germany or Japan did.

**Marketplace:** The world of commerce operating relatively free of government interventions where demand and availability of goods and materials determine prices, distribution, and production levels.

**Marshall Plan:** A massive U.S. plan to promote Europe's economic recovery from the war; officially known as the European Recovery Program for Western Europe, it

was made available to all nations, though the communist regime rejected it.

**McCarthyism:** A term used to describe a person who makes accusations of disloyalty supported by doubtful evidence; it originated during the 1950s anticommunism campaign of U.S. senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin.

**Megaton:** Approximately equals the explosive force of 1,000,000 tons of TNT.

**Military industrial complex:** A politically powerful alliance of the military services and industry that provides materials to the military.

**Moles:** Spies who betray the agency they worked for by quietly funneling top secret information to the enemy.

**Molotov Plan:** A Soviet series of trade agreements—made after the rejection of the Marshall Plan—designed to provide economic assistance to eastern European countries.

**Most-favored-nation status:** An economic and political program that lowers taxes on goods exported by a foreign nation to the United States, making it much easier to sell goods to the U.S. public and businesses.

**Mutual assured destruction (MAD):** A military strategy in which the threat of catastrophic damages by a nuclear counterstrike would deter any launch of a first-strike attack.

## **N**

**Nation building:** Installing friendly governments wherever feasible around the world by the United States and the Soviet Union.

**National Security Act:** An act that created the National Security Council, which advises the president on national security policy.

**National Security Agency (NSA):** The United States' prime intelligence organization that listens to and analyzes foreign communications.

**National Security Council Document 68, or NSC-68:** A plan for keeping Soviet influence contained within its existing areas; the strategy required dramatic increases in U.S. military spending.

**Nationalism:** A strong loyalty to one's own nation and the quest to be independent from other nations.

**Nationalize:** To place land or industry under ownership of the state.

**Ninjas:** Highly skilled spies who can move in and out of buildings without keys, find entrance into forbidden places, or easily slip in and out of personal relationships.

**Nonproliferation:** The halt of the spread of nuclear weapons to previously non-nuclear countries.

**Normalization:** Improved relations between two countries to more usual diplomatic conditions.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO):** A peacetime alliance of the United States and eleven other nations, and a key factor in the attempt to contain communism; the pact meant that the United States became the undisputed global military leader.

## O

**Overt:** Open; not secret.

## P

**Parity:** The act of maintaining an equal amount of something, such as similar levels of nuclear weapons between the two superpowers.

**Peace Corps:** A U.S. program designed to promote world peace and friendship by having citizens travel abroad and assist developing nations.

**Peaceful coexistence:** A state of living peacefully and accepting other ideologies that widely differ; with regard to military competition, the United States and the Soviet Union sought to coexist peacefully.

**Perestroika:** A 1980s Soviet plan for recovery by restructuring the Soviet Union's economic and social systems.

**Philosophies:** Certain principles or bodies of knowledge that are followed by a group.

**Plutonium:** A radioactive element capable of explosive fission.

**Politburo:** The important policy making body of the Communist Party.

**Prague Spring:** A brief thaw in Cold War communist policies when in 1968 Czechoslovakia's Communist Party leader, Alexander Dubcek, sought to modernize communism with certain democratic reforms, including greater freedom of the press.

**Propaganda:** The spread of information or ideas to promote a certain organization or cause.

**Purge:** To remove undesirable persons from a group, such as mass executions of Communist Party members by Soviet leadership.

## **R**

**Red scare:** A great fear among U.S. citizens in the late 1940s and early 1950s that communist influences were infiltrating U.S. society and government and could eventually lead to the overthrow of the American democratic system.

**Reparations:** Payments made by a defeated nation for war damages it inflicted on the winning nations.

**Resistance movement:** Underground forces within a nation organized to defeat an occupying force.

**Revolutionaries:** Those seeking change by forceful overthrow of the existing government.

## **S**

**Sabotage:** An illegal interference of work or industrial production such as by enemy agents or employees.

**Satellite:** A country under domination by another; also, a man-made object that is launched into orbit around Earth.

**Second strike capability:** A military strategy in which a sufficiently large nuclear arsenal would ensure enough U.S. missiles would survive a Soviet first strike to ef-

fectively destroy the Soviet Union in an automatic second strike.

**Silent majority:** The segment of society in the 1970s that quietly supported the nation's war efforts in Vietnam as opposed to the more visible anti-war protesters.

**Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO):** An alliance of nations created to combat the expansion of communism in the Southeast Asian region, specifically Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Member nations included the United States, Great Britain, France, New Zealand, Thailand, Australia, Pakistan, and the Philippines.

**Space race:** A key feature of the Cold War rivalry between the two superpowers in their quest to gain dominance in space technology and achievements.

**Sphere of influence:** An area over which a nation holds domination over other nations, such as the United States and Soviet Union during the Cold War holding influence over major areas of the world.

**Strategic Air Command (SAC):** A unit established by the U.S. military with the goal of identifying targets in the Soviet Union and being ready to deliver nuclear weapons to those targets.

**Strategic arms:** Military weapons key to the strategy of making the enemy incapable of conducting war; generally refers to long-ranging weapons.

**Strategic Triad:** The United States' trio of weapons aimed at the Soviet Union; the arsenal consisted of long- and intermediate-range missiles fitted with nuclear warheads, long-range bombers carrying nuclear weapons, and nuclear-powered submarines with onboard nuclear-tipped missiles.

**Subversive:** An individual who attempts to overthrow or destroy an established political system.

**Superpowers:** Nations capable of influencing the acts or policies of other nations; during the Cold War, the United States and Soviet Union were considered the superpowers.

## T

**Tactical arms:** Military weapons that allow flexibility and skillful maneuverability in combat; generally referring to short-range weapons.

**Thermonuclear:** A nuclear fusion reaction releasing tremendous heat and energy as utilized in the hydrogen bomb.

**Third World:** Poor underdeveloped or economically developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Many were seeking independence from political control of Western European nations.

**Totalitarianism:** A highly centralized form of government that has total control over the population.

**Tradecraft:** The tricks and techniques used by spies in their covert, or secret, operations.

**Treaty:** A formal agreement between two nations relating to peace or trade.

**Truman Doctrine:** A Cold War-era program designed by President Harry S. Truman that sent aid to anticommunist forces in Turkey and Greece. The Soviet Union had naval stations in Turkey, and nearby Greece was fighting a civil war with communist-dominated rebels.

## U

**United Nations:** An international organization, comprised of most of the nations of the world, created to preserve world peace and security.

**Uranium:** A metallic natural element used primarily in atomic bombs and in nuclear power plants.

## V

**Vietcong:** Vietnamese communists engaged in warfare against the government and people of South Vietnam.

## W

**Warsaw Pact:** A mutual military alliance between the Soviet Union and the Eastern European nations under Soviet influence, including East Germany.



## Y

**Yalta Conference:** A 1944 meeting between Allied leaders Joseph Stalin, Winston Churchill, and Franklin D. Roosevelt in anticipation of an Allied victory in Europe over Adolf Hitler and Germany's Nazi Party. The leaders discussed how to manage lands conquered by Germany, and Roosevelt and Churchill urged Stalin to enter the Soviet Union in the war against Japan.

# People to Know

## A

**Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán (1913–1971):** Guatemalan president, 1950–54.

**Clement R. Attlee (1883–1967):** British prime minister, 1945–51.

## B

**Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar (1901–1973):** Cuban dictatorial leader, 1933–44, 1952–59.

**Lavrenty Beria (1899–1953):** Leader of the Soviet secret police (KGB) and manager of the Soviet bomb project.

**Anthony F. Blunt (1907–1983):** One of the KGB's famed Cambridge Spies.

**Willy Brandt (1913–1992):** West German chancellor, 1969–74.

**Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982):** Leader of the Soviet Union Communist Party, 1964–82.

**Zbigniew Brzezinski (1928–):** U.S. national security advisor, 1977–81.



**Guy Burgess (1910–1963):** One of the KGB's famed Cambridge Spies.

**George Bush (1924–):** Forty-first U.S. president, 1989–93.

**James F. Byrnes (1879–1972):** U.S. secretary of state, 1945–47.

## **C**

**Jimmy Carter (1924–):** Thirty-ninth U.S. president, 1977–81.

**Carlos Castillo Armas (1914–1957):** Guatemalan president, 1954–57.

**Fidel Castro (1926–):** Cuban premier/president, 1959–.

**Whittaker Chambers (1901–1961):** A journalist who admitted at the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) hearings that he had once been a communist but had later denounced communism; he named Alger Hiss as a communist.

**Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975):** Ruler of China's Nationalist (Kuomintang) party, 1943–49.

**Winston Churchill (1874–1965):** British prime minister, 1940–45, 1951–55.

## **D**

**Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970):** French president, 1958–69.

**Deng Xiaoping (1905–1997):** Leader of Communist China, 1976–90.

**Martin Dies (1900–1972):** U.S. representative from Texas, 1931–44, 1953–58; chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), often called the Dies Committee.

**Anatoly Dobrynin (1919–):** Soviet ambassador to the United States, 1962–86.

**Alexander Dubcek (1921–1992):** Czechoslovakian Communist Party leader, 1968.

**John Foster Dulles (1888–1959):** U.S. secretary of state, 1953–59.

## **E**

**Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969):** Thirty-fourth U.S. president, 1953–61.

## F

**Gerald R. Ford (1913–):** Thirty-eighth U.S. president, 1974–77.

**Klaus Fuchs (1911–1988):** British scientist who worked on the U.S. Manhattan Project and began passing detailed notes to the Soviets about the work being done on the development of a nuclear bomb.

## G

**Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–):** Soviet president, 1985–91.

**Andrey Gromyko (1909–1989):** Soviet foreign minister, 1957–85.

**Leslie R. Groves (1896–1970):** U.S. Army officer in charge of the Manhattan Project.

## H

**Alger Hiss (1904–1996):** U.S. State Department official who was accused of being a communist; he served three years and eight months in prison after being convicted of perjury.

**Adolf Hitler (1889–1945):** Nazi party president, 1921–45; German leader, 1933–45.

## J

**Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973):** Thirty-sixth U.S. president, 1963–69.

## K

**John F. Kennedy (1917–1963):** Thirty-fifth U.S. president, 1961–63.

**Robert F. Kennedy (1925–1968):** U.S. attorney general, 1961–64.

**Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971):** Soviet premier, 1958–64.

**Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968):** African American civil rights leader.

**Henry Kissinger (1923–):** U.S. national security advisor, 1969–75; secretary of state, 1973–77.

**Igor Kurchatov (1903–1960):** The Soviet Union's premier nuclear physicist who led the building of the Soviet's atomic bomb in 1948.

## L

**Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924):** Leader of the Bolshevik Revolution, 1917; head of the Soviet government, 1918–24; founder of the Communist Party in Russia, 1919.

**Patrice Lumumba (1925–1961):** Congolese nationalist movement activist; prime minister, 1960.

## M

**Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964):** Supreme commander of occupational forces in Japan, 1945–51, and UN forces in Korea, 1950–51.

**Donald Maclean (1913–1983):** One of the KGB's famed Cambridge Spies.

**Georgy M. Malenkov (1902–1988):** Soviet premier, 1953–55.

**Mao Zedong (1893–1976):** Chairman of the People's Republic of China and its Communist party, 1949–76.

**George C. Marshall (1880–1959):** U.S. secretary of state, 1947–49; secretary of defense, 1950–51.

**Joseph R. McCarthy (1908–1957):** U.S. senator from Wisconsin, 1947–57; for four years, he sought to expose American communists by manipulating the public's fear of communism and by making false accusations and claims that a massive communist conspiracy threatened to take over the country.

**Mohammad Mosaddeq (1880–1967):** Iranian premier, 1951–53.

## N

**Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970):** Egyptian president, 1958–70.

**Ngo Dinh Diem (1901–1963):** Republic of Vietnam president, 1954–63.

**Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994):** Republican congressman from California, 1947–50; member of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and closely involved with the investigation of accused communist Alger Hiss; U.S. senator from California, 1950–53; vice

president, 1953–61; and thirty-seventh U.S. president, 1969–74.

## O

**J. Robert Oppenheimer (1904–1967):** A theoretical physicist who led the building of the U.S. atomic bomb during World War II.

## P

**Kim Philby (1911–1988):** One of the KGB's famed Cambridge Spies.

## R

**Ronald Reagan (1911–):** Fortieth U.S. president, 1981–89.

**Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945):** Thirty-second U.S. president, 1933–45.

## S

**Eduard Shevardnadze (1928–):** Soviet foreign minister, 1985–90.

**Joseph Stalin (1879–1953):** Dictatorial Russian/Soviet leader, 1924–53.

## T

**Harry S. Truman (1884–1972):** Thirty-third U.S. president, 1945–53.

## U

**Walter Ulbricht (1893–1973):** Head of the East German government, 1949–71.

## V

**Cyrus Vance (1917–2001):** U.S. secretary of state, 1977–80.

## Y

**Boris Yeltsin (1931–):** Russian president, 1989–99.

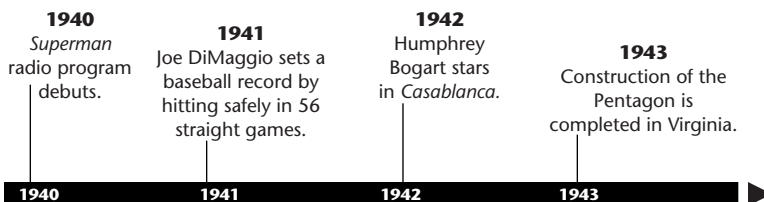
# Cold War Timeline

**September 1, 1939** Germany invades Poland, beginning World War II.

**June 30, 1941** Germany invades the Soviet Union, drawing the Soviets into World War II.

**December 7, 1941** Japan launches a surprise air attack on U.S. military installations at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, drawing the United States into World War II.

**November 1943** U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin meet in Tehran, Iran, to discuss war strategies against Germany and Italy.



**August-October 1944** An international conference held at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., creates the beginning of the United Nations.

**February 1945** The Yalta Conference is held in the Crimean region of the Soviet Union among the three key allied leaders, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin to discuss German surrender terms, a Soviet attack against Japanese forces, and the future of Eastern Europe.

**April-June 1945** Fifty nations meet in San Francisco to write the UN charter.

**May 7, 1945** Germany surrenders to allied forces, leaving Germany and its capital of Berlin divided into four military occupation zones with American, British, French, and Soviet forces.

**July 16, 1945** The first successful U.S. atomic bomb test occurs in Alamogordo, New Mexico.

**July-August 1945** U.S. president Harry S. Truman, Soviet premier Joseph Stalin, and British prime minister Winston Churchill meet in Potsdam, Germany, to discuss postwar conditions of Germany.

**August 14, 1945** Japan surrenders, ending World War II, after the United States drops two atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

**December 2, 1946** The United States, Great Britain, and France merge their German occupation zones to create what would become West Germany.

**March 12, 1947** U.S. president Harry S. Truman announces the Truman Doctrine, which says the United States

**1944**

Franklin D. Roosevelt is elected to an unprecedented fourth term as U.S. president.

1944

**1945**

George Orwell's *Animal Farm* is published.

1945

**1946**

The first general-purpose computer, the ENIAC, is completed.

1946

**1947**

Jackie Robinson becomes the first black major league baseball player.

1947



will assist any nation in the world being threatened by communist expansion.

**June 5, 1947** U.S. secretary of state George C. Marshall announces the Marshall Plan, an ambitious economic aid program to rebuild Western Europe from World War II destruction.

**July 26, 1947** Congress passes the National Security Act, creating the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Council (NSC).

**October 23, 1947** Actor Ronald Reagan testifies before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), a Congressional group established to investigate and root out any communist influences within the United States.

**December 5, 1947** The Soviets establish the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) to promote the expansion of communism in the world.

**February 25, 1948** A communist coup in Czechoslovakia topples the last remaining democratic government in Eastern Europe.

**March 14, 1948** Israel announces its independence as a new state in the Middle East.

**June 24, 1948** The Soviets begin a blockade of Berlin, leading to a massive airlift of daily supplies by the Western powers for the next eleven months.

**April 4, 1949** The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance involving Western Europe and the United States, comes into existence.

**May 5, 1949** The West Germans establish the Federal Republic of Germany government.

**1947**

Tennessee Williams's *A Streetcar Named Desire* opens on Broadway.

**1948**

The Baskin-Robbins ice cream chain opens.

**1949**

The first Emmy Awards ceremony is held.

1947

1948

1949

- May 12, 1949** The Soviet blockade of access routes to West Berlin is lifted.
- May 30, 1949** Soviet-controlled East Germany establishes the German Democratic Republic.
- August 29, 1949** The Soviet Union conducts its first atomic bomb test.
- October 1, 1949** Communist forces under Mao Zedong gain victory in the Chinese civil war, and the People's Republic of China (PRC) is established, with Zhou Enlai as its leader.
- January 1950** Former State Department employee Alger Hiss is convicted of perjury but not of spy charges.
- February 3, 1950** Klaus Fuchs is convicted of passing U.S. atomic secrets to the Soviets.
- March 1, 1950** Chiang Kai-shek, former leader of nationalist China, which was defeated by communist forces, establishes the Republic of China (ROC) on the island of Taiwan.
- April 7, 1950** U.S. security analyst Paul Nitze issues the secret National Security Council report 68 (NSC-68), calling for a dramatic buildup of U.S. military forces to combat the Soviet threat.
- June 25, 1950** Forces of communist North Korea invade pro-U.S. South Korea, starting the Korean War.
- October 24, 1950** U.S. forces push the North Korean army back to the border with China, sparking a Chinese invasion one week later and forcing the United States into a hasty retreat.
- June 21, 1951** The Korean War reaches a military stalemate at the original boundary between North and South Korea.

**1949**  
Boxing  
champion Joe  
Louis retires.

**1950**  
The first Xerox  
copy machine is  
produced.

**1951**  
*I Love Lucy* debuts  
on CBS-TV.

1949

1950

1951

**September 1, 1951** The United States, Australia, and New Zealand sign the ANZUS treaty, creating a military alliance to contain communism in the Southwest Pacific region.

**October 3, 1952** Great Britain conducts its first atomic weapons test.

**November 1, 1952** The United States tests the hydrogen bomb on the Marshall Islands in the Pacific Ocean.

**March 5, 1953** After leading the Soviet Union for thirty years, Joseph Stalin dies of a stroke; Georgy Malenkov becomes the new Soviet leader.

**June 27, 1953** An armistice is signed, bringing a cease-fire to the Korean War.

**August 12, 1953** The Soviet Union announces its first hydrogen bomb test.

**May 7, 1954** Vietminh communist forces defeat the French at Dien Bien Phu, leading to a U.S. commitment to containing communist expansion in Vietnam.

**September 8, 1954** The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is formed.

**February 8, 1955** Nikolai Bulganin replaces Georgy Malenkov as Soviet premier.

**May 14, 1955** The Warsaw Pact, a military alliance of Soviet-controlled Eastern European nations, is established; the countries include Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania.

**October 31, 1956** British, French, and Israeli forces attack Egypt to regain control of the Suez Canal.

**1952**  
NBC-TV's *The Today Show* debuts.

**1953**  
Lung cancer is attributed to cigarette smoking.

**1954**  
The first issue of *Sports Illustrated* is published.

**1955**  
Jonas Salk invents the polio vaccine.

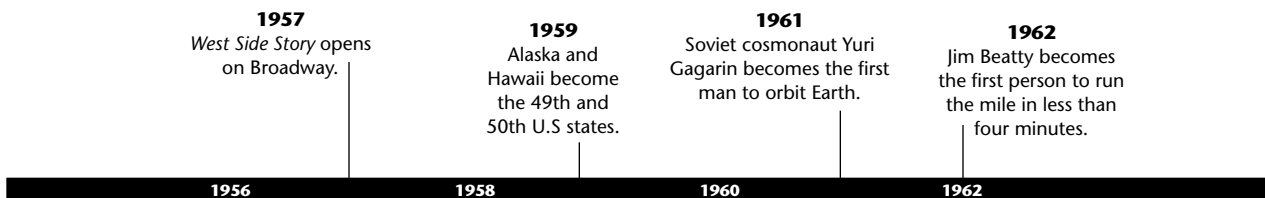
1952

1953

1954

1955

- November 1, 1956** In Hungary, the Soviets crush an uprising against strict communist rule, killing many protesters.
- March 7, 1957** The Eisenhower Doctrine, offering U.S. assistance to Middle East countries facing communist expansion threats, is approved by Congress.
- October 5, 1957** Shocking the world with their new technology, the Soviets launch into space *Sputnik*, the first man-made satellite.
- November 10, 1958** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev issues an ultimatum to the West to pull out of Berlin, but later backs down.
- September 17, 1959** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev arrives in the United States to tour the country and meet with U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower.
- May 1, 1960** The Soviets shoot down over Russia a U.S. spy plane piloted by Francis Gary Powers, leading to the cancellation of a planned summit meeting in Paris between Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower.
- April 15, 1961** A U.S.-supported army of Cuban exiles launches an ill-fated invasion of Cuba, leading to U.S. humiliation in the world.
- June 3, 1961** U.S. president John F. Kennedy meets with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev at a Vienna summit meeting to discuss the arms race and Berlin; Kennedy comes away shaken by Khrushchev's belligerence.
- August 15, 1961** Under orders from Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, the Berlin Wall is constructed stopping the flight of refugees from East Germany to West Berlin.



**October 1962** The Cuban Missile Crisis occurs as the United States demands that the Soviets remove nuclear missiles from the island.

**January 1, 1963** Chinese communist leaders denounce Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's policies of peaceful co-existence with the West; the Soviets respond by denouncing the Chinese Communist Party.

**August 5, 1963** The first arms control agreement, the Limited Test Ban Treaty, banning above-ground nuclear testing, is reached between the United States, Soviet Union, and Great Britain.

**August 7, 1964** U.S. Congress passes the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, authorizing U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson to conduct whatever military operations he thinks appropriate in Southeast Asia.

**October 16, 1964** China conducts its first nuclear weapons test.

**March 8, 1965** The first U.S. ground combat units arrive in South Vietnam.

**June 23, 1967** U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson and Soviet prime minister Aleksey Kosygin meet in Glassboro, New Jersey, to discuss a peace settlement to the Vietnam War.

**January 30, 1968** The communist Vietcong forces launch the Tet Offensive, convincing the American public that the Vietnam War is not winnable.

**July 15, 1968** Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev announces the Brezhnev Doctrine, which authorizes the use of force where necessary to ensure maintenance of communist governments in Eastern European nations.

**1963**

U.S. president John F. Kennedy is assassinated.

**1965**

Demonstrations against the Vietnam War occur in forty U.S. cities.

**1966**

The National Organization for Women (NOW) is established.

**1967**

*Rolling Stone* magazine is first published.

1962

1964

1966

1968

**August 20, 1968** The Warsaw Pact forces a crackdown on a Czechoslovakia reform movement known as the “Prague Spring.”

**August 27, 1968** Antiwar riots rage in Chicago’s streets outside the Democratic National Convention.

**March 18, 1969** The United States begins secret bombing of Cambodia to destroy North Vietnamese supply lines.

**July 20, 1969** The United States lands the first men on the moon.

**April 16, 1970** Strategic arms limitation talks, SALT, begin.

**April 30, 1970** U.S. president Richard Nixon announces an invasion by U.S. forces of Cambodia to destroy North Vietnamese supply camps.

**May 4, 1970** Four students are killed at Kent State University as Ohio National Guardsmen open fire on antiwar demonstrators.

**October 25, 1971** The People’s Republic of China (PRC) is admitted to the United Nations as the Republic of China (ROC) is expelled.

**February 20, 1972** U.S. president Richard Nixon makes an historic trip to the People’s Republic of China to discuss renewing relations between the two countries.

**May 26, 1972** U.S. president Richard Nixon travels to Moscow to meet with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev to reach an agreement on the strategic arms limitation treaty, SALT I.

**January 27, 1973** After intensive bombing of North Vietnamese cities the previous month, the United States and North Vietnam sign a peace treaty, ending U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

**1969**  
The Woodstock music festival takes place.

**1970**  
*Monday Night Football* debuts on ABC-TV.

**1971**  
The legal U.S. voting age is lowered to eighteen.

**1972**  
The Watergate scandal begins.

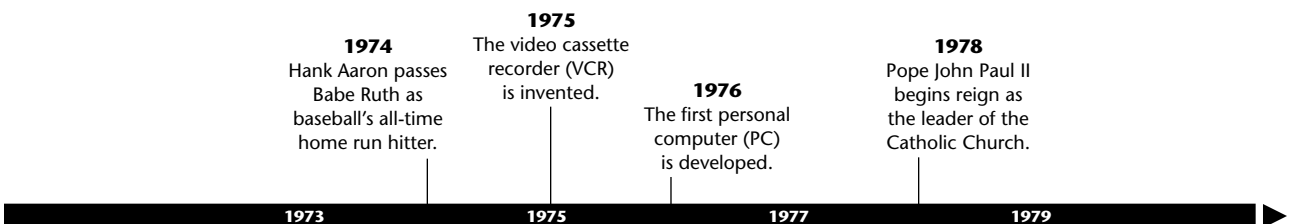
1969

1970

1971

1972

- September 11, 1973** Chilean president Salvador Allende is ousted in a coup in Chile.
- June 27, 1974** U.S. president Richard Nixon travels to Moscow for another summit conference with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.
- August 9, 1974** Under threats of impeachment due to a political scandal, Richard Nixon resigns as U.S. president and is replaced by Vice President Gerald R. Ford.
- November 23, 1974** U.S. president Gerald R. Ford and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev meet in the Soviet city of Vladivostok.
- April 30, 1975** In renewed fighting, North Vietnam captures South Vietnam and reunites the country.
- August 1, 1975** Numerous nations sign the Helsinki Accords at the end of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.
- December 25, 1977** Israeli prime minister Menachim Begin and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat begin peace negotiations in Egypt.
- September 17, 1978** Israeli prime minister Menachim Begin and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, meeting with U.S. president Jimmy Carter at Camp David, reach an historic peace settlement between Israel and Egypt.
- January 1, 1979** The United States and the People's Republic of China (PRC) establish diplomatic relations.
- January 16, 1979** The shah of Iran is overthrown as the leader of Iran and is replaced by Islamic leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.
- June 18, 1979** U.S. president Jimmy Carter and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev sign the SALT II strategic arms limitation agreement in Vienna, Austria.



- July 19, 1979** Sandinista rebels seize power in Nicaragua with Daniel Ortega becoming the new leader.
- November 4, 1979** Islamic militants seize the U.S. embassy in Tehran, Iran, taking U.S. staff hostage.
- December 26, 1979** Soviet forces invade Afghanistan to prop up an unpopular pro-Soviet government, leading to a decade of bloody fighting.
- April 24, 1980** An attempted military rescue of American hostages in Iran ends with eight U.S. soldiers dead.
- August 14, 1980** The Solidarity labor union protests the prices of goods in Poland.
- January 20, 1981** Iran releases the U.S. hostages as Ronald Reagan is being sworn in as the new U.S. president.
- November 12, 1982** Yuri Andropov becomes the new Soviet leader after the death of Leonid Brezhnev two days earlier.
- March 23, 1983** U.S. president Ronald Reagan announces the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).
- September 1, 1983** A Soviet fighter shoots down Korean Airlines Flight 007 as it strays off-course over Soviet restricted airspace.
- October 25, 1983** U.S. forces invade Grenada to end fighting between two pro-communist factions.
- February 13, 1984** Konstantin Chernenko becomes the new Soviet leader after the death of Yuri Andropov four days earlier.
- February 1985** The United States issues the Reagan Doctrine, offering assistance to military dictatorships in defense against communist expansion.

**1980**  
Former Beatle John Lennon is murdered.

**1981**  
MTV makes its debut.

**1982**  
The compact disc (CD) is introduced.

**1985**  
Microsoft releases Windows.

1979

1981

1983

1985



**March 11, 1985** Mikhail Gorbachev becomes the new Soviet leader after the death of Konstantin Chernenko the previous day.

**October 11–12, 1986** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. president Ronald Reagan meet in Reykjavik, Iceland, and agree to seek the elimination of nuclear weapons.

**October 17, 1986** Congress approves aid to Contra rebels in Nicaragua.

**November 3, 1986** The Iran-Contra affair is uncovered.

**June 11, 1987** Margaret Thatcher wins an unprecedented third term as British prime minister.

**December 8–10, 1987** U.S. president Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev meet in Washington to sign the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), removing thousands of missiles from Europe.

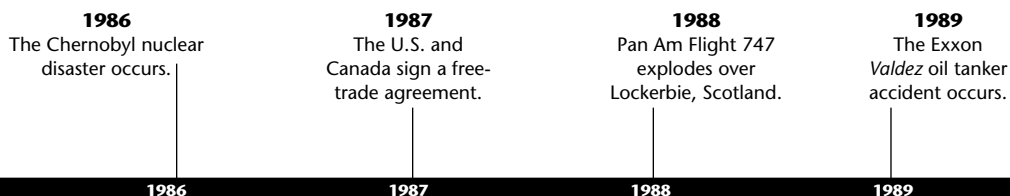
**February 8, 1988** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announces his decision to withdraw Soviet forces from Afghanistan through the following year.

**May 29, 1988** U.S. president Ronald Reagan journeys to Moscow for a summit meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

**January 11, 1989** The Hungarian parliament adopts reforms granting greater personal freedoms to Hungarians, including allowing political parties and organizations.

**January 18, 1989** The labor union Solidarity gains formal acceptance in Poland.

**March 26, 1989** Open elections are held for the new Soviet Congress of People's Deputies, with the communists suffering major defeats; Boris Yeltsin wins the Moscow seat.



- May 11, 1989** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announces major reductions of nuclear forces in Eastern Europe.
- June 3–4, 1989** Chinese communist leaders order a military crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square, leading to many deaths.
- June 4, 1989** The first Polish free elections lead to major victory by Solidarity.
- October 7, 1989** The Hungarian communist party disbands.
- October 23, 1989** Massive demonstrations begin against the East German communist government, involving hundreds of thousands of protesters and leading to the resignation of the East German leadership in early November.
- November 10, 1989** East Germany begins dismantling the Berlin Wall; Bulgarian communist leadership resigns.
- November 24, 1989** Czechoslovakia communist leaders resign.
- December 1, 1989** U.S. president George Bush and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev begin a three-day meeting on a ship in a Malta harbor to discuss rapid changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.
- December 20, 1989** Lithuania votes for independence from the Soviet Union.
- December 22, 1989** Romanian communist leader Nicolae Ceausescu is toppled and executed three days later.
- March 1990** Lithuania declares independence from Moscow.
- March 14, 1990** Mikhail Gorbachev is elected president of the Soviet Union.
- March 18, 1990** Open East German elections lead to a major defeat of Communist Party candidates.

**1989**  
Wayne Gretzky becomes professional hockey's all-time leading scorer.

**1989**  
A major earthquake hits San Francisco, California.

**1990**  
*The Simpsons* debuts on the FOX network.

1989

1990

**May 29, 1990** Boris Yeltsin is elected president of the Russian republic.

**June 1990** Russia declares independence as the Russian Federation.

**October 15, 1990** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his reforms that ended the Cold War.

**November 14, 1990** Various nations sign the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, ending the economic and military division of Europe created by the Cold War.

**July 1, 1991** The Warsaw Pact disbands.

**August 19, 1991** Soviet communist hardliners attempt an unsuccessful coup of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, leading to the banning of the Communist Party in Russia and other Soviet republics.

**August 20–September 9, 1991** The various Soviet republics declare their independence from the Soviet Union, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kirgizia, and Tadjikistan.

**October 3, 1991** West and East Germany reunite as one nation.

**December 8, 1991** Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia create the Commonwealth of Independent States organization as an alliance replacing the Soviet Union.

**December 25, 1991** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev resigns as the Soviet president, and the Soviet Union ceases to exist.

**January 28, 1992** In his Annual State of the Union Address, U.S. president George Bush declares victory in the Cold War.

**1990**  
The Hubble Space Telescope is deployed in space.

**1991**  
The Persian Gulf War takes place.

**1992**  
Hurricane Andrew causes \$15 billion in damage in Florida.

1990

1991

1992

## Research and Activity Ideas

The following research and activity ideas are intended to offer suggestions for complementing social studies and history curricula, to trigger additional ideas for enhancing learning, and to provide cross-disciplinary projects for library and classroom use.

- **Newspaper search:** Old issues of local newspapers are likely available at your public library, a nearby college or university library, or from the local newspaper office itself. Locate and review newspapers for the following events using the approximate dates given. Assess if reporters grasped the major points of the crisis. Choose interesting accounts to read to the class. The events are: Cuban Missile Crisis (October 23, 1962, through the end of October 1962); Berlin, Germany, Airlift (mid-July 1948 to mid-May 1949); Building the Berlin Wall (August 14, 1961, through the end of August 1961); and Tearing Down the Berlin Wall (November 10, 1989, through the end of November 1989).
- **The bomb scare:** At the height of the Cold War (1945–91), many individuals attempting to protect family members considered building bomb shelters in case of nuclear at-



tack. At your local library, secure an old copy of the September 15, 1961, issue of *Life* magazine. Look for an article titled “Fallout Shelters.” Also note the preceding letter to the American public from President John F. Kennedy.

- **Make an important decision:** Would you choose to build a shelter or rely on public bomb shelters being identified at that time by the Civil Defense? If you decide you would build, consider the same issues as those 1960s families did in the article. Where would you place your shelter, what kind would you build, could you afford to build it, and what and how many provisions would you stock it with? In the event of an attack warning, how long would it take to gather your family at the shelter?
- **Pretend you are a 1960s teenager:** Would a family shelter represent comfort and security, or a constant reminder of a possible doomsday event? Write what your thoughts might have been as the shelter was constructed.
- **Arms control treaties:** Create a timeline of nuclear weapons control treaties. Briefly describe the substance of each treaty and indicate which countries signed onto them. Begin with the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty. In addition to information found in books, check out information on the Internet at [www.atomicarchive.com](http://www.atomicarchive.com).
- **Strategic Triad:** To defend the United States from a nuclear attack, the U.S. government and military developed a system known as the Strategic Triad. Triad, meaning three, incorporated: (1) long-range bombers carrying nuclear weapons; (2) land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles; and (3) missile-carrying submarines. The reasoning behind the Triad was that an enemy could not hope to destroy all three systems in a first attack—at least one system would be left to retaliate. Hence, an enemy should be discouraged from launching an attack. Choose one of the three systems and report to the class. To learn more about the history of these systems, go to these Web sites on the Internet: U.S. Strategic Air Command, <http://www.stratcom.af.mil>; Titan Missile Museum, [http://www.pimaair.org/titan\\_01.htm](http://www.pimaair.org/titan_01.htm); Ballistic Missile Submarines (SSBNs), <http://www.stratcom.af.mil/factsheethtml/submarines.htm>; and U.S. Navy Fact File, <http://chinfo.navy.mil/navpalib/factfile/ships/ship-ssn.html>.

- **At the movies:** Watch one of the following movies, each of which have Cold War overtones: *I Married a Communist* (1950); *My Son John* (1952); *Storm Center* (1956); *On the Beach* (1959); *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962); *Dr. Strangelove* (1963); *The Russians Are Coming, the Russians Are Coming* (1966); *The Deer Hunter* (1978); *Red Dawn* (1984); and *The Hunt for Red October* (1990). Applying your knowledge of the Cold War, how was the superpower rivalry portrayed in the movie? Whether the movie was dramatic and suspense-filled or a comedy spoof, what ideas about the Cold War did it relay to the audiences?
- **Map project:** Create the two following maps, then compare and contrast them. First, create a map of Europe and the Soviet Union as the countries existed in the late 1960s. Include the democratic Western European countries and the communist Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union. Second, create a map of the same geographical area in 2000 after the breakup of the Soviet Union during the 1990s.
- **U.S. Cold War military sites:** On a map of the western United States, locate the following sites involved in top secret Cold War military activities. Using a numbered key, on the map briefly describe the mission charged to each site. Using your favorite Internet search engine, enter these terms: Los Alamos, White Sands, Titan II Museum, Trinity Site, Nevada Test Site, Long Beach Navy Yard, Mare Island Naval Shipyard, North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) Headquarters, and Strategic Air Command (SAC) Headquarters.
- **Spying from above:** Research and report on aircraft and satellite spies. Include the U-2, Corona Satellite project, SR71 Blackbird (succeeded the U-2), and drone-type aircraft such as the U.S. Air Force Predator.
- **International Spy Museum, Washington, D.C.:** Go to the website of the International Spy Museum (<http://www.spymuseum.org>) and find out about such fascinating topics as the tools of the trade of spying, lives of the spies of the Cold War, the Berlin Tunnel, or any other topic that catches your imagination at this exciting site.

- **VENONA Project:** Research the VENONA Project, which was the U.S. Army's Signal Intelligence Service's attempt, beginning in 1943, to decode the encrypted messages of the Soviet intelligence agencies, the KGB and GRU. The National Security Agency (NSA) ended a fifty-year silence on VENONA when it released documents in 1995 for the general public to study. The intelligence secrets uncovered by deciphering codes helped expose Soviet espionage activities carried out in the United States. For information, go to the National Security Agency's Web site, <http://www.nsa.gov/docs/VENONA> and the Public Broadcasting Service's *NOVA Online* Web site at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/venona>.
- **CNN's "Cold War Experience":** Media giant CNN produced a documentary series on the Cold War for television broadcast in 1998. It won the prestigious George Foster Peabody Award for an excellent documentary series. To coincide with the programming, CNN developed an Internet interactive website, the *Cold War Experience*, that allows you to explore many facets of key situations and events of the Cold War. Go to this website at <http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/> for spellbinding information about the bomb, culture, technology, espionage, and more.
- **Development of nuclear weapons:** Divide the class into two groups, the Americans and the Soviets. Research and then write a class play on the development of the early nuclear technology. First act: The successful American development of an atomic bomb by 1945 with leading characters J. Robert Oppenheimer and Brigadier General Leslie R. Groves. Second act: The successful Soviet development of an atomic bomb by 1949 with leading characters Igor Kurchatov (physicist) and Lavrenti Beria (head of the KGB, the Soviet secret police). Third act: Follow Oppenheimer and Kurchatov until their deaths. What conclusions did they both independently come to concerning nuclear development, and how did they promote their views?
- **Coded or encrypted messages:** Divide the class into small groups for creating secret codes. Have each group make up an encrypted message using three letters for one

letter, such as “abc” standing for “t.” Make a tiny code deciphering book. Exchange code books and messages with another group. All students then become codebreakers employed by the National Security Agency and break the code. Remember, in real situations, code books changed from week to week and month to month, making deciphering very difficult.

- **Fission and fusion:** Explore the scientific basis of and difference between the nuclear reactions of fission and fusion. Explain the difference in destructive force between the atomic bomb based on fission and the hydrogen bomb based on fusion. Define what is meant by strategic and tactical nuclear weapons.
- **Terrorist thievery:** In the era of terrorists in the early twenty-first century, why do government officials fear that plutonium and uranium isotopes (two or more forms of an element that differ from each other according to their mass number) might be stolen. Which type of bomb, fission or fusion, might a terrorist produce with the stolen material? Would that bomb destroy a large part of the world or would it be, however devastating, limited in its destructive effects?
- **Interviews:** Make a list of persons who students know lived during much of the Cold War. Parents or grandparents born in the 1940s would be good candidates. Develop questions ahead of time. Tape record the interview if possible or take careful notes. Transcribe the recording or notes into a clear written retelling of the interview. This process is known as taking and recording an oral history. Share the oral history with the class.
- **Cartoon creation:** Cartoons are common features in newspapers and magazines. Used to illustrate the artist’s viewpoint of an occurrence or common issue of the day, cartoons draw reactions from readers ranging from laughter to quiet agreement with the artist to howls of disgust. Use your imagination and artistic skills to create a cartoon about some aspect of the Cold War. Take either the side of the United States or of the Soviets. Suggestions for topics are Winston Churchill’s phrase the “Iron Curtain,” the Berlin Airlift, the Berlin Wall, the nuclear arms race, the space race, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, the mutual



assured destruction policy, détente, and President Ronald Reagan's "Star Wars" program. Be sure to convey an emotion such as humor, fear, or surprise. Write a caption for the cartoon that captures the essential message or spirit of the cartoon.

- **Debate #1:** Divide the class into two groups: (1) democratic, capitalists of Western Europe and the United States and (2) the communists of the Soviet Union. Debate thoroughly the differences in the two systems of government and economies. In reality, both sides believed their system was best. So staunchly defend what you think is right about your respective system. Were there any similarities or common ground in the two systems, or were they hopelessly incompatible?
- **Debate #2:** Divide the class into two groups: U.S. government officials and Soviet government officials. Set the debate in the time frame of 1945 to approximately 1949, post-World War II. Remember, the two groups were becoming more distrustful of each other with each passing day. Explore the reasons why, then debate over a "summit" table such issues as why the Soviets insisted on occupying Eastern European countries, why German reunification was such a stumbling block, and why Americans were suspicious of a communist conspiracy to take over the world and therefore began a policy of "containment."
- **Debate #3:** Divide the class into two groups: one in favor of a massive arms buildup to deter the Soviets and the other opposed to an arms buildup and instead vigorously pressing for arms control talks. Debate the advantages and problems with mutual assured destruction (MAD).
- **Debate #4:** Research and debate the ideas of the domino theory, particularly relating it to China, Korea, and Vietnam. How did it impact tensions of the Cold War?
- **Debate #5:** Study and debate President Ronald Reagan's "Star Wars" project. How did Reagan's insistence on the program affect the Soviets and did it prolong or hasten an end to the Cold War?
- **The image of Nikita Khrushchev:** At your public library, or a nearby college or university library, locate *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower* (2000) by the

late Soviet leader's son, Sergei Khrushchev. In the 1960s, most Americans thought of Nikita Khrushchev as an evil, stubborn Soviet leader determined to blow up the United States with nuclear weapons. From your reading of the book, construct your own personality and leadership profile of Nikita Khrushchev.

- **Mikhail Gorbachev:** Study in depth the life and ideologies of the Soviet Union's final president, Mikhail Gorbachev. Why was he chosen for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1990?

# Cold War Almanac

# Origins of the Cold War

1

“**T**here are two great peoples on the earth today who, starting from different points, seem to advance toward the same goal: these are the Russians and the Anglo-Americans. Both have grown larger in obscurity [relatively unnoticed by the rest of the world]; and while men’s regards were occupied elsewhere, they have suddenly taken their place in the first rank of nations, and the world has learned of their birth and of their greatness almost at the same time.” French traveler Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859) made this statement, quoted in his book *Democracy in America*, in the 1830s. Over a century later, the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (also known as the Soviet Union or the U.S.S.R.; a country made up of fifteen republics, the largest of which was Russia, that in 1991 became independent states) had risen to the status of superpowers, extremely powerful nations that dominated world politics. Eventually, the two countries were involved in what became known as the Cold War.

The Cold War was a period of mutual fear and distrust, brought about by the differing ideologies, or set of beliefs, of these two nations. The Cold War did not begin on a





## Words to Know

**Allies:** Alliances of countries in military opposition to another group of nations. In World War II, the Allied powers included Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

**Big Three:** The trio of U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin; also refers to the countries of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union.

**Bolshevik:** A member of the revolutionary political party of Russian workers and peasants that became the Communist Party after the Russian Revolution of 1917; the terms Bolshevik and Communist became interchangeable, with Communist eventually becoming more common.

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls almost all aspects of society. Private

ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Isolationism:** A policy of avoiding official agreements with other nations in order to remain neutral.

**Truman Doctrine:** A Cold War-era program designed by President Harry S. Truman that sent aid to anticommunist forces in Turkey and Greece. The Soviet Union had naval stations in Turkey, and nearby Greece was fighting a civil war with communist-dominated rebels.

**United Nations:** An international organization, composed of most of the nations of the world, created to preserve world peace and security.

**Yalta Conference:** A 1944 meeting between Allied leaders Joseph Stalin, Winston Churchill, and Franklin D. Roosevelt in anticipation of an Allied victory in Europe over the Nazis. The leaders discussed how to manage lands conquered by Germany, and Roosevelt and Churchill urged Stalin to enter the Soviet Union in the war against Japan.

precise date, and it was not a shooting war, at least not directly between the two superpowers—the United States of America and the Soviet Union. As a result, the actual start of the Cold War is open to debate. The term “Cold War” comes from the title of a 1947 book by influential American jour-

nalist Walter Lippmann (1889–1974). He had heard presidential advisor Bernard Baruch (1870–1965) use the phrase “cold war” in a congressional debate that same year. Various political events between 1945 and 1947 were crucial to the Cold War’s beginning. By the end of World War II (1939–45), the European powers—Great Britain, France, and Germany—had collapsed, while the U.S. and Soviet empires were thriving. U.S. and Soviet foreign policies, domestic priorities, economic decisions, and military strategies (including the development of nuclear weapons), all formulated in response to the war, created an atmosphere of hostility and fear that lasted almost half a century.

## Distinct differences, distant enemies

Although the Cold War did not begin until the mid-1940s, many historians look back to 1917 for the first signs of U.S.-Soviet rivalry. In Russia, members of a rising political party, known as the Bolsheviks, gained control of the country in November 1917 through the Bolshevik Revolution. The Bolsheviks supported the communist ideologies of Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924), who established the Communist Party in Russia in 1919. Communism is a system of government in which a single party controls nearly all aspects of society; leaders are selected by top party members. Under the communist system, the government directs all economic production. Goods produced and accumulated wealth, are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all; there is no private ownership of property. Religious practices were not tolerated under communism.

On the other hand, the United States viewed the world differently than did Lenin and the Bolsheviks. The U.S.



## People to Know

**Clement Attlee (1883–1967):** British prime minister, 1945–51.

**James Byrnes (1879–1972):** U.S. secretary of state, 1945–47.

**Winston Churchill (1874–1965):** British prime minister, 1940–45, 1951–55.

**Adolf Hitler (1889–1945):** Nazi party president, 1921–45; German leader, 1933–45.

**Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924):** Leader of Bolshevik Revolution, 1917; head of Soviet government, 1918–24; founder of the Communist Party in Russia, 1919.

**Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945):** Thirty-second U.S. president, 1933–45.

**Joseph Stalin (1879–1953):** Dictatorial Russian/Soviet leader, 1924–53.

**Harry S. Truman (1884–1972):** Thirty-third U.S. president, 1945–53.

**Bolshevik leader Vladimir I. Lenin (left) and associate Leon Trotsky.** *Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*



system of government is democratic, which means that government leaders are elected by a vote of the general population; members of the government represent the people. Multiple political parties represent differing political views. The United States operates under a capitalist economic system. This means prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government interference. Property and businesses are privately owned. Religious freedom is absolute; it was a cornerstone in the founding of the United States in 1776. In response to the Bolshevik Revolution, the president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924; served 1913–21), condemned the Bolsheviks and sent troops to Russia in 1918 to restore the old government. However, this attempt was unsuccessful; the communist Bolsheviks prevailed and renamed Russia, calling it the Soviet Union. Still, the United States refused to officially recognize the new government as the official government of the Russian people. President Wilson did not think the communist rule would last long; he did not think

the Russian people would tolerate the loss of private property and individual freedoms. As communist leaders worked to reshape the Russian economy, the United States began a waiting game, hoping these leaders would fail. The unfriendly relations between the two countries would continue for the next twenty years, until an alliance during World War II brought them together.

During the 1920s and 1930s, neither the capitalist United States nor the communist Soviet Union was a world military power. Both countries isolated themselves from the political events in Europe and in other regions of the world. The United States wanted to avoid involvement in another European war after its bitter experience in World War I (1914–18), and the Atlantic Ocean seemed to offer a safe buffer against any foreign conflicts.

In contrast, Russia had no geographic buffer to protect it from land invasions. Historically, most military invasions of Russia had come from the west. Therefore, long before the communist takeover, Russian leaders had traditionally sought new western territories to protect their country from future threats. Joseph Stalin (1879–1953), a Bolshevik who became head of the Soviet communist state in 1924, wanted to avoid interaction with the capitalist governments in bordering Europe. Seeking security buffers and eager to spread the communist philosophy, Stalin pushed for expansion of Soviet influence in neighboring countries. However, denunciation of the Bolsheviks by various foreign leaders fed Soviet insecurities. The Bolsheviks feared external foreign invasion and an internal West-supported revolution to take back the government from the communists. During the 1920s, Soviet leaders were routinely excluded from international diplomacy such as European security pacts, because other countries viewed the Soviets' communist influence as a threat to international stability.

In November 1933, spurred by economic needs during the Great Depression (1929–41), the worst financial crisis in American history, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) established formal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Still, America remained quite hostile to the idea of communism, because Stalin's suppression of political, economic, and religious freedoms under the communist regime offended fundamental American ideals.





## The Bolshevik Revolution

Shortly after 1900, members of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party agreed that a revolution in Russia was needed. The tsars, Russia's monarchy, ruled harshly, decreasing local rule and appointing aristocrats to administer over the industrial workers and peasants. This led to poor working conditions, greater poverty and hunger, and growing discontent among the populace. But party members split into two major groups after they could not agree on how to conduct a revolution. Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924) was the leader of one side; his group believed in the overthrow of the tsars, or rulers, by a revolutionary army made up of peasants and workers. In a 1903 London meeting, Lenin's group gained control of the revolutionary movement and adopted the name Bolsheviks, derived from a Russian word meaning majority.

Major food shortages and other economic crises resulting from Russia's par-

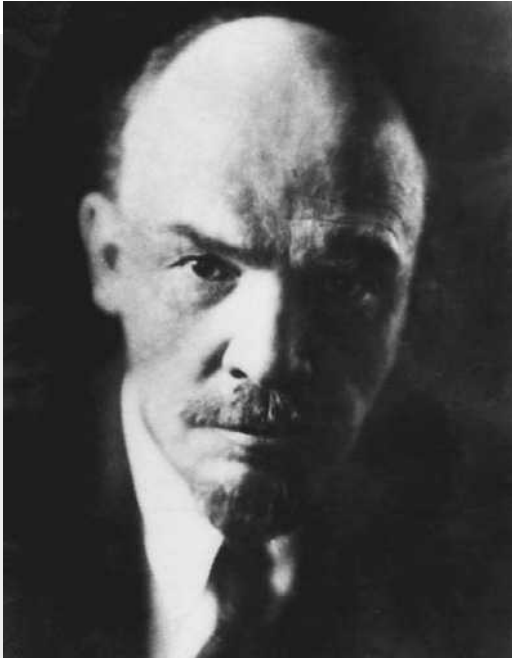
ticipation in World War I (1914–18) led to increasing public unrest and dissatisfaction with the oppressive ruling Russian monarchy. Strikes and demonstrations were becoming more common. With this momentum assisting him, Lenin led the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917, and he and his communist followers took control of the Russian government.

Lenin strongly believed in the economic and social theories of German political philosopher Karl Marx (1818–1883). Marx stressed that free-enterprise capitalist economic systems, such as that seen in the United States, are unstable because they produce wide gaps in wealth between industry owners and workers; he argued that this system would inevitably lead to worker uprisings and revolution. Marx promoted a system in which workers would own industry and other means of production and share equally in the wealth. Through this

## The Grand Alliance

In the 1930s, German dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) began a military campaign to gain more territory for Germany. As conditions in Europe became increasingly troubling, President Roosevelt nudged the United States to give up its isolationist position, a policy of avoiding official agreements with other nations in order to remain neutral. He wanted the United States to help Great Britain and other countries resist Germany's expansion.

In contrast to the United States' new stance, Stalin sought a position of neutrality for the Soviet Union. He signed



**Bolshevik leader Vladimir I. Lenin.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

system, he theorized, social classes would be eliminated.

After their victory in the revolution, Lenin's followers formed the All-Russian

Communist Party in March 1918. This party ran the Russian government and sought to establish a classless communist society in which all property was to be communally owned. All other political parties were banned, and Lenin ruled as a dictator, making use of force and terror to maintain control.

Lenin believed Communist revolutions would occur around the world as other nations followed Russia's lead. Therefore, he was dedicated to supporting communist movements in other countries. In December 1922, the Bolsheviks and their Communist Party government formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R., or Soviet Union), a union of four existing countries—Russia, the Ukraine, and two others. Other countries would be added to the Soviet Union through the years. Lenin remained the leader of the Soviet Union until he died in 1924.

the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact with Germany in August 1939. The agreement gave the Soviet Union control of eastern Poland, Moldavia, and the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania). Stalin hoped this expansion would provide security from future attack while the capitalist countries fought among themselves. The extra land would also act as a screen, limiting Soviet contact with the West in general. Stunned by the Soviet-German agreement, the West claimed that this pact encouraged Germany's invasion of Poland the following month. With that invasion, in September 1939, World War II officially began. The Soviet buffer zone gave Russians less than two years of security: In June 1941, Germany violated its pact

The acts of Adolf Hitler (right) prompted the United States to form an alliance with the Soviet Union and Great Britain to defeat the German dictator.

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with the Soviet Union and launched a massive offensive against the Russians. More than three million German troops pushed into Russia; by October, the German forces had reached the outskirts of Moscow, the capital city.

In the meantime, Japan was conducting a similar military campaign of expansion in the Far East. On December 7, 1941, Japan launched a surprise attack on the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in an effort to cripple the U.S. Pacific fleet and prevent U.S. intervention in Japan's expansion efforts. Germany declared war on the United States three days later. These events quickly brought the United States into the world war.

The joint struggle against Hitler's Germany led to the formation of the Grand Alliance—the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain; the three powers referred to themselves as the Allies. However, this alliance was not a true, well-formed partnership. Instead, the three nations found themselves facing the same threat—the aggression of

Germany and Japan—and recognized that they needed to work together to defeat their common enemy. Yet even under these circumstances, the Americans and Soviets did not fully trust each other. For example, Roosevelt did not inform Stalin of the Manhattan Project, an American program (that began in 1942) to develop the atomic bomb. Stalin knew, nonetheless, thanks to well-placed spies, and secretly began his own atomic program.

Great Britain and the Soviet Union managed to repel the German onslaught on both the eastern and western fronts. On the eastern front, the Soviets defeated the invading German forces at Stalingrad in February 1943. In a counteroffensive, the Soviets pursued retreating German forces through eastern Europe. Meanwhile, Britain had survived the prolonged German bombing of England, including the capital city of London. On the western front, U.S. and British forces landed at Normandy on the French coast in June 1944 and pushed the Germans eastward. Caught between Allied forces approaching from the east and the west, Germany was defeated by the spring of 1945. The victory brought U.S. and Soviet forces face-to-face in central Europe. In several locations, young American and Russian soldiers eagerly shook hands with each other and celebrated together.

## The Big Three

Roosevelt, Stalin, and British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) had begun meeting during the war to design a postwar world. The Big Three (a term that referred not only to the trio of Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill, but to the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain as well) held friendly meetings, first in Tehran, Iran, in 1943, and then, in February 1945, in Yalta, a town on the Black Sea, in the Ukrainian region of the Soviet Union. During this time, President Roosevelt tried hard to overlook differences with Stalin. Furthermore, in early discussions Roosevelt had privately conceded to Stalin that the Soviets could control Eastern Europe under their communist government. Churchill was less willing to concede territory to the Soviet Union, particularly Poland. However, Stalin considered Poland crucial for protecting Moscow. He wanted to maintain the border es-



**Soviet leader Joseph Stalin.**  
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the Corbis Corporation.*

established in his 1939 nonaggression agreement with Germany. Churchill relented at the Tehran meetings, in exchange for British control over Greece.

In February 1945, the Big Three met in Yalta to discuss critical issues such as the Soviet entry into the war against Japan, the future of Eastern European governments, voting arrangements at the newly formed United Nations (UN; an international organization, composed of most of the nations of the world, created to preserve world peace and security), and a postwar government for Germany. The Allies were close to victory in Europe, but the outcome of the war with Japan in the western Pacific was still uncertain. The United States believed it needed help from the Soviets. Therefore, Roosevelt was willing to overlook the growing Soviet influences in Eastern Europe—at least temporarily—if the Soviets would promise

to attack Japan. To formalize their plan for postwar Europe, the three leaders signed the Declaration on Liberated Europe. Under this agreement, the Soviet Union would retain control of the eastern region of Poland. Poland's western boundary was redrawn to include part of Germany; this change would displace the German population residing there. The agreement also stated that countries freed from German control would be allowed to hold free elections to establish their new governments. Nevertheless, many in the United States saw the Yalta agreements as a sellout; in other words, they felt that Roosevelt and Churchill had simply handed Eastern Europe to Stalin and his communist influence.

## Relations decline

On April 12, 1945, Roosevelt died suddenly from a cerebral hemorrhage, a type of stroke where a blood artery in the brain bursts. He was replaced by Vice President Harry Tru-

man (1884–1972; served 1945–53). Truman was more hostile to communism than Roosevelt and had little previous experience in foreign affairs; these two factors would play an important role in the buildup to the Cold War. During the spring of 1945, Stalin had established a communist government in a part of Poland that was beyond the accepted western boundary of Soviet influence. The United States charged that Stalin was violating the Yalta agreements by not allowing free elections in Poland and by suppressing the Polish people’s freedom of speech, press, and religion. President Truman, newly in office, challenged the Soviets.

On April 16, four days after President Truman took office, he and Prime Minister Churchill sent a joint message to Stalin insisting the Soviets respect the agreements made in Yalta. On April 23, in a meeting in Washington, D.C., Truman made an unusually blunt comment to Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov (1890–1986) about Soviet influences in Poland. As noted on the *Cold War International History Project* Web site, an irked Molotov said, “I have never been talked to like that in my life.” Truman replied, “Carry out your agreements and you won’t get talked to like that.” Stalin responded the next day, saying that the United States was trying to dictate Soviet foreign policy. The German defeat had left Stalin an unprecedented opportunity to secure the buffer he was seeking in Eastern Europe. Stalin deemed Poland especially important as a first line of defense against future western invasions of the Soviet Union. Therefore, he would not budge, even under diplomatic pressure from Truman and Churchill; with Soviet troops occupying Poland since 1944, Stalin had the advantage.

The feuding spread to the United Nations organizational conference that was taking place in San Francisco, California. One part of the voting structure was to give the top world powers such as the United States and Great Britain veto power over key UN decisions. The Soviets insisted on having the veto power as well to overrule any proposed UN actions they found disagreeable. The dispute disrupted progress of the meetings.

Meanwhile on May 7, the defeated Germans officially surrendered. Four days later, on May 11, Truman abruptly ended shipments of wartime supplies to the Soviets, which



## Postwar Economic and Political Order

By late 1944, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) was focused on establishing international economic cooperation and a lasting peace for the postwar world. He did not want America to go back to the isolationism of the 1930s, when U.S. policy was to avoid official agreements with other nations in order to remain neutral, and be caught by surprise and be unprepared again as it had been when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941. To help build the stable and prosperous world Roosevelt envisioned, he had supported the creation of international organizations such as the United Nations (UN), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank.

At Dumbarton Oaks, a private estate in the Washington, D.C., area, diplomats representing the United States, Great

Britain, the Soviet Union, and China met between August 21 and October 7, 1944, to discuss and agree on the general purpose, structure, and operation of a new international organization that came to be known as the United Nations. At Yalta in February 1945, the Big Three—Roosevelt, Great Britain's Winston Churchill (1874–1965), and the Soviet Union's Joseph Stalin (1879–1953)—discussed how decisions would be made through a UN Security Council. Then, in a meeting in San Francisco that began on April 25, 1945—just thirteen days after Roosevelt's death—representatives from fifty nations developed the final charter of the United Nations. The charter was signed on June 26 and went into effect on October 24.

The UN is headquartered in New York City. Its main goals are to maintain

had begun in 1940. This put an end to all aid except what the Soviets needed to fight Japan. An infuriated Stalin viewed the sudden termination as concealed hostility fueled by disagreements over Poland and the UN.

To smooth over matters with the Soviets, Truman sent former Roosevelt advisor Harry Hopkins (1890–1946) to Moscow. Over a two-week period from May 25 to June 6, Hopkins was able to craft a compromise on various matters including composition of the Polish government. He also extracted from the Soviets a promise not to interfere in U.S. foreign relations in the Western Hemisphere. Furthermore, the Soviets promised to recognize U.S. dominance in Japan and China and to retreat from their UN veto demands. In return, the United States extended formal recognition to the com-

peace and security for its member nations, promote human rights, and address humanitarian needs. During the first forty-five years of the organization's existence, Cold War conflicts between the United States and the Soviet Union took top priority. The number of member nations continues to grow, from the original 50 in 1945 to 191 in 2003.

Two organizations related to the UN were designed to build a postwar international economic system. The World Bank and the IMF were both established at the Bretton Woods Conference in New Hampshire in July 1944. The IMF went into operation on December 27, 1945. It is focused on monitoring exchange rates to promote international trade and investments, which in turn stimulate economic growth around the world. The IMF can

serve to stabilize a nation's economy by providing loans to ease the payment of debts. Often the loans are tied to an agreement that requires the receiving nation to make certain adjustments or reforms in its monetary system to avoid future problems. The World Bank was created to finance projects and promote economic development in UN member nations. It began operation in June 1946, and for the next half century the Bank would be the largest source of funds for developing nations. Loans are provided for hydroelectric dams, seaports, airports, water treatment plants, and improved roads. The World Bank also provides guidance to developing nations as they restructure their economic systems. The permanent headquarters of both the IMF and the World Bank are in Washington, D.C.

munist Polish government on July 5. With this agreement in place, delegates at the UN conference were able to complete work on the UN charter.

## The Potsdam Conference

With the war in Europe over and relations between the West and the Soviets somewhat repaired, U.S., British, and Soviet leaders met again in Potsdam, Germany, near Berlin, in July 1945. Since the Big Three meeting in Yalta five months earlier, some changes had taken place: Roosevelt had died and Truman had taken over; and on July 16, just before the conference began, the United States had successfully conducted its first atomic bomb test—secretly, in a remote New



The Big Three shake hands at the beginning of the Potsdam Conference in July 1945. From left to right: British prime minister Winston Churchill, U.S. president Harry S. Truman, and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



Mexico desert. Truman casually informed Stalin about the new weapon after a conference session. Stalin accepted the news so calmly that Truman believed Stalin did not fully understand what he had been told. However, Stalin's spies had already informed him of the U.S. effort to build an atomic bomb, so after hearing Truman's announcement, Stalin immediately sent orders to step up the Soviet atomic bomb effort at home.

One other notable event took place during the Potsdam Conference. A general election in Great Britain was being held as the meetings began. Conservative Party candidate Churchill and Labour Party candidate Clement Attlee (1883–1967) both traveled to Germany and awaited the results. The Labour Party was victorious, meaning Attlee became prime minister, replacing Churchill in the Big Three.

At the Potsdam Conference, tensions quickly surfaced over the future of Germany. Still taken aback over the German attack on their country during the war, the Soviets wanted a weak Germany. The United States wanted a strong, united Germany. The Western allies also wanted to rid Germany of Nazism (known primarily for its brutal policies of racism), break apart its military, control its industrial production, and set up a democratic government. In addition, they wanted to put the surviving Nazi leaders on trial for war crimes, or crimes against humanity. At the time, Germany was under military rule and divided into four geographic zones based on the location of the various occupational forces at war's end. The Russians held the east zone, which was mainly an agricultural area; Britain had the industrial region in the northwest; the Americans controlled the south; and France had parts of the southwest. Berlin, the German capital, was located well within the Russian zone, but it, too, was divided into four sectors. Berlin became headquarters of the new Four-Power Allied Control Council created to rule Germany. This arrangement was to stay in place until a more permanent arrangement could be worked out.

To further punish Germany, Stalin insisted on large reparations, payments that Germany would have to make to compensate the Soviet Union for the massive wartime destruction caused by German forces. Stalin particularly wanted Germany's industrial equipment and raw materials. Earlier at the Yalta Conference, Foreign Minister Molotov of the Soviet Union proposed that Germany provide \$20 billion to the wartime allies, including the United States, with half of that amount going to the Soviet Union and half going to the Western countries. Some U.S. leaders felt such demands would greatly hinder Germany's economic recovery, so Roosevelt offered a compromise: He stated that the United States did not want reparations; however, he supported the Soviet request for \$10 billion as a justified demand.



**U.S. president Harry S. Truman, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, British prime minister Clement Attlee, and other government officials meet at the Potsdam Conference in July 1945. Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.**

At Potsdam, U.S. secretary of state James Byrnes (1879–1972) drew up a plan largely restricting the Soviet Union to receiving reparations from its own occupation zone. Though Stalin was displeased, Byrnes’s plan incidentally served to more formally partition Germany, giving the Soviet Union a relatively free hand in its zone. As time passed, the United States would become increasingly concerned that the Soviets were keeping east Germany econom-

ically repressed, in preparation for long-term control of the territory.

## War's aftermath

Shortly after the Potsdam meeting, a rapid sequence of major events unfolded in Japan. Truman issued the Potsdam Declaration on July 26, which called for Japan's unconditional surrender from the war. The Japanese government rebuffed that request. With military officials believing that a war against Japan could result in the loss of five hundred thousand lives, the United States decided to force a quick surrender by dropping atomic bombs on two Japanese cities—Hiroshima on August 6 and Nagasaki on August 9. Approximately 150,000 people were killed outright. On August 8, the Soviets had declared war on Japan and invaded Japanese-held Manchuria several days later. On August 14, Japan surrendered; formal surrender documents were signed on the USS *Missouri* on September 2. With both Germany and Japan defeated, the Grand Alliance no longer had any reason to stay together.

Great war losses left Britain and the Soviet Union considerably weakened. Britain was heavily in debt and no longer had the resources to be a world leader. Britain still had substantial military forces and colonies around the world, but its superpower status would soon fade. Similarly the Soviet Union was economically crippled near the war's end. Over twenty million Soviets had died, and the country's agricultural and industrial economies were in ruin; Stalin's immediate goal following the war was to avoid further military conflict. In contrast to Britain and the Soviet Union, the United States emerged from the war as a world power in a league of its own. Its gross national product, or total market value of the country's goods and services, had increased from \$90 billion in 1939 to \$211 billion in 1945. The U.S. population had also increased during the war, from 131 million to 140 million. The United States was the world's economic leader and major source of financial credit. Its military was vast, and it was the only country with atomic weapons.

A meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, held in London in September 1945 to determine terms of peace treaties and other end-of-the-war matters, ended in disarray.



**A mushroom cloud hovers over Nagasaki, Japan, after the United States dropped an atomic bomb on that city on August 9, 1945.**

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The United States and the Soviet Union strongly disagreed over draft treaties concerning Romania and Bulgaria and the Soviet role in postwar Japan. Some diplomats left the meeting feeling that the two nations were clearly on an unavoidable collision course. Many of them had begun to understand that the United States and other Western nations held basic economic and political values that were loathsome to the Soviets. Likewise, Western governments were inherently opposed to Soviet values.

In order to resolve differences, Truman sent Secretary of State Byrnes to Moscow, the Soviet capital. Byrnes was able to reach substantial compromises with the Soviets, including recognition of general spheres of influence for both nations; the Soviets were given control over Romania and Bulgaria. U.S. and Soviet diplomats agreed to meet in May 1946 in Paris to develop a series of peace treaties for other European nations. They also created the UN Atomic Energy Commission. Byrnes faced intense criticism when he returned to the United States; some Americans felt he was too soft in his negotiations with the communists. Because of this perception, his influence over foreign policy would substantially decline.

## **A fateful year**

In 1946, a continuous sequence of events clearly established the emerging rivalry between the West and the Soviet Union. In January, at a UN meeting in London, British foreign minister Ernest Bevin (1881–1951) spoke out strongly against growing Soviet intimidation in Turkey and Iran, and



**American diplomat George Kennan, author of the "Long Telegram."**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

he called for united opposition from the West. This set the tone for the following month, which would mark a major turning point in U.S. foreign policy. On February 3, the American public was stunned when U.S. newspapers reported that a Soviet spy ring had been sending U.S. atomic bomb secrets to Moscow. Public support for negotiations with the Soviets over nuclear arms control plummeted. Then on February 9, Stalin gave his "Two Camps" speech, in which he announced a five-year postwar economic plan. Some considered the speech more like a declaration of war on capitalist nations, because Stalin contended that capitalism and communism were incompatible.

On February 22, less than two weeks after Stalin's speech, George Kennan (1904–), an American diplomat in Moscow, sent what became known as the "Long Telegram." The eight-thousand-word telegram warned that the Soviet leaders could not be trusted and recommended that the United States give up its isolationist attitudes and take on more of

a leadership role with regard to international politics. The transmission, confirming the anti-Soviet beliefs already held by many Washington officials, would change the course of U.S. foreign policy. The United States, according to Kennan, would have to deal with the Soviets from a position of power.

The first direct confrontation between the two superpowers began the same day the Long Telegram was sent. Since 1941, both British and Soviet forces had occupied Iran, a country in the Middle East. Following the war, both sides agreed to withdraw by March 1946. However, the Soviet government, with an eye on Iran's oil, kept troops in Azerbaijan, a northern province of Iran (now divided into East and West Azerbaijan, and not the same Azerbaijan that was once part of the Soviet Union and is now an independent country). The Soviets looked to aid separatists, who were fighting against the Iranian government. In the United States, concerns rose over maintaining access to the vast oil reserves located in Iran and elsewhere in the Middle East, due to the Soviets' presence in Azerbaijan. On February 22, Secretary of State Byrnes went before the UN Security Council to condemn Soviet actions in Azerbaijan. In response, Soviet representative Andrey Gromyko (1909–1989) staged a dramatic walkout of the session. Days later, Byrnes sent the USS *Missouri*, the world's most powerful warship at that time, to neighboring Turkey as a warning to the Soviets. On February 28, Byrnes confirmed the new confrontational approach in U.S. foreign policy in a speech considered by many as a declaration of the Cold War. On March 5, Byrnes sent a note to Moscow demanding Soviet withdrawal from Iran.

At the same time, European leaders were feeling particularly threatened by the growing Soviet presence in Eastern Europe. On March 5, Winston Churchill, Britain's former prime minister, delivered a speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, with President Truman near his side. Churchill warned Americans of a descending Soviet "Iron Curtain" extending from Stettin, a key Polish port city on the Baltic Sea, to Bulgaria on the Black Sea. Behind the "Iron Curtain," communist governments ruled over closed societies, in which the ruling communist party in each country, such as Poland and Bulgaria, dictated the production levels of industry and determined what could and could not be printed; the population was shielded from outside social and political in-



fluence. Churchill urged the United States to take a more assertive role in European affairs to stop any further expansion of Soviet influence. In Moscow, Stalin expressed alarm over the aggressive tone of Churchill's speech.

By April 14, the Soviets responded to Byrnes's note, promising to remove their forces from Iran by May 1946. In exchange, with the support of the United States, Iran promised the Soviets access to Iranian oil, a promise never

**The USS *Missouri* was sent to Turkey as a warning to the Soviets after they began their presence in the nearby Iranian province of Azerbaijan.** *Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.*



fulfilled by Iran or the United States. Iran was the first test of strength between the United States and the Soviet Union. The encounter demonstrated to the United States the benefit of being tough.

During the spring and summer of 1946, the Soviet Union had begun significantly pulling back from interaction with the West. Stalin stopped efforts to obtain a \$1 billion loan from the United States and declined Soviet membership in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. He purged the Kremlin, or Soviet government, of any remaining Western sympathizers in influential positions. Meanwhile, on June 14, Bernard Baruch (1870–1965), U.S. representative on the UN Atomic Energy Commission, presented a plan for international control of atomic energy. The Soviets rejected the proposed plan because it required international inspection of scientific, industrial, and military facilities in the Soviet Union and would potentially end Soviet atomic energy development. The Soviets offered a counterproposal on June 19, but the UN adopted the U.S. plan. However, that plan would have little meaning without Soviet acceptance. The lack of agreement between the superpowers on this issue laid the foundation for a nuclear arms race.

That summer, White House aides Clark Clifford (1906–1998) and George Elsey (1918–) wrote a report to President Truman emphasizing that the Soviets would consider any U.S. compromise or concession as a weakness. They urged a continued show of strength—that is, not giving in to Soviet demands—because they believed that Stalin’s ultimate goal was world domination. The report further supported Truman’s evolving anti-Soviet stance.

Through 1946, Truman’s anti-Soviet position solidified. As noted on the Truman Presidential Museum & Library Web site, the president stated that he was “tired of babying the Soviets.” In defining the U.S. position, Truman seemed most influenced by the strongest anti-Soviet advisors in his administration, including Navy secretary James V. Forrestal (1892–1949), ambassador to Moscow William Averell Harriman (1891–1986), and World Bank president John J. McCloy (1895–1989). Alarmed by this trend, Nikolai Novikov, Soviet ambassador to the United States, exclaimed that it was the United States, not the Soviets, seeking world supremacy. In

addition some U.S. officials questioned Truman's tough stance. Even a member of Truman's cabinet, Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace (1888–1965), began speaking out in public in opposition. Wallace, who preceded Truman as vice president, was fired by Truman on September 20.

## The Truman Doctrine

A clear announcement of the new U.S. policy toward the Soviets came in early 1947, triggered by events in the eastern Mediterranean. A civil war was raging in Greece, and the Soviets were pressing the Turkish government to gain control of the straits, or passageway, between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. Many believed communists were behind the rebel forces fighting the Greek government. The Soviets wanted to control the Turkish straits to guarantee freedom of passage for their warships operating in the region. Greece and Turkey had been under British influence following the war. On February 21, 1947, however, the British announced they could no longer afford to provide those two countries with substantial military and economic aid.

On February 27, U.S. administration officials Dean Acheson (1893–1971) and George Marshall (1880–1959) met with key congressional leaders to determine what the United States might do about the situation in Greece and Turkey. They decided Truman needed to address the nation, strongly emphasizing the perceived communist threat in the Mediterranean region. On March 12, 1947, Truman addressed Congress, stressing the growing Cold War tensions and the political differences between East and West. Truman asked Congress and the American public for support in providing \$400 million of aid to the Mediterranean region, an area in which the United States had traditionally shown little interest. The ideas he expressed in this speech became known as the Truman Doctrine. The actions of the United States prompted the Soviets to pull back from both Greece and Turkey.

In the Truman Doctrine speech, the president proposed to provide aid to any nation in the world where free peoples were threatened by the spread of communism, especially in areas where poverty was threatening to undermine capitalist institutions. Truman's speech set U.S. foreign policy

for the next twenty-five years. As a result, the United States would become increasingly involved in the internal politics of other nations.

## Overview of Cold War origins

To Europeans, steeped in a long history of territorial shifts, the Cold War was yet another struggle for power and land in Europe. To Americans, however, the Soviet takeover of such areas as east Germany and Poland, along with Soviet activity in Iran, Greece, and Turkey, had the appearance of a communist conspiracy that might spread worldwide. In an effort to stop further communist expansion, the United States adopted a policy of intervention in the affairs of other countries. President Truman's speech of March 1947, in which he announced this new policy—called the Truman Doctrine—has traditionally been considered the beginning point of the Cold War.

The Cold War pitted the Western Bloc countries, composed of the United States and its allies in Western Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa, against the Eastern Bloc, composed of the Soviet Union and its allies and satellite governments in Eastern Europe, the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa. (Bloc refers to a group of nations.) The international rivalry fully evolved in the 1945-to-1947 time period and posed many significant global impacts. While producing a dramatic nuclear arms race, the Cold War would ironically provide prolonged international stability and a lack of war between the two great superpowers through the use of fear of nuclear annihilation (total destruction) as a deterrence to hostilities. Secret intelligence agencies became integrated with diplomatic and military affairs. The struggle for dominance would affect the daily lives of millions of people for over forty years. Developing countries became the location of armed conflicts leading to great loss of life.

The exact causes of the Cold War continue to be the subject of energetic debate in the twenty-first century. Many historians believe that Soviet expansionism provoked a strong U.S. reaction and a firm foreign policy, thereby initiating the Cold War. Others claim that massive foreign economic aid programs offered by the United States raised Soviet

fears of worldwide capitalist expansion. With long-held fears of foreign invasion, the Soviets believed the United States was involved in a conspiracy to encircle the Soviet Union with hostile capitalist states.

Other historians point to the personalities of Truman and Stalin as the keys to the Cold War. Truman was free-speaking; Stalin could be testy and ruthless. Whereas Roosevelt had seemed to be trying to develop a friendly relationship with Stalin, the more blunt Truman was harsher and more hostile in his dealings with the Soviet leader; Truman was, to the Soviets, a threatening figure. He was also much less experienced in foreign affairs than Roosevelt and relied heavily on his strongly anticommunist advisors, such as Ambassador Harriman and Chief of Staff William Leahy (1875–1959). As a result, misunderstanding and misinterpretation of actions played a significant role in U.S.-Soviet relations.

Basic differences in political and economic goals lay beneath the specific events and misunderstandings that triggered the Cold War. The United States desired a world order based on democracy and capitalism; U.S. leaders wanted American businesses to be able to compete and profit on a global scale. The Soviets wanted a different economic and governmental system, one based on the theory of communism. Because they believed this system could not coexist with Western capitalism, the Soviets sought a geographic buffer against increasing American influence in European economic affairs. With these conflicting goals, the United States and the Soviet Union became adversaries on an international stage.

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## Conflict Builds

2

The United States and the Soviet Union had emerged from World War II (1939–45) as superpowers. The two countries had different political and economic philosophies, and each believed its own governmental system was superior to the other. The United States, with its multiparty democratic form of government, valued an open, free society: American citizens elected their government leaders and were guaranteed freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of religion. The U.S. capitalist economic system allowed private ownership of property and businesses. Prices, production, and distribution of goods were determined by competitive markets, with minimal government involvement. U.S. leaders believed that all countries would benefit from following democratic, capitalist principles.

The Soviet Union had a completely different form of government than did the United States. A single political party, the Communist Party, controlled most aspects of Soviet society. Top members of the party selected government leaders from among their own ranks. The government directed all economic production; private ownership of property





## Words to Know

**Capitalism:** An economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention.

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls almost all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Containment:** A key U.S. Cold War policy to restrict the territorial growth of communist rule.

**Isolationism:** A policy of avoiding official agreements with other nations in order to remain neutral.

**Korean War (1950–53):** A conflict that began when North Korean communist

troops crossed the thirty-eighth parallel into South Korea.

**Marshall Plan:** A massive U.S. plan to promote Europe's economic recovery from the war; officially known as the European Recovery Program for Western Europe, it was made available to all nations, though the communist regime rejected it.

**Molotov Plan:** A Soviet series of trade agreements—made after the rejection of the Marshall Plan—designed to provide economic assistance to eastern European countries.

**National Security Act:** An act that created the National Security Council, which advised the president on national security policy.

**National Security Council Document 68, or NSC-68:** A plan for keeping Soviet influence contained within its existing areas; the strategy required dramatic increases in U.S. military spending.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO):** A peacetime alliance of the United States and eleven other nations, and a key factor in the attempt to contain communism; the pact meant that the United States became the undisputed global military leader.

and businesses was not allowed. In theory, all the goods produced and any accumulated wealth were to be shared equally by all citizens. Whereas the United States was protected from invasion by two oceans, the Soviet Union had been plagued by land invasions from the west, including the German invasion in World War II. The Soviet Union sought to expand its sphere of influence into neighboring countries to create a security buffer against western invasion and to protect its communist system of government from such capitalist nations as the United States.

After World War II, the basic differences between the two superpowers began to cause conflict. The United States and the Soviet Union quickly became locked in a power struggle known as the Cold War. The Cold War was generally not fought with armies and guns (though that would later change during the Korean War), but it was like other wars in one major respect: It was based on mutual fear and failure to communicate.

In 1945, the two countries had been allies, or alliances of countries in military opposition to another group of nations. At that time, their common goal was to stop German and Japanese aggression. By 1947, however, they were adversaries, or opponents. Case in point: At the February 1945 Yalta meeting of the Big Three—U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45), British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965), and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin (1879–1953)—Roosevelt projected that all American troops would be withdrawn from Europe within two years. However, in March



## People to Know

**Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975):** Ruler of China's Nationalist (Kuomintang) party, 1943–49.

**George Kennan (1904–):** Long-time U.S. Cold War advisor.

**Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964):** Supreme commander of occupational forces in Japan, 1945–51, and of the UN forces in Korea, 1950–51.

**Mao Zedong (1893–1976):** Chairman of the People's Republic of China and its Communist Party, 1949–76.

**George C. Marshall (1880–1959):** U.S. secretary of state, 1947–49; secretary of defense, 1950–51.

**Joseph R. McCarthy (1908–1957):** U.S. senator from Wisconsin, 1947–57; adopted an anticommunism campaign and became a national figure in Cold War politics.

**Joseph Stalin (1879–1953):** Dictatorial Russian/Soviet leader, 1924–53.

**Harry S. Truman (1884–1972):** Thirty-third U.S. president, 1945–53.





**Left to right: British prime minister Winston Churchill, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin at the Yalta conference in February 1945.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

1947, President Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53) announced that the United States planned to take an active role in combating the spread of communism in Europe and worldwide; in other words, the U.S. military was not going to withdraw after all.

## **Germany: Focal point of the Cold War**

At the close of World War II the Allies had divided defeated Germany into four zones. Military troops from the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union each occupied one zone. The three Western powers soon allowed their zones to act as one economic and political unit; these three zones became known as West Germany. The Soviets placed their zone under a communist political system, and that zone became known as East Germany. Officials in West Germany and those in East Germany did little to cooperate with each other, and attempts to negotiate a peace

treaty acceptable to all four powers failed. As a result, Germany would remain divided for almost half a century. West Germany and East Germany would become the focal point of the power struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union.

## **The Marshall Plan**

In January 1947, George C. Marshall (1880–1959) replaced James Byrnes (1879–1972) as U.S. secretary of state. Marshall announced that the U.S. military would stay in Europe to ensure that the economic reconstruction of West Germany was successful. U.S. officials hoped that a revitalized democratic and capitalist West Germany would prevent Soviet expansion toward Western Europe.

As Soviet influence expanded into Eastern Europe, communist parties were also gaining popularity in France and Italy. Postwar economic conditions were poor in these countries. During the war years, factories had been destroyed, agricultural lands ravaged, and millions of families displaced. Some poverty-stricken people looked to the communists to improve their living conditions, and with its economies in danger of collapsing, Western Europe was ripe for communist intervention. During a visit to Europe in April 1947, Secretary of State Marshall was struck by the dire conditions he saw. Europe was facing critical food and fuel shortages and increasing monetary inflation (increasing consumer prices). He was convinced the United States had to act to save Western Europe from economic and political collapse.

On June 5 in a speech at Harvard University, Marshall announced a massive new U.S. plan to promote Europe's economic recovery from the war. The plan was to be made available to all nations, even those under communist control. Later in June, leaders of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union met to examine the proposed plan. After reading the details of the plan and listening to discussions, the Soviets became alarmed; they felt that the plan put too much emphasis on capitalist values. They abruptly withdrew from further discussions on July 2 and pressured Eastern European countries under their influence to refuse the plan as well. The Soviets charged that the plan would undermine

their national independence and that it was primarily a means to spread capitalism. (Indeed, U.S. business and corporate interests were a prominent consideration in shaping the Marshall Plan; one of the goals of the plan was to establish foreign markets for U.S. goods and ensure access to needed raw materials found in Europe.) Other European nations met in Paris, France, later in July to consider the Marshall Plan, and by early fall the plan was adopted. Though more formally named the European Recovery Program for Western Europe, it was still referred to as the Marshall Plan.

Before the Marshall Plan could go into action, the American public and Congress had to support the expensive financial aid package. In December 1947, President Truman requested \$17 billion from Congress for the program. Congressional debate over the proposal carried on for weeks. Then in February 1948, a communist takeover in Czechoslovakia caused great alarm. Czechoslovakia had been the last democracy in Eastern Europe; its collapse heightened fears about the political stability of Europe. A new presidential advisory group called the National Security Council (NSC) issued a report, NSC-20, concluding that the goal of the Soviet Union was world domination. The report stated that the United States and its allies needed to stop or at least reduce Soviet influence. Another report, NSC-30, advocated the use of nuclear weapons as a deterrent to further communist expansion. This was a bold new strategy for the United States—an aggressive foreign policy that used the threat of force to influence other nations.

After the fall of the democratic Czech government and the release of the NSC reports, Congress passed the Marshall Plan. Passage of the plan essentially divided Europe economically: The Eastern half kept its communist economic principles, and the Western half accepted capitalist support from the United States. The Marshall Plan would provide over \$12 billion by 1952 to help maintain political stability in western Europe, and the United States continued to support a large foreign aid program through the second half of the twentieth century.

## **The Molotov Plan**

In reaction to the Marshall Plan, the Soviets held a meeting with Eastern European nations in September 1947



Seventy-five railroad cars sit at a train station in West Germany in November 1948. The freight cars arrived courtesy of the Marshall Plan, which was designed to help rebuild war-torn countries.

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and formed the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) to create a tighter bond between the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellite states (countries politically and economically controlled by the Soviets). Cominform's primary mission was to combat the spread of American capitalism and imperialism, the process of expanding the authority of one government over other nations and groups of people. On October 5, the Soviets announced their own economic assistance plan for Eastern Europe, called the Molotov Plan. The plan was named after Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov (1890–1986). It consisted of a series of trade agreements between the Soviet Union and the eastern European countries.

In January 1949, the Soviets enhanced the agreements of the Molotov Plan by creating the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), which more closely tied Eastern European economies to the Soviet economy. Each country was to specialize in the production of particular kinds of products or crops. The council included the Soviet



## The Communist Coup in Czechoslovakia

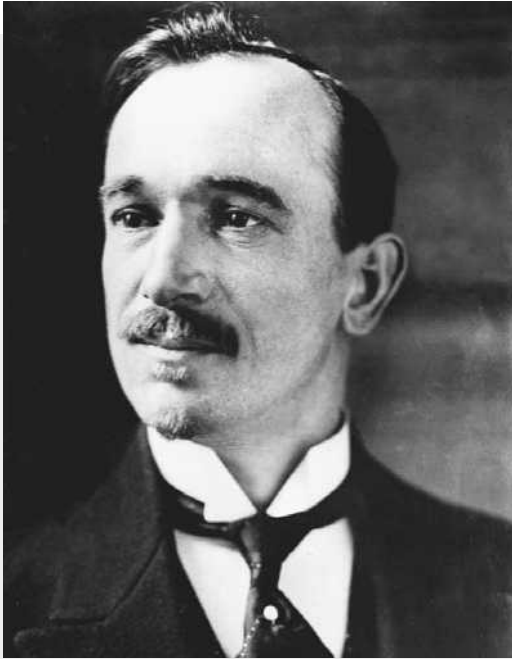
Edvard Beneš (1884–1948) was president of Czechoslovakia from 1935 to 1938. In 1938, Germany annexed Czechoslovakia, and Beneš left the country. He then taught briefly in the United States and spent time in France before moving to London. At the same time, Klement Gottwald (1896–1953), a prominent member of the Czech Communist Party, also fled German rule, going to Moscow. In London, Beneš formed the Czech National Committee. The Western allies recognized this committee as the official provisional (temporary) government of Czechoslovakia while Germany occupied that country. In 1943, Beneš gained Soviet support by signing with them a pact that would help deal with a postwar Czechoslovakia.

When the war in Europe ended in May 1945, resulting in the defeat of the German Nazi government, Beneš returned to the Czech capital of Prague and resumed his role as president of the Czech government. The communist Gottwald also returned. Facing pressure from the Soviet communists, Beneš first named Gottwald deputy premier in the newly reestablished government; Gottwald became premier in 1946. Gottwald also assumed leadership of the Czech Communist Party. Beneš mistakenly believed he had the support of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin to participate in the Marshall Plan, the U.S. program of financial assistance for war-torn European nations. However, Beneš came under intense criticism for his attempts to participate in the plan, and by

Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and the Communist parties of France and Italy.

## National Security Act

When the Soviets rejected the proposed Marshall Plan in the summer of 1947, U.S. concerns over Soviet intentions escalated. These concerns led Congress to pass the National Security Act, which President Truman signed into law on July 26, 1947. The act, which had been intensely debated for two years, brought major changes to the federal government. It created the National Security Council within the executive branch to advise the president on national security policy. It also created the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to gather and interpret the meaning of information on foreign activities. The CIA was also designed to carry out secret foreign operations.



**Edvard Beneš in 1919.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

late 1947 Gottwald began planning a coup to overthrow Beneš. In February 1948, Gottwald launched his coup, first gaining control of the Czech militia, police, and other agencies. By June 7, Beneš retired from public life, and Gottwald became the new president. Gottwald formed a close alliance with Stalin and instituted a harsh communist rule that led to the arrest and execution of many leading Czech officials.

Czechoslovakia was Western Europe's next-door neighbor; it had been the last democracy in Eastern Europe. Therefore, when it fell to communism, Western European and American fears intensified: The threat of communist world domination seemed one step closer to becoming a reality.

A 1949 amendment to the act created the Department of Defense, which united all the U.S. armed services. The new department was headquartered in the Pentagon building, across the Potomac River from Washington, D.C. Some consider the National Security Act one of the most important pieces of U.S. legislation of the Cold War period.

## Containment

In July 1947, Truman administration policy analyst George Kennan (1904–), using the pseudonym “X,” published a highly influential article, entitled “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” in the journal *Foreign Affairs*. In the article, Kennan outlined a foreign policy strategy to block further communist expansion: The United States was to contain Soviet expansion through economic, military, and

political means. Economic aid would be offered to countries that might be vulnerable to communist influence because of poverty and lack of jobs. The U.S. military would respond in areas where noncommunist forces might be threatening to undermine a communist government. Political containment included efforts to cause friction between the Soviet Union and other communist countries, such as China. The idea of containment continued to take shape over the next few years, and until 1953 containment was America's primary foreign policy strategy. The goal was to limit the Soviet Union's activity outside its existing sphere of influence and counter other communist threats of expansion around the world.

## **Rio Pact—OAS**

The United States turned its attention to Latin America at this time as well. The United States had long desired to keep foreign influence and intervention out of Latin America. In 1823, the Monroe Doctrine was established, declaring that the United States would not tolerate interference from European nations in North and South America. The fear of global communist expansion in the late 1940s renewed this desire to guard against what were considered outside influences. In September 1947, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, U.S. diplomats met with representatives from nineteen Latin American countries and signed an agreement called the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. More commonly known as the Rio Pact, this agreement established a security zone around North and South America. The alliance guarded against the potential growth and expansion of communism. The U.S. Senate approved the treaty on December 8, but some Latin Americans were dismayed that the agreement did not include economic assistance as the Marshall Plan had for western Europe.

The Western Hemisphere nations met again in April 1948, this time in Bogotá, Colombia. Building on the Rio Pact, representatives established the Organization of American States (OAS), which sought to maintain political stability in the region by providing a means to resolve disputes. The OAS went into effect in December 1951.

## North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

Western Europe did not have a postwar military agreement with the United States. The Marshall Plan primarily addressed political and economic issues. Financially weakened by World War II, Western Europe felt highly vulnerable to future attack; the Soviet Union had the strongest military in the region. Western Europeans wanted the United States, with its atomic bomb capabilities, to ensure their security. However, the United States had a history of isolationism, that is, not entering into formal agreements or alliances that might require U.S. military support in foreign wars. After World War II, the American public was in a mood for peace and retreat from European affairs. Initially Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg formed the Western European Union (WEU), or Brussels Pact, for mutual military assistance. However, the WEU alone could not act as a serious deterrent to a potential Soviet attack; the alliance remained weak without the United States. Seeing this, President Truman began to lobby Congress for support of U.S. entry into a European alliance.

A couple of key events in 1948 helped Truman get the support he needed for joining Western Europe in a military alliance. Early in the year, the communist coup d'état, a sudden change in government leadership by violent force, in Czechoslovakia convinced the American public and Congress that the Soviets were a real threat. Then, that summer, Berlin became the stage for further conflict. Like the whole of Germany, Berlin had been divided into sectors after World War II. West Berlin included three sectors; the United States, Great Britain, and France each occupied one sector. The East Berlin sector was occupied by the Soviet Union. The divided city was located deep within East Germany, the Soviet-controlled portion of the country. Hoping to force the Western powers out of Berlin, the Soviets blocked transportation routes running through East Germany so that the western sectors of the city could not receive supplies. The blockade lasted until May 1949. It took a massive airlift of supplies, which went on for almost a year, to break the blockade. Forced to confront the Soviet threat in this situation, Americans realized they could not remain uninvolved in European affairs. Truman soon received congressional go-ahead to negotiate an alliance with western Europe.



On April 4, 1949, Truman and other Western leaders signed the North Atlantic Treaty. The new alliance, called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), included twelve nations—the United States, the five WEU nations, Iceland, Norway, Denmark, Canada, Portugal, and Italy. The Senate approved the treaty in July. Article 5 of the treaty stated that an attack on any one of the member nations would be considered an attack on all members; U.S. military assistance in Europe was thus ensured. The treaty was the first peacetime alliance for the United States since its treaty with France in the late eighteenth century. The United States was now the global military leader, and NATO would be key in the attempt to contain communism.

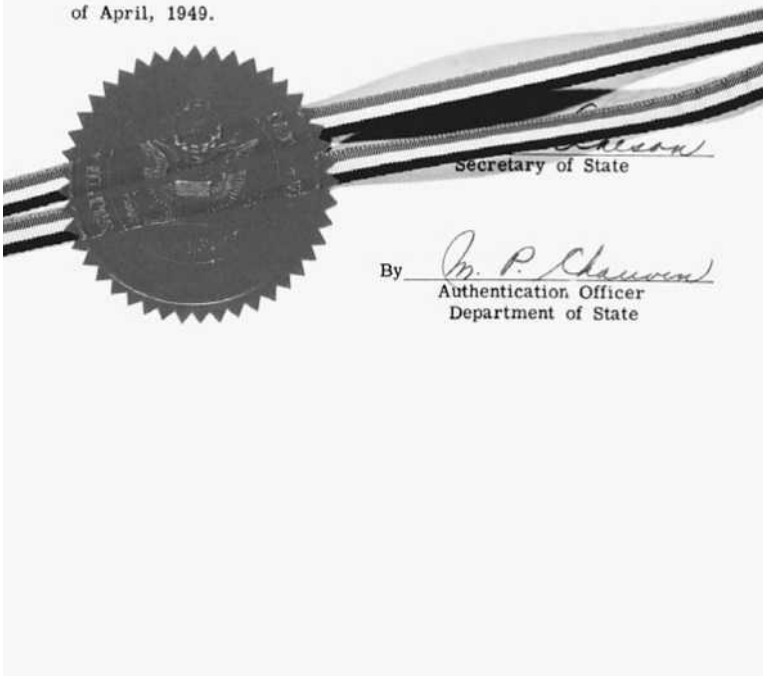
While forming NATO, the allies also decided to make the occupied west German area into a new nation; the Federal Republic of Germany came into being on September 21, 1949. On October 7, the Soviets responded by creating the German Democratic Republic from their east German occupation zone. (The countries were still more commonly known as West Germany and East Germany.) The division of Germany between East and West was complete. The official boundary was the line where the communist East and democratic West stood face-to-face amid Cold War tensions, neither backing down. With the formation of NATO, the West had a military defense alliance in place and an organization that clearly increased Soviet fears of an attack by the West.

## **Communist expansion in the Far East**

For centuries, a vast Chinese empire existed in the Far East. However, China's influence began to decline through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the expansion of European influence. By 1911, a revolution had brought an end to the empire and replaced it with economic and political instability. However, by 1928 the United States had officially recognized the new Chinese government. In the early 1930s, civil war broke out in China. The Nationalists (Kuomintang) were led by Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975), who had ruled China since the 1920s. Nationalism refers to the strong loyalty of a person or group to its own country. The Chinese Nationalists wanted to once again raise the world prominence of China. Challenging the Nationalists were commu-

I CERTIFY THAT the foregoing is a true copy of the North Atlantic Treaty signed at Washington on April 4, 1949 in the English and French languages, the signed original of which is deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America.

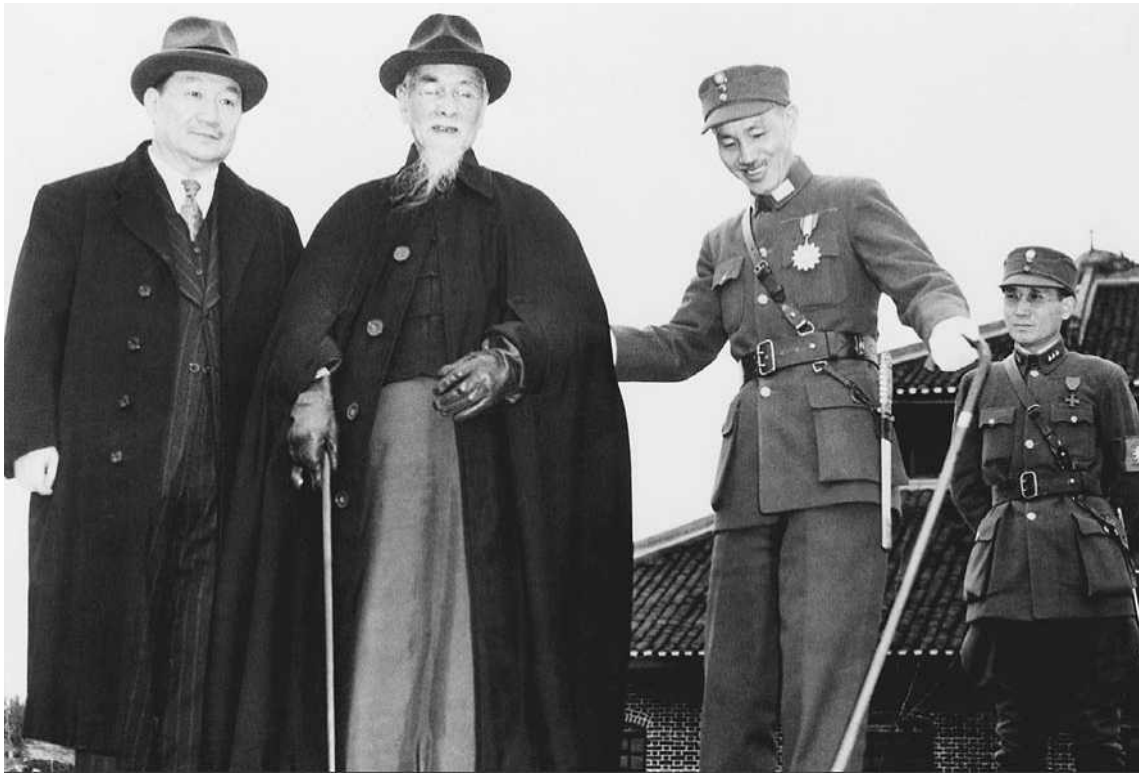
IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I, DEAN ACHESON, Secretary of State of the United States of America, have hereunto caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed and my name subscribed by the Authentication Officer of the said Department, at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, this fourth day of April, 1949.



A signed document by U.S. secretary of state Dean Acheson attesting to the authenticity of the North Atlantic Treaty document. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.

nist forces led by Mao Zedong (1893–1976). The communist forces were largely composed of peasants in agricultural areas; their strength was in northeastern China.

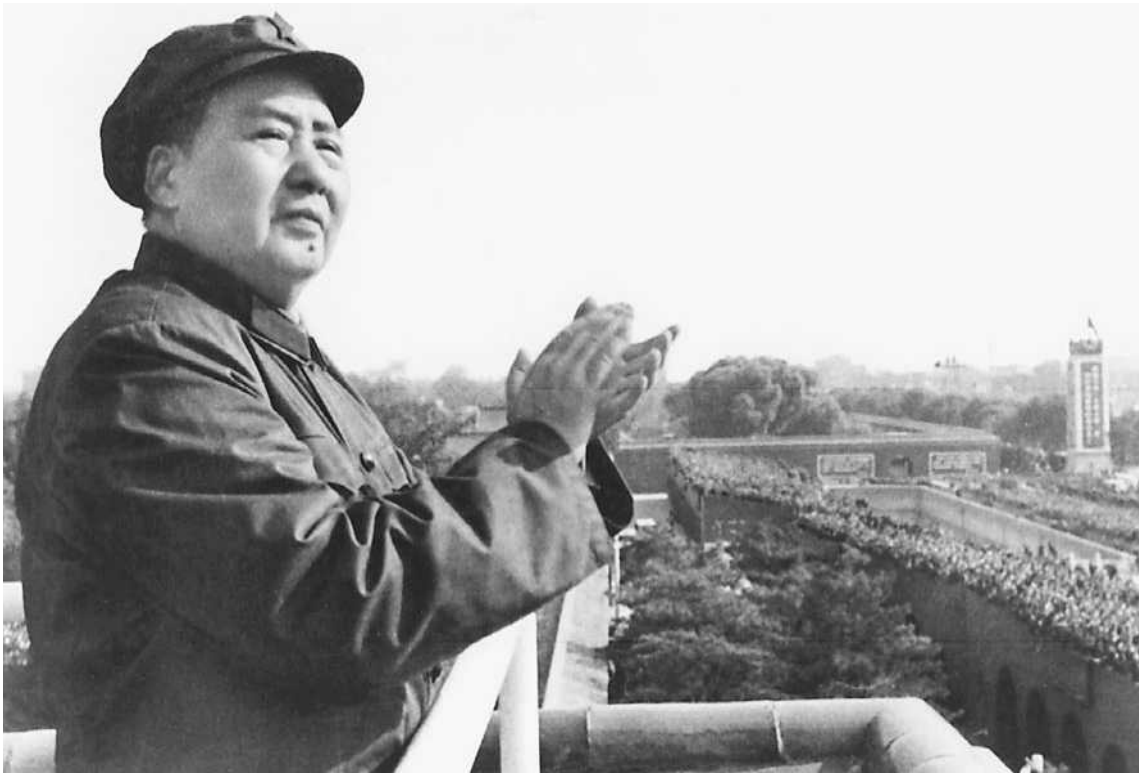
When Japan invaded China in 1937, the two Chinese leaders called a truce and together turned their attention to halting Japanese aggression. But when Japan surrendered to the Allies in August 1945, ending World War II, China's civil war resumed. In the United States, Chinese Nationalist sup-



**Top Chinese officials in 1943, from left to right, finance minister H. H. Kung, President Lin Sen, Nationalist Party leader Chiang Kai-shek, and minister of military operations Chang Chu-Chung.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

porters known as the China Lobby tried to gain active U.S. support for Chiang, and they wielded a good deal of influence. Yet President Truman was hesitant to provide much help, in part because of the poor support the Nationalists received within China. He also knew that Chiang had a reputation for corruption and oppression. On the other hand, Truman knew Mao represented a threat: Despite major philosophical differences between Mao and Soviet leader Stalin, U.S. officials considered Mao a puppet (a leader who is controlled or influenced by outside forces) of the Soviet communists. Taking all of this into consideration, Truman agreed to send some U.S. troops and limited economic aid to help Chiang and the Nationalists. Perhaps in reaction to this U.S. aid, Stalin began providing support to Mao's communist forces.

In November 1945, Truman decided to send former U.S. Army chief of staff George Marshall to China to work out a settlement between the Nationalist and communist factions. Meanwhile, the Soviets withdrew their military forces



in May 1946. In July, the Nationalists began an ill-fated military offensive against Mao's forces in northern China. Marshall worked to resolve the conflict but with little success. By the end of 1946, he concluded that no prospect for a peaceful settlement existed. The Nationalist military offensive soon lost strength, and the Communist forces began what would be a victorious counteroffensive.

Mao's communist forces swept southward through China in 1948. In January 1949, Chiang pleaded for military assistance from both the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviets asked Mao to stop his offensive and seek a settlement, but Mao's forces pushed on. In the fall of 1949, the Nationalists fled Mainland China and went to the island of Formosa. They renamed the island Taiwan and established the Republic of China (ROC). Mao proclaimed communist rule over Mainland China on October 1 and established the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Soviets recognized the PRC government the following day, while the United States, under

**China leader Mao Zedong  
applauds his troops.**

*Reproduced by permission of  
the Corbis Corporation.*

continued pressure from the China Lobby, recognized the ROC as the official government of China. However, in January 1950, Truman announced that the United States would not take action to challenge communist control of Mainland China. Feeling nonetheless spurned by the lack of U.S. recognition, Mao adopted a strong anti-American foreign policy and seized U.S. diplomatic property. On February 14, 1950, PRC and Soviet leaders signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty (the term Sino means Chinese), and Stalin promised communist China their full support as well as \$300 million in loans.

## Japan and Indochina

During the late 1940s, after Japan's surrender in World War II, General Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964), commander of the U.S. Army, guided a political, economic, and social revolution in Japan. A new Japanese constitution was partly written by Americans. The United States was helping rebuild Japan's industrial base, which had been destroyed during the war. After the communist victory in China in 1949, Japan became an important base for American military operations in the West Pacific.

Also in the late 1940s a communist liberation movement in Vietnam was escalating. Vietnam is part of Indochina, a region of Southeast Asia extending south from the southern border of China. Indochina also includes Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, and West Malaysia. France had established colonies throughout Indochina, which is rich in resources such as rubber and rice. Japanese forces overran the area during World War II, but the French returned after the war to reassert their rule. Led by Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969), the communist Vietminh army battled against French control. Ho Chi Minh had received military training in the Soviet Union in 1946. He quickly moved into Vietnam after the Japanese departure and proclaimed establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. War between the Vietminh and French forces broke out in November 1946. In January 1950, China and the Soviet Union extended diplomatic recognition to Ho Chi Minh's government. In opposition to this communist challenge, the United States affirmed its support of French colonial rule.

## The Red Scare

The world events of 1948 and 1949 caused great alarm in America. With the communist coup in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet blockade of West Berlin, the communist victory in China, and communist advances in Indochina, it appeared that a massive wave of communism was engulfing the world and would soon encircle the United States. The so-called Red Scare was occurring in the United States. (Red is a synonym for communist.)

On August 29, 1949, the Soviets successfully tested an atomic bomb for the first time, further heightening American fears. The world was stunned by the Soviets' rapid atomic development. American experts immediately suspected theft of U.S. nuclear secrets, and in fact, nuclear secrets were being transmitted to Soviet agents by spies at the U.S. atomic bomb laboratory in New Mexico. As a result, the United States no longer had a monopoly on atomic weapons, which meant it no longer had a deterrent to potential Soviet aggression. In the months following the Soviet test, American scientists and politicians debated the development of a hydrogen bomb (H-bomb) based on nuclear fusion; this type of bomb would be even more powerful than the atomic bomb. By late January 1950, Truman decided to build the hydrogen bomb in addition to smaller-scale, tactical atomic weapons. The Soviets had already chosen to develop an H-bomb as well. The race to produce more powerful nuclear weapons in greater numbers led to the most dramatic example of the Cold War deadlock: The Soviet Union and the United States faced the threat of mutual nuclear annihilation if either country dared to defy the other.

With fear of the Soviets running high in the United States, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (1908–1957) of Wisconsin dramatically pronounced in February 1950 that hundreds of communists were employed in the U.S. State Department. Since he took office in 1947, McCarthy's senatorial career had largely been uneventful and ineffective; his often rude behavior branded him a troublemaker. When he adopted the anticommunism campaign, however, McCarthy instantly became a national figure in Cold War politics. He steadily became more outrageous in his charges, often claiming to have lists of communist sympathizers but then failing to show

proof. Even so, he was feared by many, because in this atmosphere of anti-Soviet hysteria, the mere suggestion of having communist ties could seriously damage a person's reputation. Hundreds of college professors, actors, filmmakers, and teachers who were suspected to be communist sympathizers appeared in congressional hearings in front of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Many lost their jobs. McCarthy even questioned the allegiance of Secretary of Defense George Marshall in June 1951 before the Senate. McCarthy's activities gained him a place in the dictionary: The term "McCarthyism" refers to the suspicion, hostility, and often groundless accusations that were directed at U.S. citizens who held nonmainstream political beliefs in the mid-twentieth century.

Other politicians besides McCarthy, who won reelection in 1952, benefited from the charged political climate. Future U.S. vice president and president Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994) won his first political election in 1946, becoming a congressman for California, by naming his opponent, Jerry Voorhis (1901–1984), as a communist sympathizer. Nixon then became nationally known after successfully seeking the conviction of Alger Hiss (1904–1996) for passing secret documents to the Soviets. Hiss, a former official of the U.S. State Department, denied the charge. However, he was never able to clear his name, because the American public, spurred on by news stories and Senator McCarthy's example, had become obsessed with the possibility of communist subversion within the United States.

## **A plan for security: NSC-68**

In January 1950, with the Red Scare running high, Paul H. Nitze (1907–), head of the Policy Planning Staff in the State Department, assembled a team of administration officials to write a top-secret report that would offer a new strategy for U.S. foreign policy. Completed in April and known as National Security Council Document 68, or NSC-68, it outlined a plan for keeping Soviet influence contained within its existing areas. The strategy would require dramatic increases in military spending, unprecedented for the United States in peacetime. NSC-68 proposed to increase the military

budget from less than \$14 billion a year to \$50 billion a year. Nitze contended that the United States needed to be prepared to respond to a surprise attack from the Soviets at any point in the world at any time and be ready to address communist efforts in Southeast Asia. However, Truman and the Republican-controlled Congress were not prepared to launch into such substantial deficit spending. (Deficit spending is when the government spends more money than it receives into the treasury, which causes the country to go into debt.) The secret report was shelved, but only briefly.

## **Korean War (1950–53)**

The proposals in NSC-68 were adopted only weeks after Congress originally rejected them. An invasion of South Korea carried out by Soviet-supported North Korean troops meant that the United States would have to substantially increase its military spending to contain this new communist threat. Prior to World War II, Korea was a province of Japan, though the Soviets and the Chinese both tried to gain the territory for themselves. The United States had little interest in the region. After Japan's World War II defeat in August 1945, the Soviet Union and the United States divided Korea into two parts at the thirty-eighth parallel. The North, under Soviet influence, operated under a communist system of politics and economics. The South came under the influence of the democratic United States. The North had been well armed during Soviet occupation; the United States had done little to bolster forces in the South. National elections and UN actions failed to reunify the country, so the divisions were formalized: The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) was established in the North and led by communist Kim Il Sung (1912–1994); the Republic of Korea (ROK) was established in the South and led by Syngman Rhee (1875–1965), who had lived in the United States for over thirty years. When Soviet and U.S. forces pulled out of the region in June 1949, Kim and Rhee both claimed leadership over the whole of Korea, and limited military skirmishes grew more frequent.

Early in 1950, Secretary of State Dean Acheson (1893–1971) commented that Korea lay outside the U.S. perimeter of defense. This remark, coupled with the fact that



the United States had not attempted to reinstate former Chinese Nationalist president Chiang Kai-shek in Mainland China, convinced the Soviets and North Korea that the United States would not give South Korea military support in the event of a war. Thus, North Korean communist leader Kim Il Sung, possibly with Soviet approval, boldly launched a surprise military assault on South Korea on June 25, 1950. Invoking the strategies offered in NSC-68, Truman quickly determined it was in America's best interest to respond to the assault. Korea became a symbolic test of the U.S. policy to confront communist expansion worldwide, rather than in Europe or with the Soviet Union directly. Korea was also the first hot spot in the Cold War.

The United States did not have any treaty or alliance with South Korea that would justify a military response to the North Korean attack. Therefore, Truman went to the UN on the day of the attack to recommend a Security Council resolution condemning North Korean aggression. The council passed the resolution that day and two days later voted to assist South Korea in fighting off the attack. Ironically, the Soviet Union was caught off guard. The Soviets had been boycotting the UN in protest over the UN rejection of membership for the People's Republic of China. Therefore, no Soviet representatives were present to veto the resolution. Eventually sixteen nations provided troops to fight the communist North, but the United States was by far the major contributor, providing key air and naval support.

On June 27, Truman authorized the use of U.S. naval and air forces on behalf of the UN and on June 30 the use of U.S. ground forces. American troops were sent to participate in a "police action," the term used to describe this undeclared war. Truman thought an official congressional declaration of war could potentially escalate the conflict. The North Korean troops had quickly pushed south, trapping South Korean forces. However, on September 15, 1950, UN forces under the command of General MacArthur of the U.S. Army made a spectacular counterattack by an amphibious (water) landing on the west coast of South Korea at Inchon. UN forces landed behind enemy lines, cutting North Korean forces in half and sending North Korean troops on a hasty retreat, back across the thirty-eighth parallel.



The U.S. strategy soon changed from defending South Korea to defeating the North Korean Communist government. MacArthur led the UN forces into North Korea and pushed all the way to the Yalu River, along the border of China. The Chinese considered this action a direct threat to China's security, but MacArthur did not take warnings from China seriously. So with a force of more than two hundred thousand troops, China attacked, driving into North Korea on November 25 and pushing MacArthur back south, below the thirty-eighth parallel. MacArthur, who had earlier advised Truman that China would not become involved, insisted that the United States needed to retaliate and attack China, perhaps with nuclear weapons. But Truman resisted the idea and ended up firing MacArthur on April 11, 1951. It was a highly unpopular move, demonstrated by MacArthur's return from Korea a hero, which included a parade in New York City and a speech in front of Congress. MacArthur continued to be an outspoken critic of U.S. foreign policy during the final two years of Truman's administration.

**U.S. paratroopers herd together a large group of prisoners on Koje Island in Korea.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

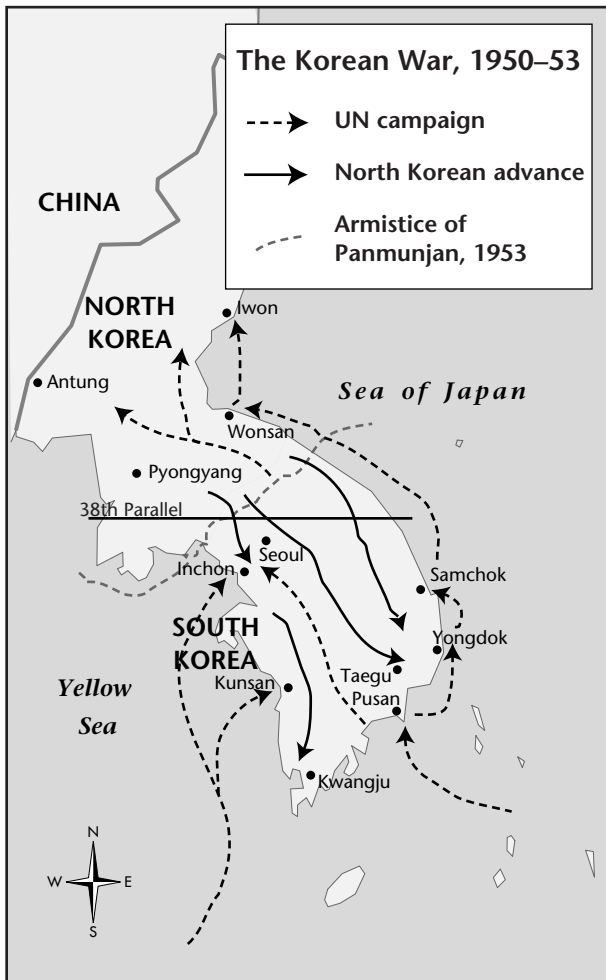
UN forces launched another counterattack, slowly pushing the Chinese troops back north, and reached the thirty-eighth parallel once again by early spring 1951. Truman entered peace negotiations with China on July 10, 1951. However, fighting would go on for another two years as the peace talks continued. By the fall of 1952, the American public was tired of the war and wanted a change in national leadership: The Democrats had been in control in the United States since 1933. Republicans who favored a policy of isolationism nominated U.S. senator Robert A. Taft (1889–1953) of Ohio to be the party's presidential candidate, but internationalist Republicans, or those who favored a policy of cooperation among nations, drafted retired U.S. general Dwight Eisenhower (1890–1969) to run. Eisenhower, also known as "Ike," was a popular figure who had served as supreme commander of Allied forces in Europe during World War II, leading the Allies to victory over Germany's leader, Adolf Hitler (1889–1945). Eisenhower won the Republican nomination and defeated the Democratic candidate, Illinois governor Adlai Stevenson (1900–1965), in the presidential election. When Eisenhower moved into the White House in January 1953, he mentioned using nuclear weapons as a possibility to ending the Korean War. An armistice agreement, or truce, was finally signed in June 1953, leaving the boundary between North Korea and South Korea the same as before the war. Over 54,000 Americans and 3.6 million Koreans had been killed, yet little had been gained. One million Chinese also were killed or wounded, including Mao's son. Some forty thousand U.S. troops stayed in South Korea following the armistice, and the U.S. military would remain there for the rest of the twentieth century.

## **Implications of the Korean War era**

In response to the North Korean invasion of South Korea and other events between 1948 and 1950, U.S. defense spending dramatically increased. The North Korean invasion had confirmed the need to adopt the strategies of NSC-68. The United States began a massive military buildup to be ready to counter any possible communist aggression. The number of U.S. military personnel rose from less than 1.5 million in 1950 to over 3.5 million by 1954; the number of

personnel stationed in foreign countries rose from 280,000 to almost a million.

Congress adopted a plan to provide technical assistance to less developed regions, including Taiwan and Southeast Asia. Called the Point Four Program, the plan was designed to fight the spread of communism in impoverished Third World, or underdeveloped, countries. The United States set aside almost \$35 million for this program in 1950,



**A map of the Korean War.**  
 Map by Eastword Publications  
 Development. Reproduced by  
 permission of the Gale Group.

and the amount would rise to over \$155 million by 1953. The program provided assistance for health care, farming, irrigation, and transportation in locations such as India, Paraguay, Iran, and Liberia.

Intent on building a line of defense against communist expansion in the Far East, the United States increased aid in the region. Truman extended aid to the island of Taiwan, the adopted home of Chinese Nationalists. Taiwan would become part of a defense chain of islands in the western Pacific. Truman sent the powerful Seventh Fleet to patrol the Taiwan Strait and protect against any possible attacks by the People's Republic of China. Truman also approved military aid to France for their fight against communists in Indochina (this approval came on June 27, 1950, two days after the initial North Korean attack on South Korea). In June 1952, Truman secretly adopted a policy that the United States would hit key targets in Mainland China if the Chinese communists invaded Indochina. In addition, the United States signed a peace treaty and security pact with

Japan in September 1951, restoring Japan's national sovereignty, meaning it could once again make decisions without the oversight of the United States and other occupational forces established at the end of World War II, and guaranteeing U.S. defense of Japan. (U.S. occupation of Japan ended on April 28, 1952.) The United States also established an alliance with Australia and New Zealand, known as the ANZUS Pact, and a defense agreement with the Philippines. The United States thus formed a defensive chain of allies running from north to south in the western Pacific.

The invasion of South Korea by communist forces led to U.S. fears that similar attacks could happen in Europe. The



## Yugoslavia: Communist but Independent

As World War II came to a close, the Communist Party gained control of many parts of Eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia. However, unlike the other countries coming under Soviet influence, Yugoslavia maintained some independence, much to the disfavor of the Soviets. This unusual development—an independent communist nation—can be largely attributed to the strong personality of Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980). Tito, a Communist Party leader, had exceptional leadership qualities and directed Yugoslavia without Soviet assistance. It was no small accomplishment bringing together such ethnically diverse provinces as Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, but Tito succeeded in doing just that.

Tito became an internationally known figure, and this status enhanced his independence from the Soviets. At first, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin respected Tito's achievements and did not pressure Yugoslavia into strict obedience of Soviet rule as he did with other Eastern European countries. But by early 1948, tension built between Moscow and Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia. Stalin had grown tired of Yugoslavia's independence. On June 28, four days after beginning the West Berlin blockade, the Soviet Union evicted Yu-



Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito.

goslavia from the community of communist states and demanded that other Soviet satellites break their ties with Yugoslavia as well. The Soviets essentially established an economic blockade against Yugoslavia, just as they had against West Berlin. By the fall of 1949, economic conditions inside Yugoslavia were deteriorating. Somewhat reluctantly, Yugoslavia negotiated a trade agreement with the United States. While remaining an independent communist state, Yugoslavia would ultimately receive \$150 million of aid from the United States. It maintained its unique standing in Europe throughout the Cold War.

United States decided to rearm West Germany (disarmament had been part of the World War II peace treaty) and send more American troops there to provide a stronger defense against any likely Soviet aggression. The United States increased eco-

nomic aid to Western Europe from \$5.3 billion in 1950 to over \$8 billion in 1951, and in January 1951 Congress approved an expansion of NATO. (Greece joined NATO in 1951; Turkey, in 1952; West Germany, in 1955.) The United States also extended diplomatic relations to Spain and Yugoslavia.

As NATO membership grew and the United States built alliances in the Far East, Stalin increased the size of his army from 2.8 million in 1948 to 5 million in 1953. The overwhelming strength of the Soviet army ensured the allegiance of the Soviet satellite nations, which extended from the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) to the Balkan States (countries along the Balkan Peninsula of southeast Europe). The Soviets closely controlled the politics and economies of most Eastern European nations. The Soviet Union also increased economic and military aid to the People's Republic of China, its communist partner in the Far East.

Some historians consider the Truman-Stalin era of 1945 to 1953 the most intense period of global rivalry. But a new direction was taking shape. When Eisenhower was inaugurated in January 1953, he became the first Republican president in America in twenty years. The Soviet Union experienced an even more dramatic change in leadership: On March 5, Joseph Stalin died; a two-year power struggle between Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) and Georgy Malenkov (1902–1988) followed, with Khrushchev ultimately winning out. With new leadership in both the United States and the Soviet Union, a new era of the Cold War would begin.

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## Germany and Berlin

3

**O**n May 7, 1945, Germany surrendered to the Allies in Reims, France, bringing an end to World War II (1939–45) in Europe. The “Big Four” allies were the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. Allies are alliances of countries in military opposition to another group of nations. Immediately upon Germany’s surrender, an Allied plan that divided Germany into four zones became effective. Each zone was occupied by troops from one of the Big Four countries; each country appointed a military governor to oversee its zone. Within a few years, the democratic U.S., British, and French zones were collectively referred to as West Germany. The communist Soviet zone became known as East Germany.

Although Germany’s capital, Berlin, was located well within the Soviet zone, the four Allies divided the capital city into four sectors, in the same way as they had divided the whole of Germany. The same four Allied powers each occupied a sector of Berlin. The U.S., British, and French sectors soon became known as West Berlin. The Soviet-occupied sector was called East Berlin. Road, rail, water, and air routes running from West Germany through and over East Ger-





## Words to Know

**Allied Control Council:** An organization of military governors from each of the four zones of Germany.

**Berlin airlift:** Massive shipments of food and goods, airlifted into the Western sector of Berlin, organized by the Western powers, after the Soviets halted all shipments of supplies and food from the eastern zone into West Berlin. The Americans nicknamed the airlift Operation Vittles, while the British dubbed the effort Operation Plain Fare.

**Berlin blockade:** A ten-and-a-half-month stoppage by the Soviets of shipments of supplies and food through East Germany into West Berlin. The Soviets also cut all coal-generated electricity supplied from East Germany to Berlin's western sectors, and land and water routes from West Germany into Berlin were closed.

**Berlin Wall:** A wall dividing the Soviet-controlled sector of Berlin from the three Western-controlled zones, built in

an attempt to stem the tide of refugees seeking asylum in the West.

**Capitalism:** An economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention.

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

many to Berlin made trade possible. The three Western powers identified specific trade and supply routes from West Germany into Berlin and expected the Soviets to grant free access to Berlin through these corridors.

## Different points of view

At the end of the war, the cities of Germany lay in ruin. The British Royal Air Force and the U.S. military had relentless-

ly released bombs on German targets. Particularly in the last year of the war, bombs rained down on Germany day and night, and Berlin was not spared. Many of Berlin's stately buildings were reduced to shells and rubble. One-third of Berlin's population, approximately 1.5 million people, had fled or had been killed. The urgent task of governing a shattered Germany fell to the four Allied powers. Yet each of the four powers had differing points of view on how to deal with postwar Germany. From the start, neither negotiations nor cooperative efforts among the four proceeded smoothly.

The Soviet Union had suffered greatly at the hands of the invading Germans. The Soviets strongly opposed rebuilding Germany's economic base. They did not want to fear another German invasion in the future, as they had experienced on several occasions in the past. Throughout 1946 and 1947, the Soviets demanded billions of dollars in reparations from Germany—repayment for the heavy damage German troops had inflicted on their country. Within the Soviet zone of Germany, they disassembled entire factories that had not been damaged by the war and shipped the equipment to Russia for reassembly.

The Soviet Union operated under a communist government. Communism is a system of government in which a single party controls almost all aspects of society. In theory, a communist economy eliminates private ownership of property so that goods produced and accumulated wealth are shared relatively equally by all. At the war's end, the Soviet Union immediately began expanding its influence into the Eastern European countries it occupied by establishing communist governments. Included was Poland, which lay between the Soviet Union's western boundary and Germany. The Soviets also established communist governments in their zone of Germany (East Germany) and in the Soviet sector of Berlin (East Berlin). In these regions of Germany, the entire economic base—factories, banks, and farms—was seized and organized under the communist system. The Soviets appointed German communists to leadership positions in local government offices.



## People to Know

**Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969):**

Thirty-fourth U.S. president, 1953–61.

**John F. Kennedy (1917–1963):**

Thirty-fifth U.S. president, 1961–63.

**Nikita S. Khrushchev (1894–1971):**

Soviet premier, 1958–64.

**Walter Ulbricht (1893–1973):**

Head of the East German government, 1949–71.



**A Soviet soldier raises his country's flag in Berlin on May 2, 1945, just days before the Germans surrendered to the Allies.**

*Photograph by Yevgeny Khaldei.  
Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

The United States believed that controlling Germany and deliberately keeping the German people in an impoverished state (as a result of reparations) would only breed defiance among the strong-willed Germans and lead to more struggles in the future. In conflict with Soviet wishes, the United States wanted to end reparations and rebuild a strong democratic Germany with a capitalist economy. A democratic system of government consists of several political parties whose members are elected to various government offices by a vote of the people. In a capitalist economy, property can be privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention. The United States was becoming increasingly concerned about the Soviets' rapidly expanding communist influence in Europe. American leaders believed a strong democratic Germany could stop the westward spread of communism.

Badly damaged during the war and still resentful of Germany's wartime aggression, Great Britain somewhat re-



luctantly agreed that a democratic Germany with a revitalized economic base could be essential for a strong democratic and capitalist Western Europe. Britain held the key to Germany's revitalization because the Ruhr River region was part of the British-occupied zone. This region was home to large coal mining operations and the great iron and steel factories where cars and machinery were manufactured. Britain and the United States soon agreed on rebuilding Germany; both countries also favored dissolving the four zones to make one united Germany.

France did not want to rebuild Germany any more than the Soviets did. France had been invaded by the Germans three times in the twentieth century alone. The French people dreaded the prospect of a strong, reunited Germany. Nevertheless, given the choice of aligning with the communist Soviet Union or the Western democratic nations of the United States and Britain, France moved to the democratic side, reluctantly dropping its opposition to rebuilding Germany.

**People of German descent who lived in eastern countries at war with Germany await transportation out of Germany, upon the end of the war in 1945. They had been forced out of their home countries to live in Berlin during the war.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

A map of Germany showing the 1939 and 1945 boundaries, the latter including the four power zones.

Map by XNR Productions, Inc. Reproduced by permission of the Gale Group.



## Focal point of the Cold War

The Cold War was usually not fought on battlefields with large armies; it was a conflict between the ideologies, or political orientations, of the communist Soviet Union and the democratic, capitalist Western nations. Because of its geographic position between Western Europe and the Soviet Union, Germany became a focal point of the Cold War.

By early 1948, the three Western powers were making plans to unite their occupied zones of Germany, both economically and politically. They also planned to unite their sections of Berlin. In February, leaders from the United States, Britain, and France, along with representatives of Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, met in London to discuss a new West German state. Having well-placed spies, the Soviet Union knew of the meeting. The Soviets believed that the proposed West German state would pose a military and political threat to the Soviet zone of Germany and the Soviet Union itself. When the Allied Control Council, an organization of military



governors from each of the four zones, met in March, the Soviet delegation accused the Western-sector governors of conspiring against the Soviet Union and walked out of the meeting. This action brought an end to the Allied Control Council, the only organized body of all four occupying powers.

**East Berliners buy Western sector newspapers.**

*Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

## Harassment

Within weeks of the Allied Control Council meeting, the Soviets began harassing train, automobile, and water traffic coming from the West German zones into Berlin. Soviet officials began randomly searching passengers and inspecting cargo on trains destined for Berlin. Restrictions popped up on automobile routes and river traffic routes. Soviet fighter planes called Yak-3s harassed planes on scheduled flights from West German air bases to Berlin. On April 5 a Yak-3 collided with a British European Airways transport plane, killing eleven people. Tensions escalated rapidly.

## **Berlin blockade**

On June 18, 1948, a quarrel over German currency increased tensions even further. Unable to reach agreement with the Soviets on ways to stop German inflation (a rapid increase in consumer prices), the Western powers issued new currency in the western zones of Germany. For the moment, the new currency, called the deutsche mark (D-mark), was not issued in Berlin. Replacing the worthless reichsmark, the new currency had been secretly printed in the United States by the U.S. Mint. Soviet officials immediately rejected the new currency and moved that day to close off all automobile, rail, and water traffic into Berlin from the western zones. On June 23, the Soviets introduced into the Soviet zone—and into all of Berlin—the ostmark. Soviet authorities insisted that all of Berlin use the ostmark, because all sectors of Berlin were within the Soviet zone of Germany. However, the Western powers rejected the ostmark and introduced the deutsche mark in West Berlin. In response, at dawn on June 24, the Soviets halted all shipments of supplies and food through East Germany into West Berlin. They cut all coal-generated electricity supplied from East Germany to Berlin's western sectors, and land and water routes from West Germany into Berlin were closed. The 2.3 million Berliners living in the western sectors of the city, as well as the military personnel stationed there, were marooned within Soviet-controlled territory. A total blockade was in place.

## **Berlin airlift**

The Soviets hoped the blockade would force the Western powers to leave Berlin. Above all else, the Soviets wanted to prevent West Berlin from becoming part of the newly proposed West German state, because they feared that the Western powers might place U.S. atomic weapons in West Berlin, right next door to Soviet-controlled territory. The Soviets also hoped that the blockade would weaken the spirit of West Berliners, so that they would agree to communist rule. These hopes were dashed by a massive airlift organized by the Western powers. Rather than abandoning the city, they sent the British Royal Air Force (RAF) and the U.S. Air Force in Europe (USAFE) to fly the necessities of life into West Berlin.





## Berlin Airlift Statistics

Between June 26, 1948, and September 30, 1949, approximately 586,901 flying hours were required to keep West Berlin supplied with the necessities of life. U.S. aircraft consisted of C-47s (which could carry a payload of 3 short tons), C-54s (carrying a payload of 10 tons), five C-82s (capable of carrying large machinery), one C-74, and one C-97. British aircraft consisted of Dakotas (similar to C-47s), Yorks, and Hastings. Thirty-one Americans died as a result of the airlifts, thirty-nine Brits, and nine or twelve Germans (unclear records). The following statistics are provided by the U.S. Air Force in Europe.

	Cargo (short tons) <sup>a</sup>					Passengers	
	Flights	Food	Coal	Other <sup>b</sup>	Total	In	Out
USA	189,963	296,319	1,421,119	66,135	1,783,573	25,263	37,486
UK	87,841	240,386	164,911	136,640	541,937	34,815	130,091
France	424	unknown	unknown	unknown	896	10,000 (in and out)	
Total				278,228	2,326,406		

*a: Short tons equal 2,000 lbs; long tons equal 2,240 lbs.*

*b: Included diverse items such as toothpaste, medical supplies, newspapers, steamrollers (for construction), and equipment for generating electrical power.*

*Source: "Berlin Airlift Quick Facts." U.S. Forces in Europe Berlin Airlift Web Site. <http://www.usafe.af.mil/berlin/quickfax.htm> (accessed on July 15, 2003).*

Although both organizations had experience flying air supply missions, the scale of the operation seemed overwhelming. Military authorities calculated that approximately 4,500 tons (4,082 metric tons) of food, coal, and other supplies would be needed daily to keep West Berliners alive if the blockade carried on into the winter. All but the most optimistic believed an undertaking so large was doomed. Nevertheless, Ernst Reuter (1889–1953), a German anticommunist who had been elected mayor of West Berlin in 1948, announced that West Berliners would “tighten their belts” and make do with whatever supplies they received. The airlift began on June 26, when American C-47s flew 80 (73 metric tons) tons of food into West Berlin. The tonnage was a tiny percentage of what would be needed daily, but the operation was under way. On June 28, the U.S. Air Force ordered larger and faster planes—C-54s—



**West Berlin children cheer as U.S. aircraft deliver supplies during the Berlin airlift.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

from Alaska, Hawaii, and the Caribbean to aid in the airlift. The RAF flew Dakotas, similar to C-47s, for their part of the airlift. The RAF also pressed private commercial air carriers into service. Aircrews came from Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa to fly the supply missions.

The United States nicknamed the airlift Operation Vittles, and the British dubbed the effort Operation Plain Fare. At first, two airfields in Berlin were used, Tempelhof in the U.S. sector and Gatow in the British sector of the city. Volunteer German workers—men and women—labored to build a third airport, Fegel, in the French sector. (Fegel would receive its first supply missions on November 5.) By mid-July, the airlift was delivering nearly 2,000 tons (1,814 metric tons) of supplies a day, including the first shipments of coal.

Also in July, with much publicity, the United States sent three B-29 bomber squadrons (sixty aircraft) to England to stress how determined the Western allies were to resist Soviet pressure. The B-29s were capable of carrying atomic bombs and were



## Coal and the Humble Duffel Bag

Coal was a critical necessity for marooned West Berliners; it was used for heat. Coal, which is very heavy, made up most of the tonnage airlifted into Berlin in 1948 and 1949. Coal is also very dirty, and coal dust crept everywhere in the airplanes, corroding the planes and irritating the crews' noses. Finally, the humble army surplus duffel bag proved to be the solution. Stuffed into the bags, the coal was contained. Half a million bags from World War II were located and pressed back into ser-



**Germans stand near coal, a critical necessity used for heat.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

within easy reach of the Soviet Union. The bombers carried no atomic weapons, but the Soviet government was kept guessing.

In early September, three hundred thousand West Berliners gathered to demonstrate for continuance of the airlift. Seven thousand tons of cargo arrived on September 18. In mid-October, U.S. and British aircrews joined forces under a unified command, the Combined Airlift Task Force, headquartered in Wiesbaden in the U.S. zone of Germany. Flights landed every ninety seconds at Tempelhof and Gatow, often in bad weather conditions. Pilots flew exacting patterns at specified speed and altitude. They were locked into patterns so tight that if an aircraft failed to land on the first attempt, it had to return to West Germany rather than make a second attempt.

By spring 1949, the Soviets had lost hope that the airlift would fail. West Berliners neither starved nor froze but instead adjusted to supplies arriving by airlift. The West Berlin economy actually began to grow. By spring, 8,000 tons (7,256 metric tons) per day was the average delivery. Stockpiles grew. April 16



## Twenty-Three Tons of Candy

Though carried out by military aircraft, the massive Berlin airlift was a humanitarian effort. Serving as a symbol of this effort were thousands of tiny parachutes that were dropped from the planes to deliver candy to delighted Berlin children. The effort came into being from one man's bright idea: Impressed by the friendliness of the Berlin children gathered to watch the planes land at the Tempelhof airport, U.S. Air Force pilot Lieutenant Gail S. Halvorsen of Garland, Utah, began dropping candy to the children. As word spread, donations of candy, handkerchiefs, and cloth reached Halvorsen. After crafting

the material into parachutes, Halvorsen would attach the candy; then, as he approached Tempelhof, he would wiggle his C-54's wings—and out came the treats.

Soon, other pilots picked up on Halvorsen's idea and began dropping the special cargo all over Berlin where they saw children playing. Halvorsen had several nicknames, including the Candy Bomber, Uncle Wiggly Wings, and the Chocolate Flier. Lieutenant Halvorsen received the Cheney Award in 1948 for his "sweet" idea and humanitarian action. He became one of the Berlin airlift's most famous figures.

was the record day for deliveries: Known as the "Easter Parade," 1,398 flights brought 12,940 short tons (11,700 metric tons) of cargo. (A short ton is 2,000 pounds; a long ton is 2,240 pounds.) The successful airlift was a huge propaganda victory for the Western powers. Propaganda is facts and ideas deliberately circulated to promote one's own cause or to damage the opposing side's cause.

At midnight on May 12, 1949, the Soviets stopped the blockade and reopened highway, train, and water routes into West Berlin. (The airlifts, however, would continue through September 30, 1949.) The city's residents began to celebrate; they—and many others around the world—hoped that the Cold War had come to an end.

## Further separation of West and East Germany

The Western allies allowed West German officials to craft their own constitution, approved on September 21, 1949,



**The first convoy of supplies arrives in Berlin after the Soviets ended the Berlin blockade.** *Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

which combined the three West German zones into the Federal Republic of Germany. The new West German parliament selected Bonn as West Germany's capital. The West German people elected Konrad Adenauer (1876–1967), the chairman of the country's Christian Democratic party, as their first chancellor. Aided by the Marshall Plan, U.S. funding assistance for economic recovery and development, the West German economy was revitalized and began to thrive. In 1955, West Ger-

many became a completely independent nation. That year it also joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a Western military alliance for mutual protection.

In the Soviet-controlled zone of Germany, a communist-crafted constitution was approved on October 7, 1949. Under the new constitution, East Germany became the German Democratic Republic (GDR); its capital was East Berlin. Communist Walter Ulbricht (1893–1973) headed the East German government. Although it remained under strong Soviet influence, East Germany officially became independent of the Soviet Union in 1955. The Western powers consistently refused to recognize East Germany as an independent country.

Meanwhile, Berlin remained divided into the four sectors originally established after World War II. However, the three sectors occupied by the Western allies operated as one, both politically and economically. The Soviet sector remained under communist control.

## **Brain and labor drain**

Although the East German economy began to recover, it lagged far behind West Germany's. Protests, even riots, broke out among workers and had to be quieted by the Soviet military. Through the 1950s, roughly three million East Germans left home for the freedom and better economic climate of West Germany.

The communists made travel between East and West Germany difficult. Ulbricht had closed the entire 900-mile border between East and West Germany. Barbed wire fences patrolled by armed guards made casual travel across the border impossible. West Germans had to have permission to enter East Germany. East Germans and East Berliners could rarely get permission to go into West Germany. However, East Germans could freely travel to East Berlin, and within Berlin, people could travel freely between all sectors of the city.

For example, using public transportation systems—the underground U-Bahn train or the elevated S-Bahn trains—thousands of East Berliners crossed into West Berlin daily for jobs and shopping and returned home at night. Berlin therefore became the place to escape permanently to

West Germany if a person wished to do so (making the person a refugee). First, an East German individual or family would come into East Berlin. Over a period of days, weeks, or months they could inconspicuously take a few belongings at a time into West Berlin. When ready, the fleeing East Germans simply registered at a refugee assembly camp in the western sector of the city. Most refugees resettled in West Germany, where jobs were plentiful in the rapidly growing economy. A smaller number stayed in West Berlin.

Three-quarters of the refugees were under forty-five years of age, and more than half were under twenty-five years of age. The refugees were farmers, skilled industrial craftspeople, scientists, and professionals such as engineers, doctors, lawyers, and teachers. These were precisely the people East Germany needed to build a strong economy. They had been educated in East Germany; then they left for the West. Their loss was devastating to East Germany.

## **Renewed Berlin crisis**

On November 10, 1958, Soviet premier Nikita S. Khrushchev (1894–1971) announced that the Soviet Union intended to turn over its administrative control responsibilities in East Berlin to East Germany. This statement was a threat to the West since the United States and other Western countries did not formally recognize East Germany. They would be forced to establish relations and further formalize a divided Germany. The situation turned even more threatening when, on November 27, Khrushchev sent a letter to the Western powers giving them a six-month ultimatum to withdraw their military forces from West Berlin. He demanded that they enter into serious negotiations for an overall German peace treaty acceptable to the Soviet Union. It angered Khrushchev that thirteen years after the end of World War II no formal German peace treaty had yet been signed. Khrushchev still feared that Germany might reunite, side with the Western powers, and provide an attack base against the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev also demanded negotiations on the problem of West Berlin. He proposed a city with no further military occupation, which meant Western troops would

have to withdraw from Berlin. Khrushchev stated that if substantial progress was not made on these issues by May 27, 1959, he would sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany and turn over to East Germany control of the transportation routes into Berlin. Khrushchev reasoned that if the East Germans controlled the routes into Berlin, the Western powers would be forced to talk directly to East Germany, not the Soviets, about transportation concerns. This, in effect, would force the West to recognize East Germany as a nation. Forcing this recognition was Khrushchev's primary reason for renewing Berlin tensions. He knew that keeping Germany divided would prevent an alliance between Germany and the Western powers—and thereby protect the Soviet Union against potential united attacks from the west.

Khrushchev made political points in the Soviet Union by taking a tough stance on the issue of Germany. He believed the West would never risk a war over Berlin, because the Soviet Union possessed atomic weapons that could destroy West Germany, England, and France in a matter of minutes; it also had missiles that could hit the United States directly. This put U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61) in a difficult position.

## **Western allies hold firm**

The United States and its Western allies rejected Khrushchev's demands. They had drawn the line in Berlin during the blockade. They vowed to maintain their presence in West Berlin while at the same time pushing for a united Germany. President Eisenhower opted not to use force to defend West Berlin. He favored diplomatic negotiations with the Soviets but did not rule out a nuclear conflict; he considered the latter a last resort and vowed that the United States would never fire the first shot. Khrushchev backed down from his six-month deadline, and May 27, 1959, passed quietly.

Negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union continued. John F. Kennedy (1917–1963; served 1961–63) was elected U.S. president in 1960 and met with Khrushchev in June 1961. In classic Cold War language, both stated they wanted peace, but they both refused to budge on their positions regarding Germany and Berlin. Khrushchev's



style was to yell, growl, and generally create an uproarious clamor. The young American president was taken aback but never wavered in his determination to hold the line in Berlin.

## Berlin Wall

Even as negotiations went on, a flood of East Germans departed daily for the West through West Berlin. From January through July 1961, approximately two hundred thousand East Germans abandoned most of their belongings and headed to the western sectors of Berlin. The East German economy could not afford the population drain. Walter Ulbricht continually demanded economic assistance from the Soviet Union as East Germany's economic woes continued. By 1961, Soviet officials were grumbling about Ulbricht and the undue strain his demands put on the Soviet economy. It was clear something had to be done to end the exodus from East Germany to the West. Ulbricht had been requesting for years that the Soviet Union do something about West Berlin. Ulbricht favored a Soviet takeover of West Berlin, which could then be made part of East Germany; alternatively, he urged that a separate peace treaty be made between the Soviet Union and East Germany, one that would give the East Germans total control of access routes to West Berlin. Ulbricht believed this second option would allow him to eventually take over West Berlin. Khrushchev believed such action was too aggressive and likely to provoke war with the West. Not willing to risk a war, Khrushchev rejected Ulbricht's ideas. Nevertheless, he knew the tide of refugees must be stopped, so he decided to put another plan, an old plan developed years before, into place: Khrushchev ordered that a wall be constructed between East and West Berlin, to seal off the western sectors of the city from the eastern sector.

In the early-morning hours of Sunday, August 13, 1961, East German crews began to erect a fence of barbed wire connected to concrete posts—a barrier that ran through the heart of Berlin. Constructed street by street, it followed the boundary between the Soviet-controlled East Berlin sector and the sectors controlled by the Western allies. Soviet tanks sat poised a few blocks back. However, neither the Soviets nor the East Germans made any attempt to invade West Berlin. By

Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev (center of car, on right side) waves to onlookers in East Berlin on July 8, 1958. East German leader Walter Ulbricht is seated beside him.

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



dawn, crowds of West Berliners came in amazement to view what was happening to their city. East Berliners set off for their jobs in West Berlin, but their trains did not proceed past the boundary. The border between East and West was closed. Families whose members lived in various sectors of the city suddenly found themselves permanently split apart.

The three western-sector military governors quickly huddled but could not act until they had orders from their respective governments. Construction of the wall had caught American intelligence completely off guard. President Kennedy was informed at mid-morning on Sunday as he set out with his family to picnic and sail off Hyannis Port, Massachusetts. Many years later, according to *Time* magazine's special Web site commemorating the ten years following the fall of the Berlin Wall, when Kennedy returned to the Oval Office, he told Brigadier General Chester Clifton, his military aide, that the wall would stay until the Soviets tired of it. Kennedy later stated, "We could have sent tanks over and knocked the



**Guards stand at the Berlin Wall.** *Photograph by C. Rimmer. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Wall down. What then? They build another one back a hundred yards? We knock that down, then we go to war?"

Khrushchev had guessed right. As long as West Berlin was left unharmed and its access routes were open to West Germany, the United States would not risk war. However, the wall was actually a huge defeat for communism: It was an ugly physical reminder that the communist system would not work unless people were denied any other options. Nevertheless, Khrushchev had succeeded in stopping the refugee flood to the West. Many thought Khrushchev had yet another reason for the wall. In sealing off East Berlin from West Berlin, he had also effectively sealed off Ulbricht, thwarting any effort Ulbricht might make to take matters into his own hands and provoke a war with the West. Khrushchev told Ulbricht that the population drain had been halted and demanded that Ulbricht get on with building the East German economy.

It took the entire Sunday to wire off West Berlin's 103-mile (166-kilometer) perimeter. A few days later, at least within



## Wall of Shame

Construction of the Berlin Wall began August 13, 1961. It was originally a fence made of barbed wire, twisting through the heart of Berlin, but the fence was immediately replaced by a concrete block wall. Because a few daring individuals still managed to escape over the wall, the barrier grew more complex, and the area around the concrete structure became a sinister no-man's-land. The wall was meant to keep East Berliners in East Berlin and East Germans out of West Berlin. This objective was accomplished. Another wall was constructed around the outskirts of West Berlin restricting travel to East Germany. Known as the "country wall," it was not as elaborate as the wall that ran through the middle of the city dividing East and West Berlin. However, it was equally effective in isolating West Berlin.

The completed wall complex consisted of the following elements, which except for the memorials, are all on the east side:

- **Two steel-reinforced concrete walls:** These walls were 12 to 15 feet (3.7 to 4.6 meters) high, topped with large round concrete piping that could not be gripped in an effort to hoist oneself over.
- **Tank traps:** Large objects resembling in appearance giant jacks from a child's game of ball and jacks were lined up in a row on the East Berlin side of the concrete wall. They could disable any vehicle attempting to drive through them.
- **"Death strip":** The strip was a no-man's-land between the tank traps and the barbed wire fence. Within the strip were ditches, land mines, and a concrete pathway for East German soldiers on patrol, both on foot and in vehicles. Vicious dogs also patrolled. A strip of sand and gravel ran by the concrete pathway. Routinely raked smooth, it exposed footprints of would-be escapees.

the city, crews began construction of a steel-reinforced concrete wall topped with barbed wire. As the construction continued, a few East Germans made desperate, last-minute attempts to escape. Some tried to jump from windows of apartments that were right on the boundary. Those windows were quickly bricked over. Others tried to drive cars through the wire fence. Soon East German guards began to shoot would-be escapees. In 1962, eighteen-year-old Peter Fechter, a bricklayer from East Berlin, tried to climb over the wall; he was shot by machine-gun-carrying East German guards and bled to death in plain sight of Western police and reporters. The wall that actually ran



Two guards face each other on opposite sides of the Berlin Wall. *Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

- **Barbed wire:** A barbed wire barrier ran the entire length of the “death strip” (no-man’s-land).
- **Watchtowers and pillboxes:** Several hundred watchtowers were placed

along and high above the wall. Guards with orders to shoot to kill were always present. Pillboxes were concrete-reinforced boxlike guardhouses with slit openings from which guards could fire.

- **Automatic guns:** These unmanned guns were activated by wires an escapee could stumble into. The guns not only fired bullets but triggered shrapnel explosions within the “death strip.”
- **Lights:** Floodlights covered most areas.
- **Memorials:** Standing in tribute to those who died trying to escape to the West, over two hundred memorials lined the walls on their west sides. The west sides of the walls gradually were filled by graffiti artists. In contrast, the east sides were painted white to expose anyone trying to flee East Germany.

When the Berlin Wall was built, no one imagined how long it would remain. The wall did not come down until November 1989.

through the city was 28.5 miles (45.9 kilometers) long. Within a few years, the wall was topped with round piping that made escape over the wall impossible. Over time, the area around the concrete wall became a deadly no-man’s-land of guard towers, barbed wire, land mines, and a patrol track.

West Berliners were allowed very limited access into East Berlin. They could cross only at specific crossing points. Other Westerners, including U.S. citizens, could cross into East Berlin only at the Friedrichstrasse Crossing, known as Checkpoint Charlie. It was here, in a sixteen-hour standoff



**“Checkpoint Charlie,” the only crossing point for non-West Berliners along the Berlin Wall.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

beginning October 27, 1961, that Soviet tanks faced directly at U.S. tanks. The standoff was a result of a dispute over passport procedures. Fortunately, diplomatic efforts resolved the problem before the tanks fired a shot. Some historians believe this confrontation came as close as any in the Cold War to igniting a hot war, an actual armed conflict.

## Global significance

In West Berlin, the Berlin Wall was called the “Wall of Shame”; to the rest of the world, the barbed-wire-and-concrete structure was simply the Wall. It stood as a testimony to the divisions brought about during the Cold War. Many thought of Checkpoint Charlie as the place where the communist East came face-to-face with the democratic West. When President Kennedy went to West Berlin in June 1963, he stopped at Checkpoint Charlie. After climbing to a viewing stand and surveying the no-man’s-land below, he spotted three women in a

window in an East Berlin apartment waving handkerchiefs toward him. He stood for a moment in tribute to them. Back at West Berlin's city hall, he addressed 250,000 Berliners. Having thrown out a speech prepared for him, he spoke from the heart. If anyone in the world does not understand the issues between a free world and a communist one, Kennedy thundered repeatedly, "Let them come to Berlin." He concluded by showing support for a united, democratic Berlin by saying, "Ich bin ein Berliner [I am a Berliner]." The crowd cheered wildly. Despite the significance of Kennedy's Berlin visit, the Berlin Wall stood for twenty-eight years. As President Kennedy once noted, no one wanted the wall, but perhaps a wall was better than war. (Amid fireworks and celebration, the border between East and West Berlin opened on November 9, 1989, and the wall was torn down; see Chapter 15, End of the Cold War.)

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## Dawning of the Nuclear Age

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**O**n Monday, July 16, 1945, at exactly 5:29:45 A.M. Mountain War Time, the world's first successful detonation, or explosion, of an atomic bomb occurred. Referred to by scientists as "the gadget" or "the thing," it exploded with the force of 21,000 tons (19,047 metric tons) of TNT (a commonly used high explosive). A flash of light brighter than people had ever witnessed before illuminated the landscape of the test site near Alamogordo, New Mexico, in an area called *Jornada del Muerto* (commonly translated as Journey of the Dead). The code name for the test was "Trinity."

As noted on the Los Alamos National Laboratory Web site, General Leslie R. Groves (1896–1970), the U.S. Army officer in charge, later recalled, "As we approached the final minute the quiet grew more intense. As I lay there in the final seconds, I thought only what I would do if the countdown got to zero and nothing happened." Later, General Thomas Farrell, deputy to Groves, wrote that the "whole country was lighted by a searing light with the intensity many times that of the midday sun. It was golden, purple, violet, gray and blue. It lighted every peak, crevasse and ridge





## Words to Know

**Atomic bomb:** An explosive device that releases nuclear energy (energy that comes from an atom's core). All previous explosive devices were powered by rapid burning or decomposition of a chemical compound; they only released energy from the outermost electrons of an atom. Nuclear explosives are energized by splitting an atom, a process called fission.

**Atomic Energy Commission (AEC):** A unit established by Congress in July 1946 that managed the nuclear research facilities in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, Hanford, Washington, and Los Alamos, New Mexico.

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of con-

flict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Manhattan Project:** A project begun in 1942—during World War II (1939–45)—with the goal of building an atomic weapon before scientists in Germany or Japan did.

**Strategic Air Command (SAC):** A unit established by the U.S. military with the goal of identifying targets in the Soviet Union and being ready to deliver nuclear weapons to those targets.

of the nearby mountain range with a clarity and beauty that cannot be described but must be seen to be imagined. Seconds after the explosion came first the air blast pressing hard against the people, to be followed almost immediately by the strong sustained awesome roar that warned of doomsday and made us feel we puny things were blasphemous [showing a lack of reverence] to dare tamper with the forces heretofore [previously] reserved for the Almighty." The world's first successful detonation of an atomic bomb was the climax of a secret effort known as the Manhattan Project.

The Manhattan Project began during 1942 in the middle of World War II (1939–45). The goal of the project was to build an atomic weapon before scientists in Germany or

Japan did. The United States was at war with these two nations. During the 1930s, scientists in both the United States and Germany greatly expanded knowledge in the field of nuclear physics, the study of the structure and reactions of an atom. Late in 1938, nuclear physicists in Germany discovered nuclear fission. Fission is the splitting of the nucleus of an atom; when the nucleus is split, a substantial amount of energy is released. Aware of this discovery, German physicists who had left Germany to live and work in the United States, due to Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and his politics of Nazism (which stressed racism), feared the Germans could and would build powerful atomic bombs.

## Albert Einstein's letter

Three Hungarian scientists who lived in Germany and then moved to the United States—Leo Szilard (1898–1964), Edward Teller (1908–2003), and Eugene Wigner (1902–1995)—asked the German-born Albert Einstein (1879–1955), America's most famous physicist, to write a letter to U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) expressing their fears and stressing the urgency of the atomic bomb situation. As noted on the Manhattan Project Heritage Preservation Association Web site, Einstein penned his letter on August 2, 1939, stating that recent breakthroughs in nuclear research led him to believe “the element uranium may be turned into a new and important source of energy in the immediate future” and that “extremely powerful bombs [could be] constructed.” Einstein requested increased funding for American nuclear physicists working throughout the country in university laboratories and urged better communication among them. Realizing



## People to Know

**Lavrenty Beria (1899–1953):** Leader of the Soviet secret police and manager of the Soviet bomb project.

**Leslie R. Groves (1896–1970):** The U.S. Army officer in charge of the Manhattan Project.

**Adolf Hitler (1889–1945):** Nazi party president, 1921–45; German leader, 1933–45.

**Igor Kurchatov (1903–1960):** The Soviet Union's premier nuclear physicist, who led the building of the Soviets' atomic bomb in 1948.

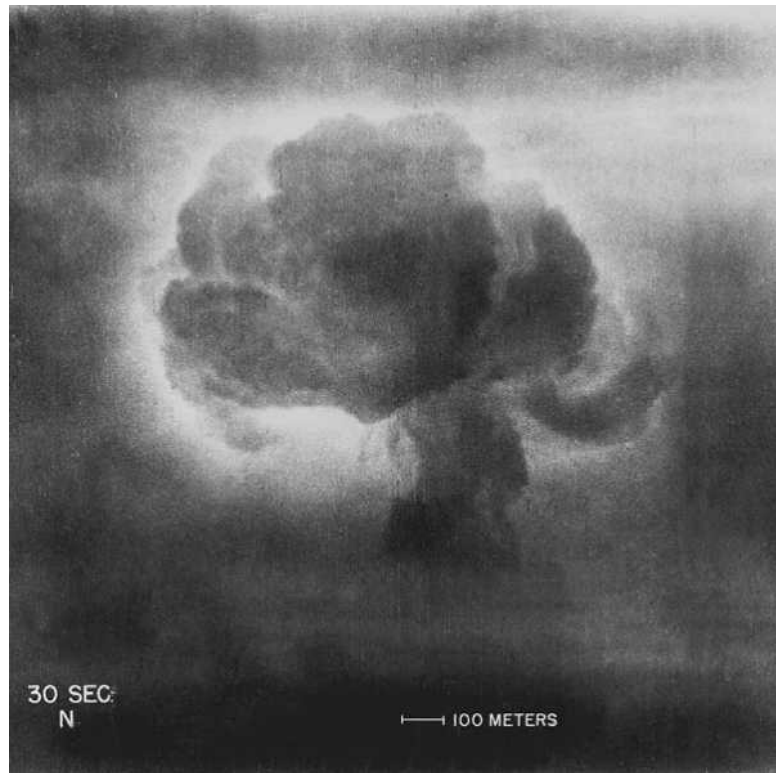
**J. Robert Oppenheimer (1904–1967):** A theoretical physicist who led the building of the United States' atomic bomb during World War II.

**Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945):** Thirty-second U.S. president, 1933–45.

**Harry S. Truman (1884–1972):** Thirty-third U.S. president, 1945–53.

**The mushroom cloud from the United States' "Trinity" test on July 16, 1945, thirty seconds after detonation.**

*Photograph by Berlyn Brixner.  
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that Germany's Hitler could develop these powerful new weapons and use them to hold the world hostage, Roosevelt established the Uranium Committee in October 1939. This was the first step toward organized development of an atomic bomb (A-bomb) in the United States.

## **Long-distance difficulties**

Across the country, many institutes of advanced learning (including the University of California's Radiation Laboratory and the physics departments at Columbia, Stanford, and Cornell Universities; the California Institute of Technology; and the Universities of Wisconsin and Illinois) stepped up research into preparing nuclear materials such as uranium-235 and plutonium. Uranium-235 and plutonium are fissionable elements and the bases of atomic bombs. The National Academy of Sciences announced that its number one priority was to build atomic weapons before anyone else

in the world did so. Scientists met at conferences to share their knowledge, but coordinating the scattered research projects proved problematic. Long-distance communication between scientists was all but impossible because government security regulations required that uranium and plutonium research be kept top-secret; scientists could not discuss their research over the phone or in writing. By the fall of 1942, a research facility in one location, where key scientists could speak in person and work together, was desperately needed.

## The Manhattan Project

Vannevar Bush (1890–1974) was head of the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD), the wartime civilian scientific mobilization group. He asked President Roosevelt to assign to the military the construction of a lab and production plants. Roosevelt assigned the army to work with OSRD. In September 1942, Leslie R. Groves of the Army Corps of Engineers was appointed to take charge of the weapons program. Groves was immediately promoted to brigadier general so that he would have sufficient rank to impress the senior civilian scientists in the project. Groves and the Manhattan Engineer District, headquartered in New York City, took charge. Groves named the weapons program the Manhattan Project after his home base. With directness and determined efficiency, Groves established two large production plants, the Clinton Engineer Works in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and the Hanford Engineer Works in eastern Washington State. Oak Ridge would produce uranium-235; Hanford would produce plutonium. Construction of a third facility, the Manhattan Engineer District Laboratory, began in March 1943 in a remote desert area near Los Alamos, New Mexico. The first atomic bomb would be assembled at the Los Alamos site, dubbed Project Y, about a hundred miles north of Albuquerque.

In October 1942, Groves named J. Robert Oppenheimer (1904–1967), a theoretical physicist from the University of California at Berkeley, to lead the laboratory's scientists. In March 1943, before construction of the facility was anywhere near complete, the most renowned scientists in the country and their families began arriving at Los Alamos. Navigating primitive roads and dealing with inadequate cooking



**Physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, head of the Manhattan Project.** *Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.*

and sleeping accommodations, they began their work. No one knew how close the Germans were to completing a bomb, but if Germany won the bomb race, America would lose the war. Every month, week, and day counted.

## **A secret project, a secret town**

Everything about the Manhattan Project was top-secret. When Robert Serber (1909–1997) of the University of Illinois, Oppenheimer's chief theoretical assistant, rose to give one of the first lectures to the gathered Los Alamos scientists, he announced that the project objective was to build a practical military weapon, a bomb based on nuclear fission. Upon hearing the word bomb, Oppenheimer sent a note up to the podium saying Serber should use the

term “gadget,” not bomb, because many carpenters and other workers were still present and might overhear. From then on, the bomb was always referred to as “the gadget.”

Within the year, thousands of personnel from all over the country had arrived, and Los Alamos became a small town. Everyone there had passed rigorous background checks. The name Los Alamos could not appear on any letters or parcels, incoming or outgoing. Instead the address was Box 1663, Santa Fe, New Mexico. The address on the birth certificates of babies born at the Los Alamos Engineers Hospital between 1942 and 1945 was simply “Box 1663.”

Ultimately about 140,000 military and civilian individuals—physicists, chemists, engineers, teachers, carpenters, janitors, etc.—worked on the Manhattan Project at Los Alamos and in various secret locations throughout the United States. However, only a tiny percentage ever knew the ultimate goal was to build an atomic bomb.



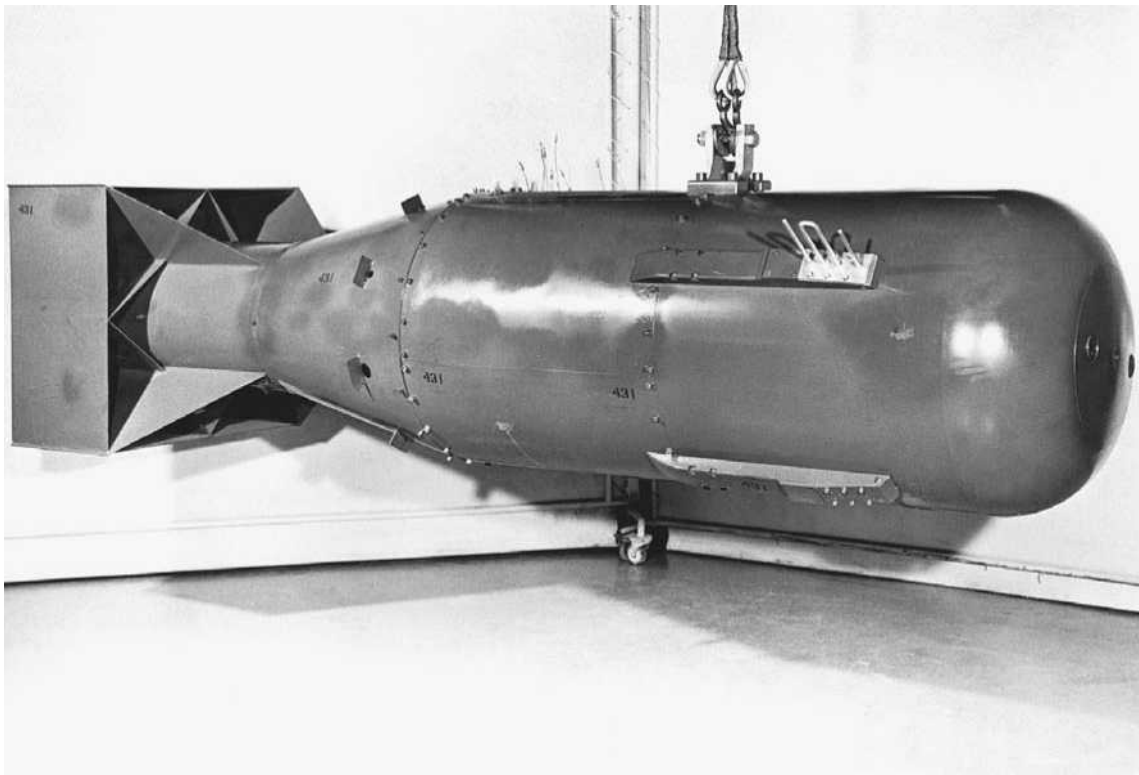
## Mission completed

On July 16, 1945, the “gadget” tested successfully. At that point, the United States had the only workable atomic bomb in the world. Los Alamos engineers did not realize that the German attempt to develop a bomb had been derailed years earlier. Lack of organization, then the devastation of World War II, had prevented any concerted effort by the scientists in Germany.

Los Alamos produced two bombs, code-named “Little Boy” and “Fat Man.” Confident that Little Boy would work, scientists assembled the uranium-235-based bomb and readied it for shipment in early July 1945. Fat Man, which had a plutonium base, needed to be tested to confirm that it would detonate. The “Trinity” test near Alamogordo, New Mexico, was therefore a test of a plutonium-based bomb like Fat Man. When that bomb detonated, American scientists knew they had opened the age of nuclear weaponry; they also knew that this weapon would end World War II.

**An aerial view of Los Alamos National Laboratory during the 1940s.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



**"Little Boy," the first nuclear bomb.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

## World War II ends

The results of the Trinity test were immediately conveyed to U.S. president Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53), who had taken office after President Roosevelt's death in April 1945. Truman was attending a conference in Potsdam, near Berlin, Germany. He casually informed Soviet premier Joseph Stalin (1879–1953), also in attendance, that the United States had a new weapon of great destructive power. On July 26, 1945, Truman and Clement Attlee (1883–1967), who had replaced Winston Churchill (1874–1965) as Great Britain's prime minister, issued an ultimatum to Japan: Surrender or face total destruction. Japan rejected the ultimatum.

In the early-morning hours of August 6, Little Boy rode in the belly of a U.S. B-29 bomber, the *Enola Gay*, that was part of the 509th Composite Air Group, stationed in the Mariana Islands in the western Pacific Ocean. At precisely





## “Little Boy” and “Fat Man”

Between 1942 and 1945, Los Alamos scientists produced two types of bombs—or “gadgets,” as they were called during development. The bombs were detonated in different ways. One bomb, code-named “Little Boy,” used uranium-235 (U-235) and was detonated by a process called fission. Fission involves splitting the atomic nucleus of a heavy element to create two lighter elements. Natural uranium contains two forms of the element mixed together: U-235 and U-238. U-235 is fissionable (splittable); U-238 is not. Therefore, to gather material for bomb making, scientists have to separate U-235 from U-238.

The nuclear research plant in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, took charge of the task to produce the U-235 needed for Little Boy. To detonate Little Boy, a slug of U-235 would be fired like a bullet down a gun barrel into the center of another chunk of U-235. Adding its own fissionable material to the mix, the slug would split the nucleus of the U-235 chunk, causing it to release a tremendous amount of energy in the form of an explosion. Little Boy was 10 feet (3 meters) long and 28 inches (71 centimeters) in diameter; it weighed 9,000 pounds (4,086 kilograms). Scientists

were certain that this type of bomb would work and did not actually test Little Boy.

The second type of bomb, code-named Fat Man, used implosion (an extreme inward collapse) to detonate plutonium. A University of California at Berkeley scientist, Glenn T. Seaborg (1912–1999), discovered that a new fissionable element could be made by bombarding uranium-238 with neutrons, one of two kinds of particles found inside the nucleus (central part) of an atom. He named the new element plutonium. The nuclear research plant in Hanford, Washington, was in charge of producing plutonium. Fat Man consisted of high explosives surrounding a plutonium ball. When detonated, the explosives would compress, or squeeze, the plutonium, causing a massive energy release, or explosion. Los Alamos scientists were not sure the plutonium bomb would work, so they conducted the Trinity test of Fat Man on July 16, 1945. The spectacular results confirmed that it indeed worked.

Both types of bombs release energy (explode) as a result of a change in the composition of the atomic nucleus; that is why they are called atomic or nuclear weapons.

8:16:02 A.M. Japanese time, Little Boy was dropped on the center of Hiroshima, Japan, instantly killing at least 80,000 people and seriously injuring at least 100,000 more. Many of the injured would die of burns and radiation exposure. Japan did not surrender. On August 9, at 11:02 A.M. Japanese time,



## A-Bombs and H-Bombs

All the bombs mentioned in this chapter were created by altering the nucleus of the atom of an element, so all of them may be referred to as nuclear bombs or atomic bombs. However, technically, only bombs that are detonated by controlled fission, or the splitting of an atom's nucleus, are true atomic bombs, or A-bombs.

Bombs that are created by the fusion, or joining together, of atomic nuclei of the element hydrogen are called hydrogen bombs, or H-bombs. H-bombs are also called thermonuclear bombs, because of the incredible heat their reaction generates. H-bombs explode with a much greater force than A-bombs.

Although highly destructive, A-bombs are limited in power compared to the boundless destructive force of H-bombs. One kiloton equals the explosive force of (or the energy released by) 1,000 tons (907 metric tons) of TNT, a conventional (nonnuclear) explosive. One megaton equals the

explosive force of 1,000,000 tons (907,000 metric tons) of TNT.

In August 1945, the United States dropped A-bombs on Japan over the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Hiroshima bomb, using the code name "Little Boy," had a force of 13,000 tons (11,791 metric tons), or 13 kilotons, of TNT. Its element base was uranium-235. The Nagasaki bomb, using the code name "Fat Man," had a force of 22,000 tons (19,954 metric tons), or 22 kilotons, of TNT. Its element base was plutonium.

Two tests showed the tremendous force of H-bombs. One test, at Enewetak Atoll, on November 1, 1952, had a force of 10,400,000 tons (9,432,800 metric tons), or 10,400 kilotons, or 10.4 megatons, of TNT. Its element base was hydrogen. Another test (given the test code name of Bravo), at Bikini Atoll, on March 1, 1954, had a force of 15,000,000 tons (13,605,000 metric tons), or 15,000 kilotons, or 15 megatons, of TNT. Its element base was hydrogen.

Fat Man was dropped on Nagasaki, Japan, killing nearly 74,000 and injuring 75,000 of Nagasaki's 286,000 residents. Japan agreed to surrender on August 14, 1945.

## Arms race begins

When President Truman mentioned to Stalin at Potsdam that the United States had a powerful new weapon, he did not realize that Stalin was already aware of the Manhattan Project; Soviet spies had been reporting to Stalin regular-

ly. American officials no doubt hoped that U.S. possession of an atomic bomb would give them an advantage in postwar negotiations and make Stalin and the Soviets more manageable. Instead, Stalin accelerated the Soviet A-bomb effort. The Soviets vowed to produce their own atomic weapons and to break the U.S. monopoly as soon as possible. The Soviet Union and the United States were now locked in an arms race, with each side trying to equal or outdo the military strength of the other. This further promoted the “cold war” between the two countries: Neither could use its weapons without risking annihilation, but both continued the battle by building more powerful bombs.

## “Joe-1”

Only a few weeks after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Stalin ordered forty-two-year-old Igor Kurchatov (1903–1960), the Soviet Union’s premier nuclear physicist, to build an atomic bomb by 1948. The focus of the Soviet nuclear program was to detonate a nuclear bomb as soon as possible, no matter the cost. Stalin also selected Lavrenty Beria (1899–1953), leader of the dreaded Soviet secret police, to organize and manage the Soviet bomb project. Kurchatov had the same role in the Soviet program as Oppenheimer had had in the Manhattan Project. Beria was the Soviet counterpart to General Groves—with one major distinction: Apparently Beria had permission to shoot Kurchatov and his staff if they failed at their task. Beria was fond of announcing to Kurchatov, “You will become camp dust.” Perhaps partly out of fear but overwhelmingly out of a sense of patriotic duty to his country that had been so injured by the Germans during World War II, Kurchatov set about his task immediately. Like most Soviets, he believed the United States intended to use its atomic power to gain influence around the world, perhaps to push its economic and political views onto the Soviet Union and its allies.

Both Kurchatov and Beria were talented organizers. They mobilized people and resources. Uranium was mined; a nuclear reactor (a device in which nuclear reactions took place) was built; and the super-secret atomic weapons laboratory, Arzamas-16, took shape. It was nicknamed “Los Arza-

mas,” a play on words with the U.S. atomic weapons laboratory site of Los Alamos. Arzamas-16 was much like Los Alamos: It was developed at the site of a small town, Sarov. About 250 miles (400 kilometers) east of Moscow, Sarov soon disappeared from maps. All the great Soviet scientists would live and work at this top-secret location, and after several years, they created a plutonium bomb, code-named “Joe-1.”

In early 1946, a two-story house called the “Forester’s Cabin” was built at Los Arzamas for Kurchatov and his wife, Marina. It was within walking distance of Kurchatov’s lab. Kurchatov was likable and capable—he even coped well with Beria—and he brought about intense loyalty from his fellow scientists. He often sat at a table with his staff, surrounded by the extensive flower and vegetable garden he had planted at his house, and invited them to discuss problems and working plans. At the end of the discussion, Kurchatov would assign a month’s worth of work and send them back to the lab. Then, only hours later, he would head down his path through the woods to the lab to see how much progress had been made.

After a series of technical delays, Kurchatov delivered on August 29, 1949. The Soviets’ first atomic test, code-named “First Lightning,” was successful. A plutonium bomb named Joe-1, which closely resembled the U.S. “gadget” Fat Man, detonated at the Semipalatinsk Test Site in northeastern Kazakhstan. A few days later, the United States became aware of the test. A U.S. Air Force B-29 on a weather mission over the North Pacific encountered a very high radioactivity count. Analyzing the data, U.S. scientists realized the Soviets had detonated a plutonium atomic bomb.

## “Enormous”

U.S. intelligence had figured that the earliest possible Soviet completion of a nuclear weapon would be about 1953. It seemed reasonable that Kurchatov and his scientists would need that much time to design and build their own atomic bomb. However, the Soviet project had been speeded up by information from “atomic spies” within the Manhattan Project. “Enormous” was the code word the atomic spies used to refer to the Manhattan Project. Between 1943 and 1945, Klaus Fuchs (1911–1988), Theodore Alvin Hall (1925–1999),



David Greenglass (1922–), Ruth Greenglass (1925–), Julius Rosenberg (1918–1953), Ethel Rosenberg (1915–1953), and Harry Gold (c. 1911–1972) helped deliver technical information from the Manhattan Project to Beria and Kurchatov and their colleagues at Los Arzamas. Fuchs, a Los Alamos scientist; Hall, a Los Alamos physicist; and David Greenglass, a Los Alamos machinist, passed detailed information to the Rosenbergs and Gold. In turn, the information was passed on to the Soviets. In retrospect, historians believe the information that the spies passed on speeded up Soviet atomic bomb development by one to two years.

On September 23, 1949, a shocked United States listened as President Truman revealed information about the Soviet atomic blast. Americans absorbed the news with dread rather than panic. Clearly the Soviets had caught up. Americans now questioned their own safety. Fuchs had sent detailed data about the American plutonium bomb, “Fat Man”; that explained Joe-1’s resemblance. Hall was the only atomic spy U.S. officials knew about who was not caught.

**Ground zero in Kazakhstan, the site of the first Soviet atomic explosion on August 29, 1949. This photograph, taken in November 1992, shows the desolation forty-three years later.** *Photograph by Shepard Sherbell. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

## **The Strategic Air Command and the Atomic Energy Commission**

After the initial race to create an atomic bomb, two key groups came into being in the United States in 1946: the Strategic Air Command and the Atomic Energy Commission. The U.S. military established the Strategic Air Command (SAC), and by the late 1940s SAC's goal was to identify targets in the Soviet Union and be ready to deliver nuclear weapons to those targets. It was hoped that this would deter any Soviet aggression. The United States saw atomic weapons as a way to match the strength of the Soviet land armies in Eastern Europe.

The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), established by Congress in July 1946, took over management of the nuclear research facilities at Oak Ridge, Hanford, and Los Alamos. Universities contracted with the AEC for research and development of weapons. The University of California contracted with the AEC to manage Los Alamos. Although World War II had ended, the United States and the Soviet Union were becoming entangled in a war over political and economic ideas—the Cold War. Increasingly, Americans believed that the United States needed to maintain superiority in weaponry to deter Soviet aggression. Subscribing to this view, the AEC favored development of weapons rather than pursuing ways to peacefully take advantage of nuclear energy.

## **Hydrogen bomb**

President Truman shocked the United States and the world with his announcement that the Soviet Union had successfully detonated an atomic weapon. The United States had to reassess its position in the world: U.S. leaders were already worried about the strong and growing Soviet communist influence in Eastern Europe. Additionally the communists controlled China. Many Americans believed that only being on constant alert and having a strong military armed with nuclear weapons could keep the Soviets in check. Indeed, some feared a communist takeover of the United States if the United States let down its guard, even momentarily.

In the fall of 1949, after the Soviet atomic bomb test, a secret and heated debate raged among American government



## The Strategic Air Command

In 1948, General Curtis E. LeMay (1906–1990), a decorated World War II pilot, assumed command of the U.S. Air Force Strategic Air Command (SAC), which was formed in 1946. Based in Nebraska at Offutt Air Base, the SAC bomber force became the cornerstone for the U.S. national air defensive and offensive strategy. Commanding the nerve center of an eventually worldwide bomber-missile force, LeMay started building his bomber teams into an elite, well-seasoned corps. Deciding that the best defense was indeed an overwhelming offense, LeMay pushed for a buildup of nuclear weapons and for bombers to carry them. As soon as the Soviets demonstrated nuclear capability, LeMay emphasized that SAC needed to have at its disposal enough weapons, and the planes to carry them, to hit thousands of targets in the Soviet Union. By 1952 he had identified up to six thousand Soviet targets. He reasoned that SAC's strength would deter Soviet aggression.

According to Isaacs and Downing in *Cold War: An Illustrated History, 1945–*

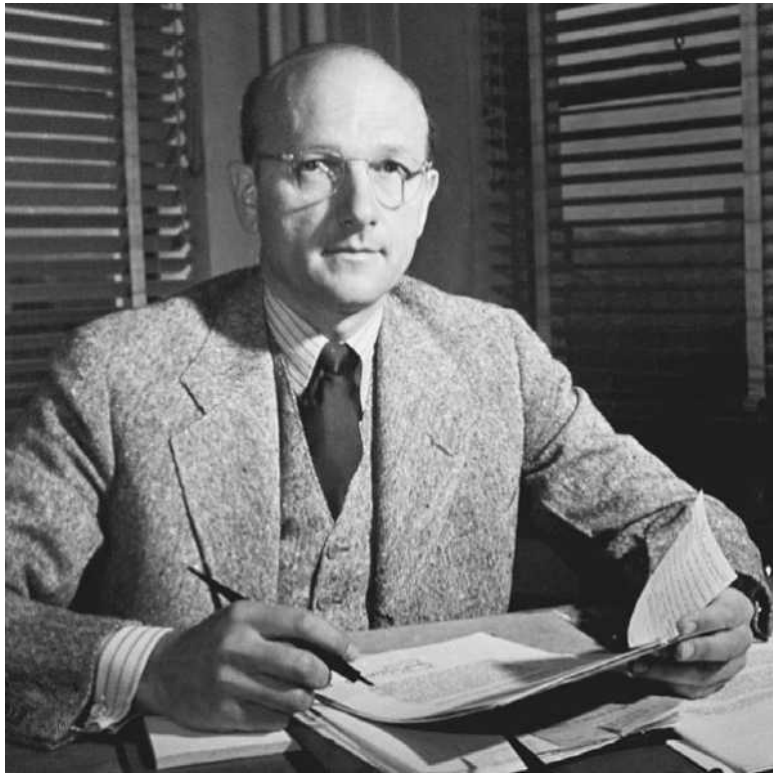


**U.S. general Curtis E. LeMay.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

1991, the U.S. military had 298 atomic bombs in 1950, 2,422 nuclear weapons in 1955, and 27,100 by 1962. In 1951, SAC had 668 B-50 and B-29 bombers. By 1959 it had 500 long-range B-52 bombers and more than 2,500 B-47 bombers that could refuel in midair.

officials, scientists, and the U.S. military. Reevaluating U.S. strength in light of the Soviet atomic test, Truman turned first to the AEC. After completing the Manhattan Project, U.S. scientists had considered the development of a hydrogen bomb (H-bomb), which would be far more destructive than the bombs dropped in Japan. They knew that H-bombs could be created through fusion, or joining together, of the atomic nuclei of the element hydrogen. However, AEC director David Lilienthal (1899–1981) did not support further testing in peace-

**David Lilienthal, director of the Atomic Energy Commission.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*



time. Because the Soviets had just developed their own A-bomb, others on the AEC wanted the United States to do immediate and concentrated research to develop the H-bomb. Lilienthal, fully aware of the H-bomb's boundless destructive power, still resisted. He then asked for direction from the AEC's General Advisory Committee (GAC), a group made up of scientists including Manhattan Project leader J. Robert Oppenheimer. The GAC supported Lilienthal, recommending a buildup of A-bombs but rejecting development of the H-bomb.

However, yet another group of scientists (including Edward Teller, who in 1939 had urged Einstein to write to then-President Roosevelt about development of the A-bomb) argued in favor of the H-bomb. Concurring, the U.S. military strongly urged development, emphasizing the need to produce such a weapon before the Soviets could produce one. President Truman managed to keep all the debate secret; he hoped the press and the American public would not hear about the H-bomb before he had decided what to do. He next appointed a three-



man committee—Lilienthal, Secretary of State Dean Acheson (1893–1971), and Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson (1891–1966)—to debate the issue and advise him. Lilienthal remained opposed, but Acheson and Johnson supported development of the H-bomb. Truman believed that negotiating a mutual agreement with the Soviets not to pursue the H-bomb was hopeless, so in late January 1950 he announced to the American public that development would proceed on all types of nuclear weapons, including the H-bomb. Scientists at Los Alamos immediately began work on the H-bomb.

By the late 1940s, Soviet scientists knew that U.S. scientists were researching the H-bomb, so they began research, too. The Soviet investigation team was headed by physicist Yakov Zel'dovich (1914–1987) and included fellow physicists Andrey Sakharov (1921–1989), Vitali Ginzburg (1916–), and Viktor Davidenko. Sakharov would become known as the father of the Soviet hydrogen bomb.

## Thermonuclear race

On November 1, 1952, from the tiny atoll, or coral island, of Enewetak, part of the western Pacific's Marshall Islands, a fireball arose. America's first hydrogen bomb had been detonated. The fireball's mushroom shape grew to 100 miles (160 kilometers) in diameter and rained down radioactive material. The H-bomb was 800 times more powerful than the A-bomb dropped on Hiroshima, exploding with a force of 10.4 megatons (9,432,800 metric tons) of TNT. The bomb could not be transported by aircraft; it was too heavy and had to be cooled by refrigeration until detonated.

On August 12, 1953, the Soviets successfully tested Joe-4 at Semipalatinsk Test Site. Although much smaller than the U.S. test bomb and not a true hydrogen bomb, Joe-4 brought the Soviets into the race. On March 1, 1954, the United States detonated a physically smaller, lithium-based hydrogen bomb that could be carried by a B-47 jet bomber. The test, known as "Bravo," occurred at the Bikini Atoll, 200 miles (321 kilometers) from Enewetak. The bomb yielded 15 megatons (13,605,000 metric tons) of destructive force.

The Soviets kept pace with U.S. progress. On November 22, 1955, again at Semipalatinsk, the Soviets' first true hydrogen



**The view of the first hydrogen bomb, following its detonation near Enewetak, in the Pacific's Marshall Islands, November 1, 1952.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

bomb detonated. At 1.6 megatons (1,451,200 metric tons and a little over 100 times the force of the Hiroshima bomb), it was the world's first air-dropped hydrogen bomb. The Cold War and the thermonuclear race, referring to nuclear weapons that release atomic energy by joining hydrogen nuclei at high temperatures, had spiraled out of control. Although both the United States and the Soviet Union claimed they did not want to use the H-bombs, the world could only hold its breath and wait.

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## Homeland Insecurities

5

**“A**re you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?” This was the question members of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) asked each American who was brought before them. The HUAC, reaching its peak of power between 1947 and 1953, was at the center of the Red Scare, a period in U.S. history when Americans felt highly threatened by communism. Communism is a system of government in which a single political party controls almost all aspects of society. A communist system eliminates private ownership of property and business. Goods produced and accumulated wealth are in theory shared relatively equally by all. Under communism, people are not guaranteed individual liberties. In communist countries religious practices are not allowed.

Americans feared communists would gain strength in their country and might eventually take over. “Reds under the beds” and “better dead than Red” were common catchphrases. (The term “Red” was used to refer to communists and communist sympathizers.) Americans became obsessed with the fear of communism and looked with suspicion on subver-





## Words to Know

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls almost all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Hollywood Ten:** Ten producers, directors, and screenwriters from Hollywood who were called before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to explain their politics and reveal what organizations they were part of. Eight of the ten had communist affiliations.

**House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC):** A congressional group established to investigate and root out any communist influences within the United States.

**Red Scare:** A great fear among U.S. citizens in the late 1940s and early 1950s that communist influences were infiltrating U.S. society and government and could eventually lead to the overthrow of the American democratic system.

sive, or revolutionary, groups within the United States. The HUAC was established to investigate and root out any communist influences within the country. In this atmosphere of suspicion and fear, “McCarthyism”—unfounded accusations of disloyalty to the U.S. government—was strong and continued to grow stronger. Even the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) joined in the fight against the “Red Menace.”

## Communism and democracy

During the Red Scare, investigations and restrictions on liberties protected by the U.S. Constitution shook Americans. But Soviet and Eastern European citizens experienced far worse conditions under Communist Party leader Joseph Stalin (1879–1953). Many years earlier, in November 1917, members of a rising political party in Russia, the Bolsheviks, had gained



## People to Know

**Whittaker Chambers (1901–1961):** A journalist who admitted at the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) hearings that he had once been a communist but had later denounced communism; he named Alger Hiss as a communist.

**Martin Dies (1900–1972):** U.S. representative from Texas, 1931–44, 1953–58; chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), often called the Dies Committee.

**Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969):** Thirty-fourth U.S. president, 1953–61.

**Alger Hiss (1904–1996):** U.S. State Department official who was accused of being a communist; he served three years and eight months in prison after being convicted of perjury.

**Joseph R. McCarthy (1908–1957):** U.S. senator from Wisconsin, 1947–58; for

four years, he sought to expose American communists by manipulating the public's fear of communism and by making false accusations and claims that a massive communist conspiracy threatened to take over the country.

**Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994):** Republican congressman from California, 1947–50; member of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and closely involved with the investigation of accused communist Alger Hiss; was later a U.S. senator, vice president, and president.

**Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945):** Thirty-second U.S. president, 1933–45.

**Joseph Stalin (1879–1953):** Dictatorial Russian/Soviet leader, 1924–53.

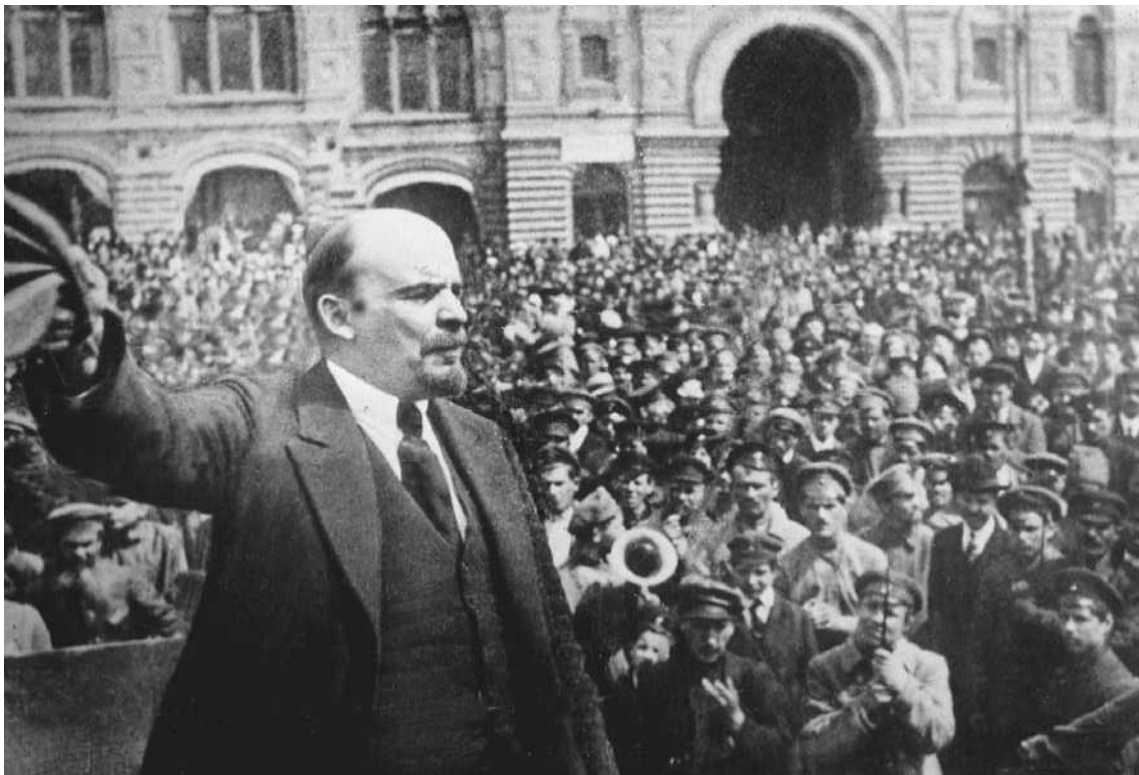
**Harry S. Truman (1884–1972):** Thirty-third U.S. president, 1945–53.

control of the Russian government. The Bolsheviks, later called the Communists, believed in the ideology of Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924), who established the Communist Party in Russia.

The American public soon realized the communist system of government was uncompromisingly different from U.S. democracy. In the United States, property and businesses are privately owned, and the Bill of Rights protects individual liberties. Americans are free to worship as they wish.

## The first Red Scare

Near the end of the 1910s, many Americans began to fear that communism might spread and take over the Ameri-



**Vladimir I. Lenin, founder of the Russian Communist Party.** *Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

can way of life. Late in 1918, anarchists, people intent on overthrowing the government by violence, bombed the homes of a Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, businessman, a police official, and a state judge. Then, in June 1919, a bomb exploded outside the home of U.S. attorney general A. Mitchell Palmer (1872–1936), who was trying to make a name for himself by launching a major campaign against political radicals, or those advocating extreme change. Palmer and other politicians visiting his home at the time escaped injury, but the bomber was killed. Most Americans attributed the bombings to communists and immigrant anarchists because of Palmer's warnings to the public that the Bolsheviks were trying to overthrow the U.S. government. The first Red Scare swept across the country.

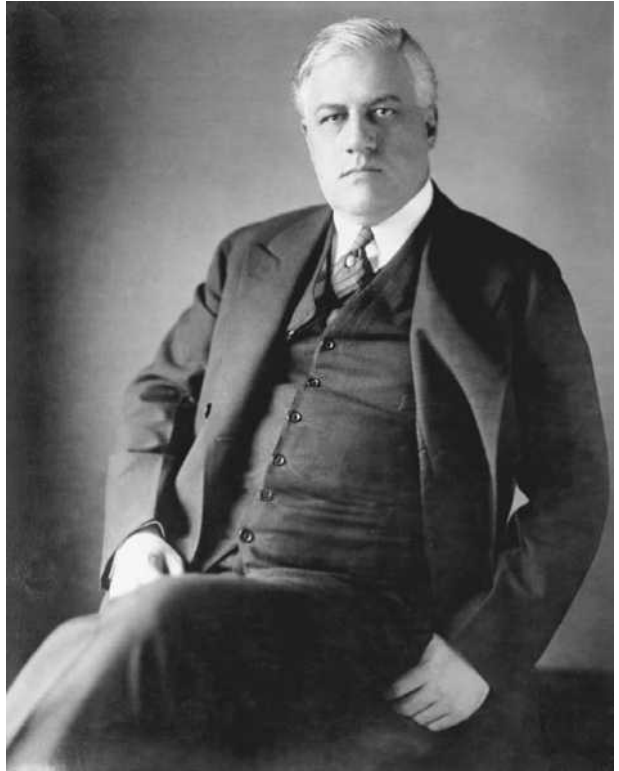
Attorney General Palmer announced to Congress that communists were intent on overthrowing the government as quickly as possible. Congress reacted by establishing the Anti-Radical Division within the Department of Justice. The name

was soon changed to the General Intelligence Division (GID). Appointed to head the new division was twenty-four-year-old J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972). Hoover would later head the FBI from 1924 until his death in 1972. Palmer and Hoover planned and carried out a series of raids known as the Palmer Raids in late 1919 and early 1920. During the raids, thousands of U.S. citizens, many of Russian ancestry, and aliens, or foreign-born people who live in the United States but are not citizens, were arrested across the country without warrants. Although most were released in a few days, hundreds of Russian immigrants, not yet citizens, were deported, or shipped back, to Russia. Many of them had no connection to any communist group and had not acted against the U.S. government in any way.

Later in 1920, the Red Scare subsided, but a pattern that would repeat many times in the future had been set. Fear of communism would rise and fall through the twentieth century. It would come to its most dangerous peak in the late 1940s and 1950s.

## 1930s

During the 1930s, Americans suffered through the longest and worst economic crisis in U.S. history, the Great Depression. By 1932, roughly 25 percent of the American workforce were unemployed. Among those who kept their jobs, incomes dropped an average of 40 percent between 1929 and 1932. Many Americans went hungry; in cities, people stood in long lines at food kitchens. The inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) as president of the United States in March 1933 brought renewed hope that the economic problems could be solved. Roosevelt devised a variety of social and economic programs, known as the New Deal, to bring relief to the American people and en-



**A. Mitchell Palmer, attorney general during the final two years of Woodrow Wilson's administration.**  
*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



courage economic recovery. Nevertheless, the Depression lingered on through the 1930s.

Because of the serious economic problems, many Americans, especially intellectuals and youths, rethought what they had been taught about the American political system, which was that the system offered the American dream in which anyone could reach financial security through hard work and resourcefulness. They attended meetings to learn about other systems of government and economics. At meetings led by communists, speakers called for more rights for workers and for spreading America's wealth more evenly. Americans interested in communism hoped it might provide some answers for Depression-era America; they had no doubt that they could freely express such ideas. However, many of those who showed an interest in communism in the 1930s would eventually be labeled as subversives and have to answer to government questioning. (A subversive is a person who attempts to overthrow or undermine an established political system.)

In 1938, Congress passed the Hatch Act (named after its author, U.S. senator Carl A. Hatch [1889–1963] of New Mexico), which prohibited Americans who joined the Communist Party from holding federal jobs. In May 1938, U.S. representative Martin Dies (1900–1972) of Texas managed to get congressional funding for his favorite special committee, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), often called the Dies Committee. The HUAC was asked to investigate subversive activities by organizations that might try to overthrow the U.S. government.

The Dies Committee claimed to find communists in labor unions and government agencies and among African American groups. Many of those who were accused of communist sympathies were fired from their jobs. Several members of Congress argued that HUAC was going too far and violating the civil rights of those accused. Nevertheless, in 1940 Congress passed the Alien Registration Act, better known as the Smith Act, which made it illegal to be a member of any organization that supported a violent overthrow of the U.S. government. The Communist Party was the principal organization lawmakers had in mind.

By 1939, World War II (1939–45) was raging in Europe, and in 1941 Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, a U.S. naval

station in Hawaii, thus bringing the United States into the war. Although America's attention turned to the war, Dies doggedly kept HUAC alive until 1944, when ill health and criticism of his often groundless accusations against fellow Americans finally caused him to step down. The HUAC ceased to function, and the hunt for subversives slowed.

## War ends and the second Red Scare begins

During World War II, the United States found itself in the strange position of being an ally of the communist Soviet Union. These uneasy allies joined with Great Britain and France to halt the advance of the German troops of Nazi leader Adolf Hitler (1889–1945). The Allied forces were successful in defeating Hitler, and as the war wound down in Europe, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, and British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) met in Yalta (a resort town in the Soviet republic of the Ukraine) in February 1945 to discuss postwar plans. All agreed that the European nations liberated from Germany's grasp would eventually have free elections, where citizens are free to vote for the candidate of their choice.

World War II officially ended on September 2, 1945, and shortly thereafter Stalin began ignoring postwar agreements. He established communist governments in the Eastern European nations of Poland, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and finally Czechoslovakia. These Eastern European nations, along with Yugoslavia, became known as the Eastern Bloc. (Bloc refers to a group of nations.) Free elections were not held. Instead, Soviet leaders in Moscow controlled the communist governments that had been put in place. The United States became the leader of the Western European democratic nations.

Relations between the East and West were tense. A cold war replaced the hot war, an actual armed conflict. The Cold War was fought over ideologies—communism versus democracy. It was a war caused by mutual fear and distrust. To most Americans, describing someone as “communist” was the same as saying the person was un-American.



A map showing Eastern and Western European nations during the Cold War.

Reproduced by permission of the Gale Group.

In the 1946 congressional elections, a number of politicians engaged in “Red-baiting”; that is, they attacked their opponents by accusing them of having communist leanings. Republicans charged that President Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53) and other Democrats were “soft” on, or indifferent to, communism. Robert McCormick (1880–1955), the longtime owner and editor of the *Chicago Tribune* and a leading Republican in Illinois, claimed that the Democratic Party was not firm against feared communist influences. Republican Joseph R. McCarthy (1908–1957) of Wisconsin, who would play a major role in the second Red Scare, was elected to the U.S. Senate. Organizations such as the American Legion and Daughters of the American Revolution, along with conservative newspaper chains such as Hearst and Scripps-Howard, contributed to the anticommunist hysteria again sweeping the nation.

## Loyalty program

President Truman listened to the remarks that Democrats were soft on communism. He also had intelligence reports that there were Soviet spies within the U.S. government. In March 1947, he responded with Executive Order 9835. The order established a program to check on the loyalty of the 2.5 million federal employees and root out any subversives. Subversive activity included past or present membership in various organizations with communist-like ideologies. Attorney General Tom Campbell Clark (1899–1977) was ordered to draw up a list of subversive organizations; however, there were no set standards for judging organizations, and the groups named as subversive could not challenge the listing. The FBI, under J. Edgar Hoover, checked out millions of federal workers over the next four years. (See box.) Most loyalty boards denied the accused people their right to know who accused them. Some people were even asked about books and artwork they owned, which was an infringement of their personal liberties. Privately, Truman was beginning to become quite uncomfortable with the FBI's methods.

Truman announced the Truman Doctrine the same month as he announced the loyalty investigation program. The Truman Doctrine promised that the United States would help any nation threatened by an attempted communist takeover. Truman also revived the Smith Act of 1940, which had been somewhat forgotten during the war. The 1948 presidential election was looming, and Truman's efforts were directed at disproving the charge that Democrats were soft on communists. Truman also hoped his loyalty program would help protect innocent federal workers from the invasive HUAC, which had again come to life.

## A reinstated HUAC

Although HUAC had stopped operating after Martin Dies's departure in 1944, the committee was reestablished and made permanent in 1945 at the insistence of Democratic congressman John E. Rankin (1882–1960) from Mississippi. (Rankin led the proposal to reinstate the committee, and the House voted in favor of his idea.) HUAC received funding



## Protecting America from Communism, J. Edgar Hoover Style

In the mid-1930s, President Franklin D. Roosevelt asked J. Edgar Hoover, head of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), to monitor the activities of communists and any other subversives in the United States. Hoover undertook this mission with great enthusiasm. By the end of World War II, he had compiled an amazing amount of information, including files on the daily habits and group memberships of many people who he thought might turn into enemies of democracy.

The campaign against communism dominated Hoover's life and the activities of the FBI. In 1947, the FBI investigated the loyalty of two to three million federal employees at the request of President Harry S. Truman. Of those, six thousand were thoroughly investigated. About twelve hundred were dismissed from their jobs, but only 212 people were fired for loyalty issues. Hoover also uncovered alcoholics, homosexuals, and employees in great debt. Heavy debtors were considered a risk because they might sell U.S. government information to the Soviets. In all, about twelve hundred federal employees were let go. Hoover also eagerly supplied the House

Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) with incriminating information on organizations such as labor unions. Hoover's FBI was in charge of the investigation and arrests of the "atomic spies," including Julius Rosenberg (1918–1953), Ethel Rosenberg (1915–1953), Harry Gold (c. 1911–1972), and David Greenglass (1922–), who had passed top-secret technical information about the atomic bomb to the Soviets.

To educate the public about the threat of communism within the United States, Hoover authored *Masters of Deceit*, published in 1958. In twelve years and twenty-nine printings, the book sold a quarter-million copies in hardback and two million in paperback. Something of a media hound, Hoover sought to maintain the FBI's and his own public prestige by collaborating on the production of radio and television programs and Hollywood movies. These productions included *The FBI Story* (1959), starring James Stewart (1908–1997), and a popular television series, *The FBI*, that ran from 1965 to 1974. *Street with No Name* (1948), a full-length movie from Twentieth Century Fox, had the FBI's full cooperation.

and orders to investigate any individuals or groups it deemed possible subversives. HUAC soon compiled a list of roughly forty groups that it labeled communist fronts. (A front is an organization or group that serves as a disguise for secret and/or illegal activities or business dealings.) HUAC alleged that the listed groups, despite their sometimes patriotic names, were really organizations intent on promoting com-



**A young J. Edgar Hoover.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

By the early 1960s, Hoover's ability to seek out and expose hidden threats was well recognized. President John F. Kennedy (1917–1963; served 1961–63) ordered Hoover to target the Ku Klux Klan, a secret society and recognized hate group that promotes white supremacy and harasses African Americans and other minority groups. By then, Hoover was one of the most powerful figures in Washington, D.C., often appearing to be under the control of

no one. Hoover's men monitored people who protested the Vietnam War (1954–75). They also watched the activities of civil rights leaders, such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968), who Hoover claimed had communist ties. Viewing these people as subversives, Hoover's men kept extensive files on them all. By the mid-1960s, Hoover's tactics of widespread surveillance, wiretapping, and maintaining detailed files on innocent citizens seemed a threat to personal liberties. As a result, Hoover's popularity with the public and with many government officials dropped sharply.

Hoover remained the director of the FBI until his death in 1972, a total of forty-eight years. In 1975 and 1976, a Senate-appointed committee (the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities) determined that Hoover's actions constituted more than harassment; he had violated citizens' constitutional rights of free speech and free assembly (the right to meet with other people and groups).

munist ideas. One of HUAC's most aggressive and probing members was a young Republican congressman from California, Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994), who would become president of the United States nearly twenty-five years later. Nixon had charged that his Democratic opponent in the 1946 congressional election, Jerry Voorhis (1901–1984), was a communist sympathizer.

## The Hollywood Ten

In October 1947, HUAC opened an investigation of America's film industry. Hollywood had released several movies portraying Russia in a favorable light, such as *Song of Russia*. Also, some Hollywood artists were known as current or former members of the U.S. Communist Party. Ten of Hollywood's producers, directors, and screenwriters (most of the group were screenwriters) were called before the committee to explain their politics and reveal what organizations they were part of. Eight of the ten had communist affiliations. At the same time, fifty Hollywood directors, writers, and actors, outraged at the probing of individual Americans' beliefs, chartered a plane and headed for Washington, D.C. The famous fifty included Humphrey Bogart (1899–1957), Lauren Bacall (1924–), Ira Gershwin (1896–1983), Danny Kaye (1913–1987), and Frank Sinatra (1915–1998). They stopped along the way for press conferences in Kansas City, St. Louis, and Chicago. Their goal was to defend the Hollywood Ten's rights to free speech and free assembly (the right to meet with other people and groups).

The Hollywood Ten refused to answer HUAC's questions, calling the inquiry a clear violation of their constitutional rights. Ultimately all were convicted for contempt of court, or an act of disobedience against the court. After a U.S. circuit court of appeals in 1948 upheld the verdict, eight served one year in prison and two served six months. All were assessed \$1,000 fines. None of them was able to get work after being released, because Hollywood's film producers had put all ten on a blacklist. (A blacklist is a list of names of people who are to be punished or boycotted.) The message was clear: Either cooperate with HUAC or risk being blacklisted. Some of the famous fifty retracted their support for the Hollywood Ten and said that the trip to Washington, D.C., was a mistake.

The blacklisting spread to radio and a new industry—television. Anyone found to be connected to a group that had anything to do with subversive activities, real or imagined, was blacklisted. For instance, if a group happened to have a communist as a member, everyone in the group could be blacklisted. The Red Scare had taken firm hold of the American public.



## A fearful America

By spring 1948, Americans felt that if they were not constantly vigilant, the Cold War could be lost right on American soil. FBI director Hoover fueled fears by commenting that communism was not a political party (like the Democrats or the Republicans) but an evil way of life that could spread like a disease across America. Overseas, there were signs of communist aggression: The Soviets blockaded Berlin, which was located deep within Soviet-occupied East Germany. The only way to get food and supplies to Berliners living in the U.S., French, and British sectors of the city was by an American- and British-run airlift (see Chapter 3, Germany and Berlin). In China, a communist revolution that had been going on for many years began to look as though it would succeed. Led by Mao Zedong (1893–1976), whose army was supplied by the Soviets, the communists were gaining wide support from the Chinese people.

The Hollywood Ten and their attorneys: (bottom row, left to right) Herbert Biberman, attorney Martin Popper, attorney Robert W. Kenny, Albert Maltz, and Lester Cole; (middle row) Dalton Trumbo, John Howard Lawson, Alvah Bessie, and Samuel Ornitz; (top row) Ring Lardner Jr., Edward Dmytryk, and Adrian Scott. *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*





**Witnesses and spectators  
await the start of House Un-  
American Activities  
Committee hearings on  
October 20, 1947.**

*Reproduced by permission of  
the Corbis Corporation.*

Back in the United States in July 1948, after a year of investigation, twelve leaders of the American Communist Party were tried and convicted under the 1940 Smith Act. The Smith Act made it illegal to be part of an organization that supported the violent overthrow of the government. (In 1951, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Smith Act in *Dennis v. the United States* and refused to overturn the convictions.) Also in mid-1948, Elizabeth Bentley (1908–1963), an American who had been spying for the Soviet Union, turned against the Soviets. She testified before a Senate subcommittee and HUAC, giving them information about a Washington-based spy ring of which she had been a part. One individual she implicated was Whittaker Chambers (1901–1961), a senior editor for *Time* magazine and a former communist.

## **The strange case of Alger Hiss**

Chambers admittedly had been a communist through most of the 1920s and 1930s, but he denounced communism

sometime in 1937 or 1938. During his years as a communist, he received and photographed secret U.S. government documents and passed the film on to the Soviets. In August 1948, Chambers went before HUAC. He testified that he knew of Communist Party members in high places in the U.S. government, including the State Department. The public as well as government leaders were particularly sensitive to and disturbed by accusations that communists had penetrated the highest ranks of government. Of all those Chambers named, most refused to respond to the charges and used the Fifth Amendment, which gives a person the right not to testify against oneself, when called before the HUAC. However, Alger Hiss (1904–1996), one of the people Chambers named, sternly denounced the charges. His adamant denial caught the attention of Congressman Nixon. Nixon firmly believed that those most guilty usually make the mistake of going overboard to deny any wrongdoing.

Hiss graduated from Harvard Law School in 1930. He served as a law clerk for Supreme Court justice Oliver Wendell Holmes (1841–1935) and also served in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, joining the State Department in 1936. Hiss attended the Yalta Conference in 1945 (at which Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill discussed postwar plans), and that same year attended the United Nations (UN) organizing meeting in San Francisco. (The UN is a group of nations whose main goals are to maintain peace and security for its member nations, promote human rights, and address humanitarian needs.) Hiss left the State Department in 1946 to serve as president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Despite his outstanding résumé, Hiss was called to testify in front of HUAC on August 5, 1948. Hiss again denied the charges made by Chambers. Hiss claimed he had never even seen Chambers. Nixon was not convinced. Called again before the HUAC on August 16, Hiss had to face Chambers in person. Hiss admitted that he knew Chambers, but said that he had known him by the name George Crosley. Chambers again asserted that Hiss had been a communist in the late 1930s. Hiss strongly denied the accusation one more time and then sued Chambers for libel. (Libel is an unjust published statement about a person intended to hurt or ruin the person's reputation.)



**Accused U.S. communist Alger Hiss.** *Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

In December 1948, HUAC called on Chambers at his farm, and he took the committee out to his garden. Hidden in a hollowed-out pumpkin were rolls of microfilm containing pictures of confidential government papers. Chambers claimed Hiss had given these to him in 1938 to be sent on to the Soviet Union. Nixon, relentlessly pursuing the case, believed the microfilm was evidence enough to convict Hiss. In summer 1949, Hiss was brought to trial on perjury charges (lying under oath) for denying he knew Chambers and for denying he gave away secrets to the Soviets. He could not be charged with spying, due to the statute of limitations, which states that certain crimes cannot be charged after a defined period of time has elapsed. The result was a hung jury, which is when a jury cannot reach a verdict.

In November 1949, Chambers gave the HUAC sixty-five pages of State Department documents allegedly copied by Hiss on a typewriter and several in Hiss's handwriting. Chambers claimed Hiss had given them to him in 1938. Hiss was brought to a retrial in late 1949, on the same perjury charges, and in January 1950 the jury found him guilty. He was sentenced to five years in prison and served three years and eight months. Hiss died in 1996 at the age of ninety-two, still proclaiming his innocence. However, when the U.S. National Security Agency released the decoded messages, they, along with documents released in the Soviet Union, appeared to point to Hiss, though there was not conclusive proof. The Hiss case aroused extreme emotions in the late 1940s and 1950s. Those convinced of his guilt berated those who thought he was innocent. It was a war of Cold War rhetoric, or bold words, within the United States. The winner in the whole episode was Richard Nixon, the California congressman. The public saw him as a young political warrior fighting the spread of communism in America.

## Heightened apprehensions

Apprehensions about the security of the United States continued to grow and spread. In 1949, for example, the National Education Association, which represented public school teachers, declared it inappropriate for communists to teach in schools. Universities agreed that professors should not be communists and should be fired if they joined the Communist Party. Many states required loyalty oaths from public employees, who had to swear they were not part of any communist organization. Many people lost their jobs when they refused to take the oath on the grounds that it violated personal liberties.

Claims were also made that communists were influencing the civil rights movement among black Americans. The famous athlete Jackie Robinson (1919–1972), major league baseball's first African American player, testified before HUAC concerning claims that civil rights groups had a communist influence. Robinson denied this. The committee asked Robinson a hypothetical question: If World War III were to break out between the United States and the Soviet Union, would black Americans in the United States fight against the Soviets? Robinson stated he did not think it would be a problem for blacks to fight against communist countries.

The most chilling news to reach the American public came in September 1949, when President Truman revealed that the Soviet Union had tested an atomic bomb. The United States was no longer the only country that possessed the ultimate destructive weapon. Worse still, the Soviets had apparently built their bomb using technical information they received from spies within the Manhattan Project, a top-secret U.S. government program in which scientists designed and built the country's first atomic weapon. Americans realized with horror that their country had indeed been betrayed from within (see Chapter 6, Espionage in the Cold War).

President Truman appointed a high-level committee to reevaluate the security of the United States in light of the Soviet acquisition of the atomic bomb. In spring 1950, the committee issued its report. Known as NSC-68—short for National Security Council Document 68—the report stated that the communist Soviet Union posed a risk to all civilization. The report called for heightened U.S. intelligence-gathering around the world and

recommended quadrupling the U.S. defense budget. Although Truman and Congress were not ready to take these new bold measures, the report could not be ignored; it was another troubling cloud hanging over the American public.

## McCarthyism

By 1950, U.S. citizens had become accustomed to their fellow citizens being questioned about their allegiance to America. Many had been falsely accused of communist affiliations, sometimes by members of Congress or by leaders of organizations seeking to root out subversives. The accused were generally considered guilty until proven innocent. Most of them lost their jobs and friends.

No one better illustrated the actions of this troubled time than Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, a Republican from Wisconsin. McCarthy went on a four-year witch-hunt, hoping to expose American traitors—that is, communists. He manipulated the American public's fear of communism for his own political purposes (up to this point, his career in the U.S. Senate had been relatively uneventful). He made false accusations and claims to convince Americans that a massive communist conspiracy threatened to take over the country; he warned them that they would lose their democratic way of life. The term "McCarthyism" came into use by 1950 and is still in use in the twenty-first century. It is used to describe a political attitude of intolerance or hostility toward potentially subversive groups. In the 1950s, McCarthyism was characterized by slander, false public accusations that damage the reputations of those accused.

Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1946, McCarthy had led the voters to believe he flew dive-bombers in World War II and that he had been wounded in action. McCarthy had been in the Marine Corps but held a desk job as an intelligence officer. At that time, McCarthy went along as an observer on flights that held no danger and rode in the "tail gunner" (back) section. However, he made sure he was photographed sitting behind the aircraft's guns; he later used the photographs in his election campaign. His only injury during the war came onboard a ship when he missed a rung of a ladder during a party and broke his foot.

McCarthy was a weak senator for Wisconsin. In fact, he had developed a reputation as a troublemaker. He was up for reelection in 1952 but had little support from his state. Searching for an attention-grabbing issue, McCarthy decided to play on America's fear of communism. McCarthy made his famous kickoff speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, before the Women's Republican Club. He claimed the U.S. State Department was full of Communist Party members or those loyal to the communists. He dramatically held up a list that he claimed contained 205 names of State Department communists. (Sometime later, it was discovered that the list had been his laundry list.) McCarthy refused to reveal his sources and gave only a few names from the alleged list of 205. No one he named was ever proved guilty. However, he had struck a chord with the public with his strong stand against communism. Money poured in (and went to his personal bank account), and he received support letters from around the country.

McCarthy's strategy was attack followed by avoidance. He attacked by casting doubt on a person's political loyalties, forcing accused individuals to defend themselves publicly; then he avoided producing any real evidence. Yet he stayed on the attack by suggesting that anyone who criticized his tactics must be a communist. HUAC energetically investigated all those McCarthy named as suspects. Among those McCarthy attacked were Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas (1892–1968) of Illinois; Senator Millard Tydings (1890–1961) of Maryland; Secretary of Defense George C. Marshall (1880–1959), a retired army general; and even President Truman himself. McCarthy's talent lay in at-



**U.S. senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, who made it his life's work to root out supposed communists in the United States.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

tacking in such a way that he repeatedly grabbed headlines. He became the center of Red Scare hysteria.

McCarthy was reelected to his senate seat in 1952. After Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61) was elected president in 1952, McCarthy was assigned to the unimportant Government Operations Committee; Eisenhower and other Republicans hoped that would keep him out of the spotlight. But McCarthy turned the insignificant position into something grander. He established the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, hired a bright young lawyer named Roy Cohn (1927–1986), and went after the State Department again. The subcommittee became known as the “McCarthy Committee.” He almost destroyed the Voice of America, a broadcasting service that transmitted its democratic message to over eighty countries; McCarthy claimed that a communist plot within the State Department was influencing the programming. The McCarthy Committee also turned its attention to libraries, demanding that any book that seemed to support communism be burned. President Eisenhower, incensed by McCarthy’s actions, nevertheless avoided public confrontations with him because of the strong support he enjoyed from the conservative wing of the party. Rampaging on, McCarthy planned to investigate the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) but was not successful because the CIA would not cooperate with the hearings. Criticism of McCarthy began to rise in 1953. Famous television journalist Edward R. Murrow (1908–1965) convincingly contended that McCarthy was exploiting America’s fears and intimidating countless honest U.S. citizens, causing viewers to change their minds about McCarthy. Finally, McCarthy pushed too far: He declared that the U.S. Army’s base at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, harbored a communist spy ring. No evidence was found. Ultimately, in the spring of 1954, army lawyer Joseph N. Welch (1890–1960) was able to bring McCarthy’s long stream of unjustified attacks to an end by publicly exposing the lack of evidence behind his claims.

The Senate voted to censure, or officially reprimand, McCarthy, recognizing that his behavior from 1950 to 1954 had been highly dishonorable. While still in office, McCarthy died of an inflamed liver on May 2, 1957, at the age of forty-eight.

## A Visit to the China Shop



An editorial cartoon depicts U.S. senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin as a bull in a CIA china shop, with President Dwight D. Eisenhower and CIA director Allen Dulles hiding from the man who spent much of his Senate career accusing prominent Americans of being communists. *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



## The “Great Terror” of Stalin

The Red Scare and McCarthyism shook the foundation of individual liberties in America. Yet these troubles paled in comparison to what people in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe endured under the rule of Soviet Communist Party leader Joseph Stalin. Stalin took control of the Soviet Union in 1924. To him, freethinking was intolerably threatening. He demanded that the people under his rule conform to the uniform thinking of the Communist Party, which Stalin alone dictated. Dissent, or public disagreement, was never allowed. Any dissenting person would be rooted out and most likely executed or, at the very least, sent to a labor camp, where the person would have to endure hard work under difficult conditions. When appointing officials, no matter how essential they were to the working of the party, Stalin considered no qualities or qualifications other than complete loyalty to him alone.

Violence defined the period of Stalin’s reign. Beginning in 1929 through 1933 and resuming in 1937 until his death in 1953, Stalin directed purges that killed millions and sent many more millions to isolated, harsh labor camps. The purges were known as Stalin’s “Great Terror.” In the early 1930s, most of the people who had planned the 1917 revolution in Russia (the Bolsheviks) were killed for reasons no one but Stalin understood. In fact, most of those extinguished in the purges were supporters of Stalin, but Stalin devised elaborate false accusations, then extracted confessions to the false charges with threats of torture. The accused would be cruelly beaten, jailed in extremely hot and/or extremely cold cells, and threatened with the execution of their wives and children. When tried at Stalin’s “show trials,” most of the accused people were sentenced to death. A show trial occurs when an accused person is put on trial in a court of law but not given a chance to challenge the charges against him or her. The outcome is often determined beforehand, based on political factors rather than legal ones. Those who received prison sentences were, in fact, usually executed without delay. About fifty show trials occurred during Stalin’s Great Terror. Yet millions of men, women, and children disappeared, going either to their deaths or to the labor camps.

By late 1938, roughly eight million were in the labor camps and one million in prison (based on the known capac-

ity of the prisons and the fact that those prisons were overcrowded). Approximately two million died in the labor camps in 1937 and 1938. Political prisoners—also called “enemies of the people” or “politicals”—were mixed in with criminals. The millions of slave laborers in the labor camp system, which was known as the Gulag, became a necessary part of the Soviet economy. They worked always under inhumane conditions, erecting industrial and mining facilities, building and maintaining camps, manufacturing camp necessities, mining, lumbering, and doing various government projects.

By 1948, the communist governments in Eastern Europe were tightly controlled by Moscow. Stalin imposed absolute authority over the Soviet satellite countries, except Yugoslavia, which was under the leadership of Josip Tito (1892–1980). Between 1948 and Stalin’s death in 1953, harsh treatment and threats of violence kept the people obedient to Stalin. He ordered more show trials in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Roughly 150,000 Czech citizens became political prisoners.

In 1946, Stalin had launched a campaign against several film and theater people who he said went beyond the bounds set by the Communist Party. In early 1949, he followed up this campaign with a terrifying move against the often free-thinking Leningraders: Over two hundred were implicated in anti-Soviet activity aimed at undermining the Soviet Central Committee, which oversees the day-to-day activities of the Soviet Communist Party. The charges were made up to suit Stalin. All the accused people were shot in Leningrad. The massacre was followed by more violence, this time against acquaintances of the people just executed. The purges were bizarre—no real threats were being made against Stalin. The Soviet Union had recovered amazingly well from World War II, and there was strong stable support of Stalin. Yet Stalin turned to coercion and violence, as he had for the past quarter of a century. Stalin’s pattern was apparently the only style of governing he knew.

After the Leningrad purge, Stalin concentrated on what he called “cosmopolitanism” or anti-Soviet foreign influence. He looked with suspicion on the Jews in the Soviet Union because most had relatives living in other countries. He contended that anti-Soviet foreign influence no doubt

**Soviet leader Joseph Stalin.**

*Reproduced by permission of  
AP/Wide World Photos.*



flowed through the Jewish community. A number of prominent Jews, mostly Yiddish-language writers, were arrested and shot. Just before his death, Stalin imagined yet another plot against his government, the “doctors’ plot.” In January 1953, nine Moscow doctors, most of them Jews, were arrested and charged with scheming to kill Soviet leaders. In February, twenty-eight more doctors and their wives were arrested, imprisoned, and tortured. A show trial was under way

when Stalin suffered a fatal stroke on March 1 and died March 5, 1953. The “doctors’ plot” trial immediately ceased.

It was widely accepted in Russia at the beginning of the twenty-first century that at least twenty million died during Stalin’s reign. The total number of people who were “repressed” (which included death and exile) was approximately forty million, roughly half from 1929 to 1933 and the other half from 1937 to 1953.

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## Espionage in the Cold War

6

**“E**spionage is a very serious matter for some, a deadly serious business. It violates international law and normal codes of civilized conduct, and yet it is virtually universal [everywhere] because it is considered a matter of vital national importance to states [countries]. Espionage generates its own rules.” This is how Soviet affairs expert and former U.S. State Department official Raymond L. Garthoff describes the espionage game in his book *A Journey through the Cold War*.

Espionage, or more simply, spying, is the gathering and analyzing of information about enemies or potential enemies. The acquired information is called intelligence. Hence, agencies that gather such information are called intelligence-gathering agencies. Counterintelligence or counterespionage involves protecting a country and its agencies from spy activities carried out by enemies. The counterintelligence departments of intelligence agencies are always on the lookout for moles. Moles are double agents who betray the agency they work for. Quietly they funnel top-secret information to the enemy. For example, if an agent employed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was also secretly steal-





## Words to Know

**Capitalism:** An economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention.

**Central Intelligence Agency (CIA):** A U.S. agency that gathers and interprets the meaning of information on foreign activities; it also carries out secret foreign operations.

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected

by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Counterintelligence:** Protection of a country and its agencies from spy activities carried out by enemies.

**Espionage:** Spying; the gathering and analyzing of information about enemies or potential enemies.

**Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI):** The law enforcement agency of the U.S. Justice Department.

**GRU:** The Soviet military intelligence agency.

ing U.S. military documents and passing them to Soviet intelligence agents, he or she would be considered a mole.

Spying is considered one of the oldest professions, dating to biblical times. Historically it involved daring, adventure-seeking individuals who spied on nearby enemies, then informed their leaders of enemy activity. Large spy operations did not exist. In the United States, intelligence-gathering occurred as early as the American Revolution (1775–83) and during the Civil War (1861–65). Yet even by the beginning of the twentieth century, the only important intelligence operations were located on the European continent. There, as few as a thousand spies collected military intelligence on neighboring countries. With the advent of World War I (1914–18),

**Intelligence:** Information gathered through espionage activities.

**KGB:** The Soviet state security organization, 1917–2000. The KGB carried out thousands of murders under Soviet premier Joseph Stalin and was the most powerful Soviet intelligence agency. It handled all espionage operations, both foreign and domestic.

**Military Intelligence, Department 5 (MI-5):** Great Britain's counterintelligence agency; responsible for national security within that country's borders. Throughout the Cold War, it concentrated on Soviet spy networks operating inside Britain.

**Military Intelligence, Department 6 (MI-6):** Agency in Great Britain responsible for gathering intelligence worldwide;

the British equivalent of the United States' CIA.

**Moles:** Double agents who betray the agency for whom they work.

**National Security Agency (NSA):** The United States' prime intelligence organization that listens to and analyzes foreign communications.

**Reconnaissance:** The act of surveying an area to gain information.

**U-2:** A U.S. espionage aircraft with a wingspan of 80 feet and a length of 50 feet that carried cameras capable of photographing a 120-mile-wide area.

**VENONA:** The code name for a program conducted by the U.S. Army's Signals Intelligence Service in 1943 to collect and break the cipher-coded messages of the Soviet KGB and GRU.

intelligence-gathering grew in importance. Code breaking, spy rings (a group of spies working together to achieve their goal), and espionage organizations supported by various governments became essential in guiding policies and strategies during the 1930s and during World War II (1939–45).

At the end of World War II, intelligence and counter-intelligence organizations expanded rapidly. This expansion coincided with the beginning of the Cold War. The Cold War was a prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats. In the two world wars, armies fought on battle-



## People to Know

**Anthony F. Blunt (1907–1983):** One of the KGB's famed Cambridge Spies.

**Guy Burgess (1910–1963):** One of the KGB's famed Cambridge Spies.

**Winston Churchill (1874–1965):** British prime minister, 1940–45, 1951–55.

**Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969):** Thirty-fourth U.S. president, 1953–61.

**Klaus Fuchs (1911–1988):** British scientist who worked on the U.S. Manhattan Project and began passing detailed notes to the Soviets about the work being done on the development of a nuclear bomb.

**Nikita S. Khrushchev (1894–1971):** Soviet premier, 1958–64.

**Donald Maclean (1913–1983):** One of the KGB's famed Cambridge Spies.

**Kim Philby (1911–1988):** One of the KGB's famed Cambridge Spies.

**Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945):** Thirty-second U.S. president, 1933–45.

**Joseph Stalin (1879–1953):** Dictatorial Russian/Soviet leader, 1924–53.

**Harry S. Truman (1884–1972):** Thirty-third U.S. president, 1945–53.

fields and oceans and in the sky, in plain sight of one another. In the Cold War, there was no established war zone, only regional flare-ups. Governments used spies who operated in the shadows to intercept enemy communications and learn about weapons strength, military movements, and potential targets. Putting all the information together, intelligence agencies attempted to determine immediate and future threats.

The United States and the Soviet Union emerged from World War II as the world's superpowers. Behind their suspicion of each other lay unresolvable differences in political and economic philosophy. The United States operates under a democratic form of government and has a capitalist economy. In a democratic government, leaders are elected by a vote of the general population. In a capitalist economy, property and businesses are privately owned and are operated with relatively little government interference. U.S. citizens are guaranteed personal liberties such as freedom of speech and freedom to worship. The Soviet Union operated under a communist government. In a communist government, a single political party, the Communist Party, controls nearly all aspects of society. Leaders are selected by top party members. Private ownership of property and business is not allowed. Instead the government directs all economic

production. The goods produced and wealth accumulated are, in theory, shared equally by all. Citizens are not guaranteed personal liberties, and religious practices are not tolerated.

The United States and its Western European allies greatly feared the spread of communism. They assumed that without





constant alertness, their democracies might give in to communist rule. Likewise, the Soviet Union feared that the capitalist nations wanted nothing more than to bring about the downfall of communism. Leaders from each nation deemed it necessary to know ahead of time what the other nation was plotting against them. Fear heightened in the United States during the late 1940s when Soviet espionage activities were discovered within the United States and Great Britain's borders. All around the world, espionage agencies were created to protect their respective nations through intelligence-gathering.

**FBI director J. Edgar Hoover points to a map that shows the location of the bureau's agents.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

## Espionage agencies

### United States

In the United States, responsibility for gathering intelligence and carrying out spy operations, often called covert operations, in foreign countries fell to the CIA. Presi-

An FBI poster signed by director J. Edgar Hoover warns civilians against spies and saboteurs. *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

# **WARNING** from the **FBI**

**The war against spies and saboteurs demands the aid of every American.**

**When you see evidence of sabotage, notify the Federal Bureau of Investigation at once.**

**When you suspect the presence of enemy agents, tell it to the FBI.**

**Beware of those who spread enemy propaganda! Don't repeat vicious rumors or vicious whispers.**

**Tell it to the FBI!**



*J. Edgar Hoover*  
**J. Edgar Hoover, Director**  
**Federal Bureau of Investigation**

**The nearest Federal Bureau of Investigation office is listed on page one of your telephone directory.**

dent Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53) disbanded the U.S. wartime military intelligence agency, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) at the end of World War II. In July 1947, Congress passed the National Security Act, creating the CIA. The CIA reported national security information to the National Security Council (NSC), a newly created group in the executive branch of government. The NSC consisted of the president and the secretaries of state, defense, army,

navy, and air force. In 1961, the CIA moved into its new headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) originated as the Bureau of Investigation under the Department of Justice in 1908. J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972) took over the Bureau of Investigation in 1924 and created a force of rigorously trained agents. The bureau adopted its current name on July 1, 1932. After World War II, Hoover's FBI concentrated on protecting the United States from Soviet espionage within America's borders. The FBI dogged the American Communist Party and kept files on any American believed to have ties to the Communist Party or believed to be subversive, or have rebellious tendencies, toward the U.S. government.

The National Security Agency (NSA) was established in 1952 by a presidential directive. The forerunner of the NSA was the U.S. Army Signals Intelligence Service, which broke the Japanese military codes in World War II and thereby shortened the war. The NSA's role was to protect U.S. communications by creating code systems called ciphers or cryptosystems; it also broke enemy cryptosystems. NSA employees were known as the codemakers and codebreakers of the intelligence community.

In addition to the CIA, FBI, and NSA, the United States has an intelligence-gathering organization within each of the military services. Army Intelligence, Air Force Intelligence, Navy Intelligence, and Marine Corps Intelligence all are part of the U.S. intelligence community.

## **Great Britain**

The Military Intelligence, Department 5 (MI-5) is Britain's counterintelligence agency. Established in 1909, MI-5 is responsible for national security within Great Britain's borders. Throughout the Cold War, it concentrated on Soviet spy networks operating inside Britain.

The Military Intelligence, Department 6 (MI-6) is the British equivalent of America's CIA. MI-6 gathers intelligence worldwide and is involved in all types of espionage against foreign enemies. The MI-6 grew out of the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) established in 1911.

## Soviet Union

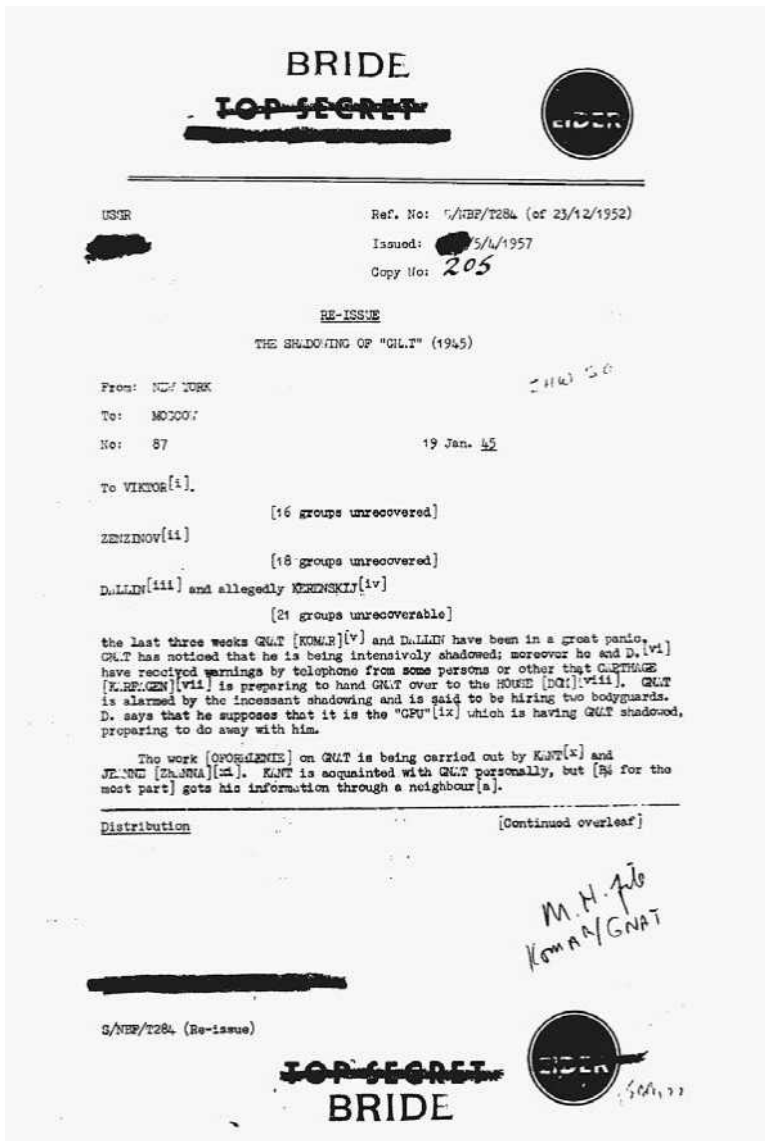
From 1917 to 2000, the Soviet Union had two intelligence agencies: the KGB and the GRU. The KGB (the initials for the Russian translation of the Committee for State Security) was formed in December 1917 during the Bolshevik Revolution; it was originally called Cheka (see Chapter 1, Origins of the Cold War).

Cheka underwent numerous name changes until March 1954, when it took its final name, the KGB. Because of the many name changes, the term “KGB” is used generically to refer to the Soviet state security organization since its formation in 1917. The most dreaded of all intelligence organizations, the KGB carried out thousands of ruthless murders under Soviet premier Joseph Stalin (1879–1953). The KGB was the most powerful Soviet intelligence agency. It handled all espionage operations, both foreign and domestic. In 2000, the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, the SVR, replaced the KGB.

The Soviet military intelligence agency was the GRU (the initials for the Russian translation of the Chief Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff of the Red Army). The GRU was formed in 1920. At times during the twentieth century, the Soviet military spies created their own espionage network apart from the KGB; at other times, the GRU found itself subordinate to the KGB. The GRU remained relatively intact in 2000.

## VENONA

In 1995, four years after the end of the Cold War, the NSA broke a fifty-year silence on the VENONA project. VENONA documents were released for the general public to study. VENONA is the code name for a program conducted by the U.S. Army’s Signals Intelligence Service in 1943 to collect and break the cipher-coded messages of the Soviet KGB and GRU. Cipher is a type of code system in which different letters or symbols replace the ordinary letters used to spell a word. Codebreakers who attempted to figure out the cipher were called cryptanalysts. (The prefix *crypt-* means hidden.) The VENONA documents revealed that by 1946 cryptanalysts had begun to succeed in deciphering the KGB and GRU mes-



A decoded message from 1945 regarding a Soviet defector, intercepted through the VENONA project. Courtesy of the National Security Agency Archives.

sages intercepted by the Signals Intelligence Service in 1944 and 1945. Two communist defectors greatly aided this effort. (A defector is someone who renounces and leaves his or her native country.)

On September 5, 1945, Igor Gouzenko (1922–1985), a Russian GRU cipher clerk working at the Soviet embassy in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, defected to Canada. He left the embassy with over one hundred documents stuffed in his



## Decipher a Message

A cipher message is written with letters or symbols that replace only one letter of a word at a time. For example, “bab” might stand for the letter *s*; “tzy” might be the letter *a*. Hundreds of thousands of combinations are possible. An encrypted message is written in cipher rather than in plain text in order to conceal its meaning. (The prefix *crypt-* means hidden.) In World War II, the Germans used an electronic cipher machine called an Enigma to send messages. The Enigma looked like a typewriter, but when a letter key was hit, the machine automatically printed a cipher for the regular letter. During the war, U.S. intelligence agencies encrypted their messages to agents. A codebreaker was someone who used cryptanalysis to decode such messages.

Cold War spies carried tiny codebooks or “keylists” for deciphering messages. The books could be quickly disposed of in an emergency, even if it meant swallowing each tiny page. Below is an encrypted message and the key. Figure out the message.

Message: “cdexyzabcrstfghxyz, lmnzabijkopquvwyab rstfghxyz fghrstfghxyzmstqub rstyab lmnzabxyzqub yabxyzxyztoo.”

Keylist: a = rst; b = cde; e = xyz; g = uvw; h = zab; i = ijk; l = mst; m = too; n = opq; r = fgh; s = yab; t = lmn; w = abc; y = qub.

Answer: “Beware, things are rarely as they seem.”

shirt. Gouzenko’s documents and his debriefing (interviews with him) yielded intelligence on Soviet cipher systems. Gouzenko also revealed names of individuals spying for the Soviets, in Canada and in the United States. Then, on November 7, Elizabeth Terrill Bentley (1908–1963), an American communist, defected to the FBI. Bentley had joined the Communist Party USA in 1938 and fallen in love with Jacob Golos, who was involved with Soviet intelligence. Golos trained her in the tricks and techniques of espionage. She then operated as a courier, or messenger, in various Soviet espionage networks in the United States. Bentley had become disenchanted with communism, and upon defection she implicated over one hundred people as spies for the Soviet Union. Many were employed in the U.S. government.

In 1946, with clues provided by Gouzenko and Bentley, Meredith Gardner (1913–2002), a brilliant cryptanalyst,

began to crack a few Soviet cipher messages, including one that mentioned the atomic bomb. In October 1948, Gardner, who was employed by the U.S. Army Security Agency, began working with FBI special agent and Soviet expert Robert Lamphere (1918–2002). With continued help from Gouzenko, Gardner and Lamphere began to uncover a large number of Soviet espionage cases. The successes of VENONA alerted American, British, and Canadian leaders that Soviet espionage activities were being carried out within their borders. Between 1948 and 1951, a number of KGB agents were exposed. Intelligence gleaned from the messages unmasked the “Atomic Spies” and the “Cambridge Spies” and cast suspicion on the loyalties of Alger Hiss (1904–1996), who had left his position in the U.S. State Department in 1946 and subsequently been named as a communist sympathizer (see Chapter 5, Homeland Insecurities).

## **Atomic bombs and the Atomic Spies**

The United States developed the world’s first atomic bombs by mid-1945 through a concentrated top-secret project known as the Manhattan Project. The project brought together scientists from all around the nation. Also included were British and Canadian scientists, and German scientists who had escaped to the United States from Germany during World War II. They came to Los Alamos, New Mexico, in 1943 with the goal of making an atomic bomb. The two atomic bombs put together at Los Alamos were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, in August 1945.

Experts estimated that the Soviet Union was years behind the United States in atomic weapons development, and they predicted that the Soviets would not have the bomb until 1953 or 1954. Ominously, on September 3, 1949, a U.S. Air Force WB-29 weather reconnaissance aircraft flying a mission from Japan to Alaska detected high amounts of radiation in the atmosphere. The radiation was from an atomic bomb that the Soviet Union had successfully tested only a few days before, on August 29. Curiously, further study showed it was precisely the type of bomb that the United States had tested in New Mexico in mid-1945. With the Cold War raging, the implications were enormous: Now both the



## Tradecraft

Tradecraft is the word spies use to refer to the tricks and techniques they use in their covert, or secret, operations. Although the advanced technology of satellites plays an integral part in espionage, human spies must still provide documents and samplings and use their judgment while conducting on-site sleuthing and when interpreting information.

Tradecraft remains just as important as it was in the twentieth century. Tricks and techniques are often handed down from one generation of spies to the next. For example, the “dead drop” used throughout Cold War spy operations was still in use in the twenty-first century. An inconspicuous signal, such as a piece of masking tape on a telephone pole or a certain type of soft drink can sitting on a rock, signaled that materials could be dropped for quick pickup or that a payment was waiting to be retrieved. Spies always received specific instructions about the dead drop site and a map with the most efficient way in and out of an area.

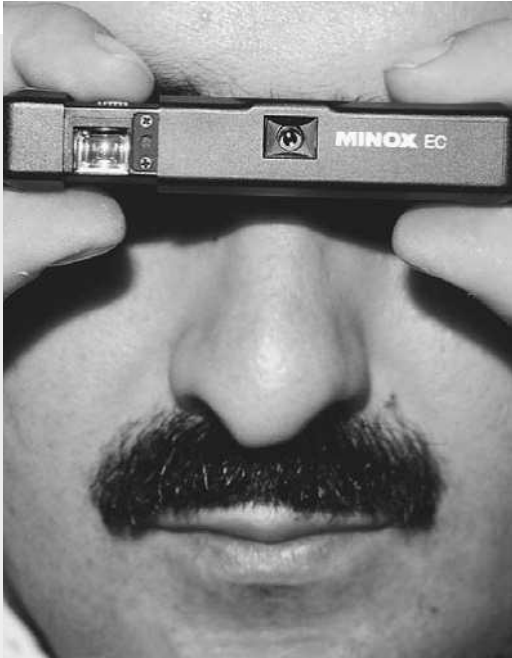
### Tradecraft tools

- Lock picks: in the hands of an expert, a key ring holding several lock picks provided a swift entry through any door.
- Cameras: located in cigarette cases, purses, buttons, and watches. Spies in the 1990s sometimes wore a pair of ordinary-looking sunglasses with a tiny camera on the rim. The camera could be activated by a certain eye blink sequence.
- Radio transmitters: located in shoe heels, a false tooth, or a watch.
- Message carriers: hollow coins, shoe heels, shaving cans, hollow nails and bolts, umbrella handles, cuff links.
- Hidden weapons: knives and bullet-firing devices, located in lipstick holders, pipes, cigarettes, rings, umbrellas, or flashlights. When activated, a knife concealed in a shoe sole could pop out and make a spy’s kick extremely dangerous.

United States and the Soviet Union had an atomic bomb; either country could devastate the other, but in doing so would risk an equally devastating retaliation. American scientists and the U.S. military quickly revised their predictions, stating that the Soviets would have several hundred atomic weapons by 1954. Yet they were puzzled by how fast the Soviet Union had developed its first bomb.

In August 1949, Lamphere alerted the British government and MI-6 that a British scientist had most likely passed





A miniature camera, one of the tools used by spies. Photograph by Jeffrey L. Rotman. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.

- Messages: could be written in code, invisible ink (made visible with ultraviolet flashlights), or tiny microdots no bigger than a period at the end of a sentence.
- Listening devices: a “bug” in telephones, an audio surveillance device to allow eavesdropping on telephone

conversations, tiny microphones placed in walls to eavesdrop on conversations.

- For the spy on the run: disguise kit with sunglasses, cigar, nose, wig, makeup; escape kits with compass, maps, flashlight, candles, a lighter (for warmth), escape knives, rubber gloves, chisels, and lock picks.
- The ultimate tradecraft tool: the “James Bond” spy car from the 1964 movie *Goldfinger*. The car, an Aston Martin, was fully loaded with machine guns, tire shredders, armor plating, and rotating tires. Although specifics are top-secret, the official vehicle for the U.S. president reportedly has some Bond-type protective features.

Learn more about tools of the trade at the International Spy Museum in Washington, D.C., or visit the Web site at <http://www.spymuseum.org>.

information about the development of the atomic bomb to the Soviets. Later, around the same time that the United States was investigating the suspicious radiation in the atmosphere, Lamphere was deciphering VENONA messages and uncovering information about Klaus Fuchs (1911–1988). Soon, Lamphere discovered that Fuchs was the suspected British scientist acting as a spy.

Born in Germany in 1911, Fuchs left his homeland in the mid-1930s for England. There, he found he could freely



**FBI assistant director Hugh Clegg (left) and special agent Robert Lamphere return to the United States after spending two weeks questioning convicted atomic spy Klaus Fuchs in England in 1950.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

express his communist views. Communism appeared to him to be the answer to the world's problems. Fuchs finished a doctoral degree in physics and became a British citizen. By spring 1941, he was working on the "Tube Alloys" program, the British atomic bomb research project. In 1943, along with several other British scientists, he was transferred to Columbia University in New York City to work on the Manhattan Project. Soon, Fuchs was on his way to Los Alamos. A serious, intense researcher, Fuchs was never suspected to be passing detailed notes to a courier for the Soviets, Harry Gold (c. 1911–1972). Fuchs's notes answered specific questions from Soviet scientists on the methods of processing uranium and plutonium, the elements used in atomic bomb production. By the time the FBI confronted Fuchs with proof of his espionage activities, he was back in England. Fuchs confessed in January 1950 and was sentenced to fourteen years in prison. The Fuchs case revealed that the Soviets had penetrated deep into the Manhattan Project. The information the Soviets got from Fuchs and other "atomic spies" speeded up the development of the Soviet bomb by a few years.

From a photograph, Fuchs identified Gold as his courier. Gold, an American, was the son of poor Russian Jewish immigrants and was interested in the communist movement. Gold began espionage activities for the Soviets in 1935. Trained as a chemist, he began stealing industrial secrets from the Pennsylvania Sugar Company, where he worked. Arrested in 1950, Gold provided information to the FBI about other "atomic spies."

More intelligence from newly deciphered VENONA intercepts, combined with Gold's information, led to David



**Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, who supplied information about the Manhattan Project to the Soviet Union and who were sentenced to death for conspiracy to commit espionage.**

*Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

Greenglass (1922–). Greenglass was a highly skilled U.S. Army machinist, a type of tradesman much in demand at Los Alamos. Greenglass was sent to Los Alamos in 1943; apparently the fact that he and his wife, Ruth Greenglass (1925–), had joined the Young Communist League earlier in 1943 had not come forth. Until Ruth visited Los Alamos and informed him, Greenglass had no idea that the goal of the Manhattan Project was to develop an atomic bomb. His lack of knowledge was not unusual; very few of the thousands of workers involved in the project knew its ultimate objective. Ruth had received the information through David's sister, Ethel Rosenberg (1915–1953), and Ethel's husband, Julius Rosenberg (1918–1953).

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, both natives of New York City, shared an active interest in politics. By 1942, they were full members of the American Communist Party. Julius soon pursued espionage activities. As David Greenglass confirmed in his June 1950 confession, the espionage soon became a family affair: Julius recruited David to supply information

from Los Alamos. Besides atomic secrets, David provided scientific and technical information about the aircraft that would carry the bombs and about early work on spy satellites. Apparently Ethel typed many of the notes received from David before Julius passed the notes on to the KGB. For his part in the spy ring, David Greenglass was given a light sentence—ten years—because he provided the FBI with information about the Rosenbergs, his sister and brother-in-law. Also in exchange for his confession, Ruth was given immunity from prosecution.

The Rosenbergs were arrested in the summer of 1950, and in 1951 they were found guilty of conspiracy to commit espionage. Julius and Ethel staunchly proclaimed their innocence. They were both sentenced to die in the electric chair, a sentence carried out in 1953 at Sing Sing Prison in Ossining, New York. Many Americans believed that the Rosenbergs did not get a fair trial and that the sentence was much too harsh. Public protests against the executions sprang up around the country. However, information declassified, or made public, by the Russians in the 1990s confirmed that Julius had indeed passed Manhattan Project secrets to the Soviets.

## The Cambridge Spies

In 1949, VENONA intercepts also uncovered the possibility that information had been transferred to the Soviets in 1944 and 1945 by a source in the British embassy in Washington, D.C. The spy's code name was Homer. Eventually Homer was identified as Donald Maclean (1913–1983), one of the four Cambridge Spies. The Cambridge Spies affected the course of World War II, aided Stalin's postwar dealings with British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) and American presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) and Harry S. Truman, and influenced the preparation of Soviet military strategies (including nuclear strategies) in the early years of the Cold War. There has probably never been a more successful spy ring in the history of espionage. Eventually they were all unmasked, but not one was caught. They were lucky, smart, determined idealists, those who put perfect ideas ahead of practical considerations. Except for Kim Philby (1911–1988), who accepted one pay-



## Shadow, Ninja, Cloak, and Dagger

Espionage, or spying, involves gathering, analyzing, and communicating secret information, or as it is called in spy jargon, intelligence. The profession of spying has long recognized four spy types: shadow, ninja, cloak, and dagger. The shadow spy quietly collects information, generally at a distance from the action. Eavesdropping, tape recording, photography, film developing, and deciphering coded messages are part of shadow spying. Patience and perseverance are required. Shadow spies fit pieces of information together to understand and predict the plans and activities of foreign governments, intelligence agencies, and specific individuals.

Ninjas know no barriers. Seemingly invisible, with the slyness of a cat, ninjas move in and out of buildings without keys, find entrances into forbidden places, or slip in and out of personal relationships. Once they have collected the information they need, they move on. Vanishing into thin air is their specialty.

The cloak spy operates with an air of sophistication. The cloak spy is a smooth talker, self-assured, witty, and charming.

Never one to stay in the shadows, this extrovert communicates easily and often is the most likable person in a group. He or she can glean information from a conversation without ever drawing suspicion. The cloak spy is sometimes in disguise. Simple sunglasses might be adequate, but cloak spies on the run can drastically change their physical appearance with makeup, false noses, false eyebrows, wigs, and clothes. A cloak spy always uses state-of-the-art communications tools, such as tiny cameras, recorders, transmitters, radios, and cipher keylists.

Once the sleuthing is finished and the gathered information is analyzed and communicated, dagger, the spy of action, moves in. The dagger's action plan is exacting and must be carried out quickly and decisively. The dagger carries the latest in defensive weapons and escape kits. This is the spy type who makes the raid, carries out the kidnapping, destroys an enemy's communications, or sabotages infrastructures such as bridges, roads, or airports. No need for dazzle or charm—the dagger is simply trouble.

ment from the Soviets in the mid-1950s when he was in dire financial straits, none of the Cambridge Spies received money for their services. The espionage work of the Cambridge Spies spanned half a century.

The saga of the Cambridge Spies began when the KGB formed a plan in the early 1930s to penetrate the British intelligence community. For the plan, the KGB looked to re-

cruit bright young men in universities who hoped to have careers in the British government as diplomats or in the intelligence services. The KGB recruited four students from Trinity College at Cambridge University. All four knew each other at Trinity. They were Maclean, Philby, Anthony F. Blunt (1907–1983), and Guy Burgess (1910–1963).

The charming yet formal Blunt had developed a passion for communist ideology as a student. A discreet homosexual, he would eventually become the British royal family's art adviser; ironically, he was even knighted in 1956. Burgess, also a homosexual, led a rather outrageous lifestyle. Strikingly handsome, he could be charming too, but he was an alcoholic and unpredictable and frequently had to be bailed out of various indiscretions, or delicate situations. Maclean, serious and always tense, was a hard worker, but like Burgess, he drank heavily. Philby was the classic "cloak" spy—smooth, witty, self-assured. (See box.) Philby could always play the role necessary for the moment. He would serve the KGB for over fifty years.

The KGB brought the four young men along slowly in the 1930s, content to let them carry out small tasks to prove their usefulness to the Soviets. Blunt expanded his art history expertise. Maclean entered the British Foreign Service. Philby took a job as a reporter for the *London Times*.

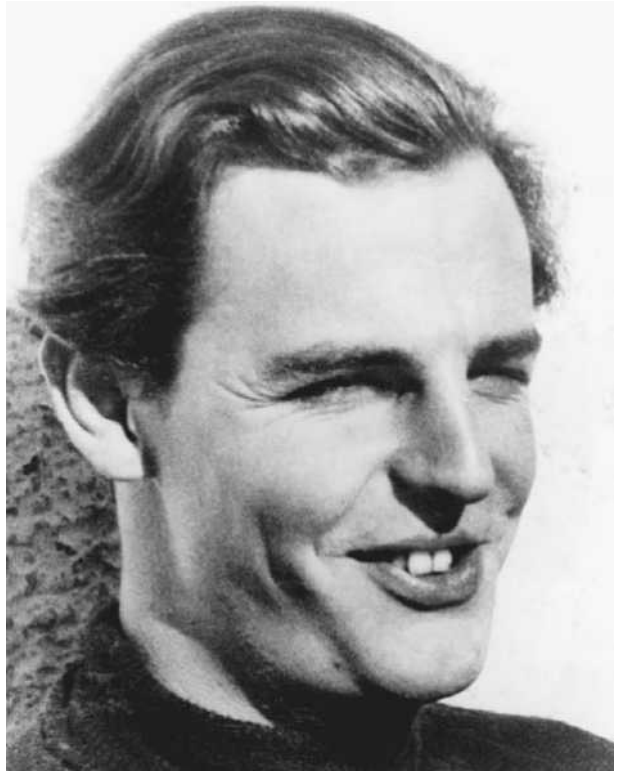
During World War II, the Cambridge Spies began their intelligence work in earnest. Burgess and Philby served as agents in MI-6, Blunt served in MI-5, and Maclean worked in foreign British embassies, including the British embassy in Washington, D.C., beginning in 1944. Philby became an expert cryptanalyst at Britain's decoding center, Bletchley Park. All perfected their skills in passing secret documents to the Soviets. Most of the documents described military strategies of the World War II allies Great Britain and the United States. Maclean became a direct source to Stalin, informing him of communications between British prime minister Churchill and U.S. presidents Roosevelt and Truman.

At the end of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War, the Cambridge Spies continued their espionage activities for the Soviets. Maclean, still at the British embassy in Washington, D.C., kept Stalin informed on how the United States and Britain planned to unite Germany. Before the

Yalta, Potsdam, and Tehran conferences, in which the leaders of Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union met to design a postwar world (see Chapter 1, Origins of the Cold War), Maclean told Stalin of the Western allies' plans. From February 1947 to September 1948, Maclean sat on the American-British-Canadian Combined Policy Committee (CPC) and on the Combined Development Trust (CDT). The purpose of the CPC and CDT was to share secrets on the development of atomic weapons. Never missing a meeting, Maclean was able to keep the Soviets up to date on British and American plans for military development of nuclear energy.

Meanwhile, Philby, an MI-6 agent, was sent to the Washington, D.C., British Foreign Office to serve as a link between MI-6 and the CIA. In this position, Philby had access to any FBI reports shared with the British. He was able to let Stalin know key U.S. strategies for the Korean War (1950–53), including the U.S. decision not to use nuclear weapons in Korea. Philby also became involved in the VENONA project. Burgess worked briefly as a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) radio broadcaster and in that post met many British politicians. He then served as secretary to the deputy British foreign minister, Hector McNeil, and was able to transmit top-secret British Foreign Office documents almost daily. He would later join Philby in Washington, D.C., as a secretary in the British Foreign Office. Blunt remained in Britain. In addition to advising the royal family on art, he recruited future Soviet agents and passed information from Philby and Burgess to the Soviets.

Burgess and Maclean gathered most of their material for the Soviets between 1939 and 1951; in 1951, they defected to the Soviet Union. Maclean may have provided the most valuable information of the four. His information covered Western foreign policy and military plans and capabilities.



**Donald Maclean, one of the Soviet Union's Cambridge Spies.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Philby, who became known as the “Master Spy” or the “Spy of the Century,” produced intelligence for the longest period of time, from 1940 to 1963. In 1963, he defected to the Soviet Union. There, he spent the rest of his life as a KGB adviser, a trainer of spies, and a lecturer on espionage. At his death in 1988, he had given almost fifty years to the Soviet Union. In Philby’s honor, the Soviet government issued a stamp with his picture on it.

Blunt, ever the English gentleman, remained in Great Britain. He was unmasked as a Soviet spy by a determined and suspicious MI-5 officer, Arthur Martin. The only way to obtain a confession was to offer Blunt immunity from prosecution. When confessing to Martin in 1964, Blunt revealed little information; all of it concerned other British moles who were dead or already known to British intelligence. He slyly managed to offer no new information. His undercover profession was not revealed to the public until 1979 by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (1925–), who stripped him of his knighthood. Blunt died quietly in England in 1983. Because of the Cambridge Spies’ long-undetected activities, the U.S. intelligence community lost faith in British intelligence for several decades.

## Ground-listening stations

Soviet premier and dictator Joseph Stalin died on March 5, 1953, but the Cold War did not come to an end. The United States and the Soviet Union were in a race for military superiority. Buildup of nuclear weapons and aircraft to carry those weapons was proceeding at full throttle in both countries; missiles were in the early stages of development. Each country was also intent on keeping track of the military activities of the other. Hence, the two superpowers intensified their espionage efforts.

The United States had allies geographically close to the Soviet Union, so U.S. intelligence was able to establish a series of ground-listening stations to monitor Soviet communications, radar signals, and Morse code messages. In May 1952, a listening station was set up in the village of Kirknewton, Scotland, near the capital city of Edinburgh. The U.S. ground stations intercepted communications dealing with the



construction of Soviet radar systems and with Soviet aircraft movement. The stations were called SIGINT (short for signals intelligence) stations. Another station was established in Great Britain at a site known as Chicksands Priory. By the mid-1950s, several sites were operational in Turkey. These sites followed Soviet naval and air activity, including early missile testing. One of the most famous listening stations was in Berlin, Germany.

## The Berlin tunnel

After World War II, Berlin had been divided into four sectors. The American, British, and French sectors were known as West Berlin, and the Soviet sector was known as East Berlin. There were no actual physical barriers between the sectors. Beneath East Berlin lay an underground junction of three major communication cables that connected the Soviet Union and East Germany. The British MI-6 came up with the bold idea of digging a tunnel from West Berlin to East Berlin for the purpose of tapping into the communication junction. America's CIA enthusiastically agreed at a London meeting. U.S. Army engineers began tunneling to a depth of 15 feet (4.6 meters) in early summer 1954. The project had to be carried out literally under the feet of East German guards and Soviet troops. The construction entrance to the tunnel had to be small so as not to attract attention, yet tons of earth had to be brought out. All the work had to be done as quietly as possible. Because the tunnel was packed with recording equipment, air-conditioning was installed to keep the ground above the tunnel from heating up. The tunnel was 300 yards (274 meters) long and 6 feet (1.8 meters) high. It was operational on February 25, 1955. Approximately six hundred tape recorders were used to record eight hundred reels of tape each day. Listening to the tapes back in Washington, D.C., were fifty CIA employees fluent in Russian and German. They eavesdropped on conversations and messages flowing between Moscow, the Soviet embassy in East Berlin, and the Soviet military headquarters near Berlin.

Unfortunately for the Western powers and unknown to the MI-6 and CIA, there had been a mole in the works

**Soviet authorities find amplifiers and other equipment used to tap their telephone lines inside the Berlin tunnel, which was constructed beginning in 1954. Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.**



from the beginning. George Blake (1922–), supposedly an MI-6 agent, was in fact spying for the KGB and had been at the London meeting when the decision to build the tunnel was made. He told the Soviets about the tunnel, so they knew about it from the very start. On April 15, 1956, the East German police staged a discovery of the tunnel, pretending it was an accidental discovery so the CIA would still think information recorded over the last year was accurate. Much of what was on the tapes was disinformation—bogus, staged information. The CIA did not realize this until Blake was discovered and arrested in 1961. Blake had not only betrayed the tunnel operation but had identified many British agents spying in the Soviet Union. He was sentenced to forty-two years in prison, one year for each of the forty-two British agents doomed by his information. Blake managed to escape from prison in 1966 and defected to Moscow. Despite the Soviets' knowledge of the tunnel, declassified CIA documents made available in 1999 indicate that the CIA did obtain more than just disinformation from the tunnel tapes.



## U-2 aircraft

Another variety of intelligence-gathering went on overhead, in the skies; it was called reconnaissance. Reconnaissance is the act of surveying an area to gain information. As early as 1948 and continuing in the 1950s, U.S. aircraft conducted photographic and electronic surveillance missions, flying as close as they could to the Soviet Union, along its borders, and occasionally venturing into Soviet airspace. On July 4, 1956, only a few months after the exposure of the Berlin tunnel, the United States began yet another daring espionage mission: development of the U-2 aircraft. It was a joint effort of the U.S. Air Force, the CIA, and the Lockheed Corporation. The U-2 had a wingspan of 80 feet (24.4 meters) and a length of 50 feet (15.2 meters); it cruised at 460 miles (740 kilometers) per hour, could fly 2,600 miles (4,183 kilometers) carrying a normal load without refueling, and carried cameras capable of photographing a 120-mile-wide (193 kilometer) area. The cockpit accommodated only one pilot. Taking espionage activities to new heights, the U-2 cruised at 68,000 to 75,000 feet (20,726 to 22,860 meters).

**The United States' U-2 reconnaissance aircraft.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



**A military photographer takes pictures while in the cockpit.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

By the early 1950s, U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61) understood how productive intelligence gathered by aircraft would be. In late 1955, he was presented with pictures taken by a U-2 flying over San Diego and pictures of one of his favorite golf courses there. They were amazingly detailed and clear. Although U.S. radar operators had been prewarned of the San Diego flight, they were unable to successfully track the aircraft. Impressed by this information, Eisenhower ordered reconnaissance flights over the Soviet Union. If the flights were detected, U-2 pilots would claim to be conducting high-altitude meteorologic studies. In truth, however, their mission was to photograph Soviet military bases, weapons stockpiles, missile launch test sites under construction, and Soviet industries. U-2s also flew reconnaissance missions over China, the Middle East, Indonesia, and other areas of interest to U.S. Cold War strategists.

The U-2 flights over the Soviet Union did not go undetected. The Soviets soon knew the U-2's speed, altitude,



## Homing Pigeons

Although espionage and the latest technology went hand in hand in the mid-twentieth century, the humble homing pigeon remained a valuable part of covert operations during that time. These small, powerful birds flew great distances and had a remarkable knack of finding their way home.

Homing pigeons were the earliest spy planes of World War II and the first satellites of the 1950s. Soldiers and spies carried the birds hidden in clothes or packs, then released them for photography or sending messages. The homing pigeons flew with small, constantly clicking cameras strapped to their chests, photographing everything in their flight path. Homing pigeons also carried messages in leg canisters. The messages were reduced to tiny dots containing microphotography. Capable of flying in any weather, homing pigeons were sent on hundreds of thousands of missions during World War I and World War II and through the 1940s and



**A soldier holds a homing pigeon during World War II. Homing pigeons were frequently used to deliver secret messages and carry cameras that continuously took reconnaissance photographs.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

1950s. An amazing 95 percent of the missions were completed, with the pigeons returning safely to their home base.

and range, but they did not know about the superb photographic abilities of the plane. The Soviets protested, but with their air defense missile systems reaching only 60,000 feet (18,288 meters), they could do little. The U-2 flights revealed Soviet missile capacity, information that helped Eisenhower in planning U.S. military strategy.

On May 1, 1960, pilot Francis Gary Powers (1929–1977) took off from Pakistan on a U-2 Soviet overflight. Tracked immediately by radar, the U-2 came over the Ural Mountains near Sverdlovsk. With their new S-75 antiaircraft

defenses, the Soviets shot down the U-2. Powers was recovered alive, along with U-2 cameras. At first, Eisenhower used the preplanned excuse—that the pilot was conducting weather studies for the United States. But presented with clear evidence to the contrary, Eisenhower admitted that it was an espionage flight. However, he refused to apologize or say there would be no further spy flights. Outraged, Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) did not participate in an upcoming U.S.-Soviet summit. Relations between the two Cold War adversaries plummeted to new lows. Powers was sentenced to ten years in prison but was released in 1962 in exchange for Soviet spy Rudolf Abel (c. 1902–1971).

The U-2 remained an important tool in U.S. intelligence-gathering. It was a U-2 that took vitally important pictures of Soviet nuclear missiles being placed in Cuba, an island 90 miles (145 kilometers) off Florida's coast. The photographs led to a chilling encounter between the United States and the Soviet Union, a standoff that brought the world to the brink of nuclear war. Without the photos, however, the United States would have been unaware of a potential danger very close to home. (See Chapter 9, Cuban Missile Crisis.)

## Human elements

By the end of the 1960s, new satellite reconnaissance systems in space would take photographs of military activity worldwide. Technological advances were rapid and produced astounding results. The U.S. CORONA project operated under the CIA and the U.S. Air Force. It was America's first imaging reconnaissance satellite program. The highly classified project spanned from 1959 to 1972, directed 145 satellite launches, and provided important intelligence for the U.S. government. Nevertheless, the human element, the human spy, remained invaluable to intelligence activities. It was the spy, the fearless mole deep within the enemy's territory, who brought back documents, made judgment calls, offered predictions, and advised leaders on foreign policy.

## Why might a person become a spy?

Espionage is rarely a career choice made in high school or college. Spies are motivated by different factors, including

patriotism, staunch political beliefs, ego, money, and failure to rise sufficiently in an intelligence agency position. Interestingly, most spies are volunteers, what the CIA calls “walk-ins.” For whatever reason, someone with access to relatively high-level information walks into the offices of the CIA, FBI, MI-5, MI-6, KGB, or GRU and offers to obtain secret information. Sometimes spies become double agents, that is, they spy not only for their home country but for the enemy as well.

## **Oleg Penkovsky**

Frequently, for any of the reasons that first motivated them to begin an espionage career, Soviet intelligence personnel working abroad suddenly “crossed over” or “turned” and began spying for the United States. One of the most valuable and prolific Soviet spies who volunteered to turn over information to the West was Oleg Penkovsky (1919–1963). Born in the Russian town of Ordzhonikidze, Penkovsky received his intelligence education at the France Military Academy from 1945 to 1948 and at the GRU’s Military Diplomatic Academy from 1949 to 1953. He had attained the rank of colonel by 1950, and from 1955 to 1956 he served admirably as a GRU agent in Ankara, Turkey, his first foreign espionage assignment. He was preparing for a new GRU assignment in India when the KGB found out his father had fought against the Bolsheviks (Communists) and for the tsar in the Russian Revolution. Penkovsky’s career still looked promising when he was designated head of the incoming class at the Military Diplomatic Academy. The head instructor job usually meant further promotion, but the KGB stepped in, and Penkovsky’s career stalled. At the same time, he had become disillusioned with the brash Soviet premier, Nikita Khrushchev, especially Khrushchev’s crude threats to dominate the world. Penkovsky decided to volunteer to the West.

After several unsuccessful attempts to indicate his willingness and ability to pass important Soviet information to the West, Penkovsky succeeded in establishing contact with Greville Wynne (1919–1990). Wynne was a representative of several British corporate industries and frequently traveled to Moscow on business. On April 6, 1961, in Moscow, Penkovsky passed his first package of information to Wynne. Two weeks later, Penkovsky headed a trade dele-



**Oleg Penkovsky reacts after receiving a death penalty sentence on May 11, 1963. He was convicted of collaborating with British intelligence. He was executed five days later.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

gation to London, where CIA and MI-6 agents were waiting to meet with him. From that time until October 12, 1962, Penkovsky provided thousands of documents and rolls of film from top-secret Soviet files. He took quantities of information out of KGB and GRU headquarters at night, photographed it at his small Moscow apartment, and then returned it the next day. He passed the material to Wynne on trips to London and Paris and in Moscow, sometimes handing over handfuls of film rolls.

Penkovsky also met clandestinely with Janet Chisholm, the wife of an MI-6 agent in Moscow. However, she was known to the KGB because of information George Blake, a Berlin mole, had provided. Penkovsky would hand boxes of candy to Chisholm, for her children, but under the candy was microfilm. Surveillance of Chisholm led to Penkovsky. By fall 1961, Penkovsky's trips out of Moscow ended, and by January 1962, he knew the KGB had him under surveillance. Nevertheless, he continued to place material in "dead drops," agreed-upon locations where his contacts could pick up the material later. On October 12, 1962, the KGB arrested Penkovsky, and he was ultimately sentenced to death.

Penkovsky's information helped Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy understand that much of Khrushchev's threatening speech was no more than bluffing. The CIA credited Penkovsky for turning over a massive amount of top-secret technical material concerning missiles, launch installations, and Soviet military theories and approaches. Penkovsky identified hundreds of KGB and GRU officers, including people stationed in Ceylon, India, Egypt, France, and Britain.



## **William Henry Whalen**

William Henry Whalen, a U.S. Army lieutenant colonel, served in the army's Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence (OACSI) after World War II. Next, he was assigned to the Joint Chiefs of Staff Joint Intelligence Objective Agency (JIOA) and worked there from July 2, 1959, until July 5, 1960. In March 1959, Colonel Sergei A. Edemski, a Soviet military official, recruited Whalen. Whalen agreed to provide Edemski with sensitive U.S. military documents in exchange for cash, and he faithfully provided the material once a month in late 1959 and early 1960. Whalen met Edemski in an Alexandria, Virginia, shopping center parking lot for the handoffs. However, Edemski left the United States in the spring of 1960. In July 1960, Whalen suffered a heart attack and never returned to active army duty. He did, however, continue to wander through the Pentagon (he was still a recognizable face and security was more lax in those days), trying to access information, until 1963, when it became obvious he was under suspicion.

Whalen was indicted in July 1966, found guilty, and sentenced to fifteen years in prison. He had provided the Soviets with an impressive array of U.S. military manuals, as well as bulletins on the army's nuclear weapons and on air defense weapons. He also provided thousands of documents related to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. A U.S. Army deputy chief of staff concluded that Whalen had considerably compromised U.S. military capabilities in the event of a war with the Soviet Union.

## **"The game"**

With the unmasking of famous moles such as the Cambridge Spies, George Blake, Oleg Penkovsky, and William Whalen, the U.S., British, Soviet, and French intelligence communities became convinced that more moles must be lurking within their agencies' counterintelligence divisions. Rampant suspicions and distrust gradually shifted the priorities of the intelligence agencies away from uncovering useful military and political intelligence. By the mid-1960s and well into the 1970s, intelligence agencies concentrated on "the game," which involved spies spying on each other (more than

they spied on foreign enemy governments). This was well illustrated within the CIA: Allen Dulles (1893–1969), director of the CIA, appointed James Jesús Angleton (1917–1987) as head of the CIA's counterintelligence staff in 1954. Under Angleton's leadership, CIA human intelligence-gathering efforts against the Soviet Union came almost to a standstill by the mid-1960s. Just as Oleg Penkovsky had done in the early 1960s, other Soviet intelligence agents attempted to volunteer as CIA informers. However, Angleton was deeply—and unreasonably—suspicious that these potential informers were actually attempting to spy further for the Soviets. These suspicions prevented the CIA from taking advantage of the Soviet spies' knowledge. The tangled espionage-counterespionage web did not begin to straighten out until Angleton's departure from the CIA in 1974.

By the mid-1970s, the CIA again focused on extracting military and government information about U.S. enemies. For example, the CIA worked with “turned” GRU agents Colonel Anatoli Nikolaevich Filatov and Aleksandr Dmitrievich Ogorodnik, both of whom provided a variety of Soviet military secrets and Soviet diplomatic reports.

## Unlikely pair of spies

Through the later 1960s and 1970s, the CIA, KGB, and GRU received an abundant amount of intelligence from U.S. and Soviet satellites orbiting Earth. From April 1975 until their arrest in January 1977, Christopher Boyce (1953–) and Andrew Daulton Lee (1952–) provided the Soviets with secrets about America's most advanced satellite programs. Boyce, a twenty-two-year-old college dropout, worked for the space technology corporation TRW in a low-paying, low-level job. However, he worked inside TRW's so-called Black Vault, monitoring top-secret communications from CIA-TRW satellites. His buddy Lee was most interested in procuring enough marijuana to satisfy his cravings. The two teamed up to make extra cash.

Beginning in mid-1975, Boyce transferred detailed information on three satellite systems, code-named Rhyolite, Argus, and Pyramider, to the KGB. Serving as courier for Boyce, Lee delivered the technical information, primarily to

the Soviet embassy in Mexico City, Mexico. Pyramider provided a means of communication for CIA agents abroad; agents relayed messages to each other on this system. The agents' names and all their communications were exposed by Boyce's deception. KGB officials were so impressed with Boyce that they offered to pay for his undergraduate and graduate school tuition so he could eventually work for the CIA or within the U.S. State Department. He could then become a KGB mole. But before Boyce could attend his first class at the University of California, Riverside, the unpredictable and careless Lee ruined their spy career by attracting the attention of the Mexican police as he dropped off a package of information. Both were arrested, tried, and convicted. Lee received life imprisonment, but was paroled in 1998; Boyce received forty years in prison, but was released in 2003. Boyce claimed that his actions stemmed from his opposition to the Vietnam War (1954–75).

## 1985: Year of the spy

The U.S. press labeled 1985 the “year of the spy.” Arrests by the FBI during that year terminated many prolific espionage careers. The first arrest came in May. Subsequently, November proved fascinating as the activities of spy after spy came to an end.

## The Walker spy ring

In the 1960s, the U.S. Navy encrypted (coded) all of their radio communications (see box). The NSA supplied the codes. Each month, the navy sent its fleet the codes for use



**Soviet spy Christopher Boyce is returned to prison after escaping in 1981. He had originally been arrested in 1977 for providing the Soviets with secrets about U.S. satellites.**  
*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

that month. The codes were in codebooks called “keylists.” To encrypt and decipher (decode) messages, cryptographic machines had to have their dials set each month according to the keylist of the month. The keylists told the navy communication specialists how to set the dials.

John A. Walker Jr. (1938–) was a watch officer for the U.S. Navy’s Atlantic Fleet submarine command based in Norfolk, Virginia. His duties included monitoring encrypted messages for the fleet’s submarines. Those submarines were stationed in various locations, from the Mediterranean Sea to the Arctic Ocean. One day in April 1968, Walker, who was experiencing family difficulties and financial problems, put a keylist in his pocket and walked out of the communications room. He drove four hours to the Soviet embassy in Washington, D.C., then burst into the embassy and demanded to see the officer in charge of security. The KGB officer paid Walker between \$1,000 and \$2,000 for that keylist and informed him they could do business again in the future. At that point, Walker asked for a regular salary—an unusual request for someone planning to work an undercover job. Though he was surprised, the KGB officer agreed to pay Walker \$500 to \$1,000 a week for the keylists. Until his retirement in August 1976, Walker continuously supplied the KGB with the keylists to a wide variety of cryptographic machines onboard the Atlantic Fleet. He then recruited a fellow navy radioman, Jerry A. Whitworth (1939–). Whitworth served between 1975 and 1983 in naval communications on the West Coast and on three different ships. All the while, he provided Walker with cryptographic materials. Walker also recruited his brother Arthur around 1980 and his own son, Michael, in late 1982. Michael had already joined the navy, and by 1984 he was stationed on the USS *Nimitz*. On the *Nimitz*, Michael had access to “burnbags,” garbage bags that contained classified messages. Michael carried the bags to the furnace and had plenty of time to rummage through them. When his father was arrested by the FBI on the night of May 19, 1985, Michael had just made a dead drop of a grocery bag full of documents from the *Nimitz*. The Walkers—John, Arthur, and Michael—and Whitworth all received prison sentences for their espionage activities. They were betrayed by John’s ex-wife Barbara, who at the time had no idea her son Michael was involved.

Soviet KGB general Boris Aleksandrovich Solomatin (1924–) was the KGB head of Anti-American operations during the Walker period of activity. According to the *Court TV's Crime Library* Web site, Solomatin called Walker the “most important” spy. He said that Walker was “the equivalent of a seat inside your Pentagon where we could read your most vital secrets.” If the United States and the Soviet Union had gone to war during the Walkers’ activity, the encryption materials would have allowed the Soviets access to all U.S. naval communications and movements.

## **Oleg Gordievsky**

Oleg Gordievsky (1938–), son of a KGB officer, was groomed from an early age for KGB service. He received his first foreign assignment in 1966. A bright and trusted KGB agent, Gordievsky was placed in charge of KGB operations in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and all of Scandinavia in 1972. The KGB did not know that Gordievsky had become highly disillusioned with the Soviets over their treatment of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

From 1972 until 1985, Gordievsky served the KGB in both London and Moscow, but during that time, he was one of the most daring types of spies, a double agent. While working as a top spy for the KGB, he also kept the British intelligence services informed of all KGB activities in Great Britain. In 1985, CIA mole Aldrich Ames (1941–) tipped the KGB about Gordievsky. Gordievsky was brought back to Moscow, but the British were able to rescue him, secretly whisking him out of Moscow and back to safety in Britain.

Gordievsky greatly aided the United States in 1985 by helping the presidential administration understand the new Soviet premier, Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–). Gordievsky told President Ronald Reagan (1911–; served 1981–89) and Reagan’s advisers that the Soviets had become very paranoid, fearing the United States might indeed start a nuclear war. He suggested they back off and moderate their language toward the Soviets. Since taking office in 1981, Reagan had consistently used brash and harsh language concerning the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, Reagan was shocked that the Soviets thought he might really start a nuclear war. Reagan called for a face-to-face summit in November 1985 to establish better relations with Gorbachev.



**Vitaly Yurchenko, the KGB officer who defected to the United States and then changed his mind three months later.** *Photograph by Doug Mills. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

## Vitaly Yurchenko

One of the strangest spy stories of 1985 began in early August when KGB officer Vitaly Yurchenko defected to the CIA at the American embassy in Rome, Italy. The defection lasted only three months. On November 2 in Washington, D.C., while dining with a CIA official, Yurchenko bolted away through the restaurant's kitchen and disappeared onto the crowded streets. (As of December 2002, the restaurant where Yurchenko bolted still served a platter of pigs' feet with a "Yurchenko Shooter," a shot of Russian vodka.) After leaving the restaurant, Yurchenko walked to the Soviet embassy on Wisconsin Avenue about a mile away. There he claimed that he had been drugged and kidnapped by the CIA and held in Fredericksburg, Virginia. On November 6, he was flown back to Moscow.

Yurchenko's strange tale about being drugged by the CIA may have saved his life; otherwise he most likely would have been executed for defecting to the United States. In reality, during his three months with the CIA, Yurchenko answered many perplexing questions and helped settle controversies concerning various persons suspected of selling information to the Soviets; he also confirmed CIA suspicions about moles located in Canada and Germany. Yurchenko's information brought about several arrests, including the arrest of Ronald Pelton, a disgruntled former NSA employee. Pelton had sold Soviet agents his recollections of classified information dating from 1980 to 1985. He was arrested on November 24, 1985.

## Larry Wu-Tai Chin

On November 22, 1985, another spy career came to an end when the FBI arrested Larry Wu-Tai Chin (1923–1986), a Chinese American mole who spied for China for decades.

Chin had uncovered intelligence for the Communist People's Republic of China (PRC) for at least thirty years. Chin began employment with the U.S. Army Liaison Mission in China in 1943. He transferred to the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) in Okinawa in 1952, to Santa Rosa, California, in 1961, and to northern Virginia in 1970. He retired from the FBIS in 1981. Reportedly, he was paid several hundred thousand dollars for his many years of funneling information to the PRC. In February 1986, Chin was convicted of espionage crimes, but he committed suicide in his prison cell before he was sentenced.

### **Jonathan Pollard**

Another November arrest was that of Jonathan Jay Pollard (1954–), who carried out intelligence activities for Israel's Defense Ministry, in its Office of Scientific Liaison (code name Lakam). This office was not just concerned with the sharing of scientific studies; it was also involved in intelligence operations.

In 1983, U.S. president Reagan had signed an agreement with Israel, a strong U.S. ally, to hand over to Israel all information the United States acquired regarding Israel's national security. However, there were limits to what the United States would share. Israel had from time to time requested information the United States refused to provide. Pollard, a civilian naval intelligence employee, provided a way for Israel to acquire documents that the United States did not want Israel to have. Although he was paid for the documents he provided, Pollard apparently was also genuinely motivated to provide the Israelis with information he believed they needed for their national security.

Between July 1984 and his arrest on November 21, 1985, he provided a large amount of raw intelligence material from the Anti-Terrorist Alert Center (ATAC) Threat Analysis Division, Naval Investigation Service, where he was a watch officer. A sampling included information on air defense systems and chemical warfare production related to Tunisia, Libya, Iraq, and Syria; Soviet shipments of arms to Arab states; and detailed information on the way the United States collects its intelligence information. Never before in U.S. intelligence history had someone stolen so much top-secret information in such a short time. U.S. officials consid-

ered all the information to be highly damaging to the U.S. intelligence community, especially the information on how the United States collects intelligence.

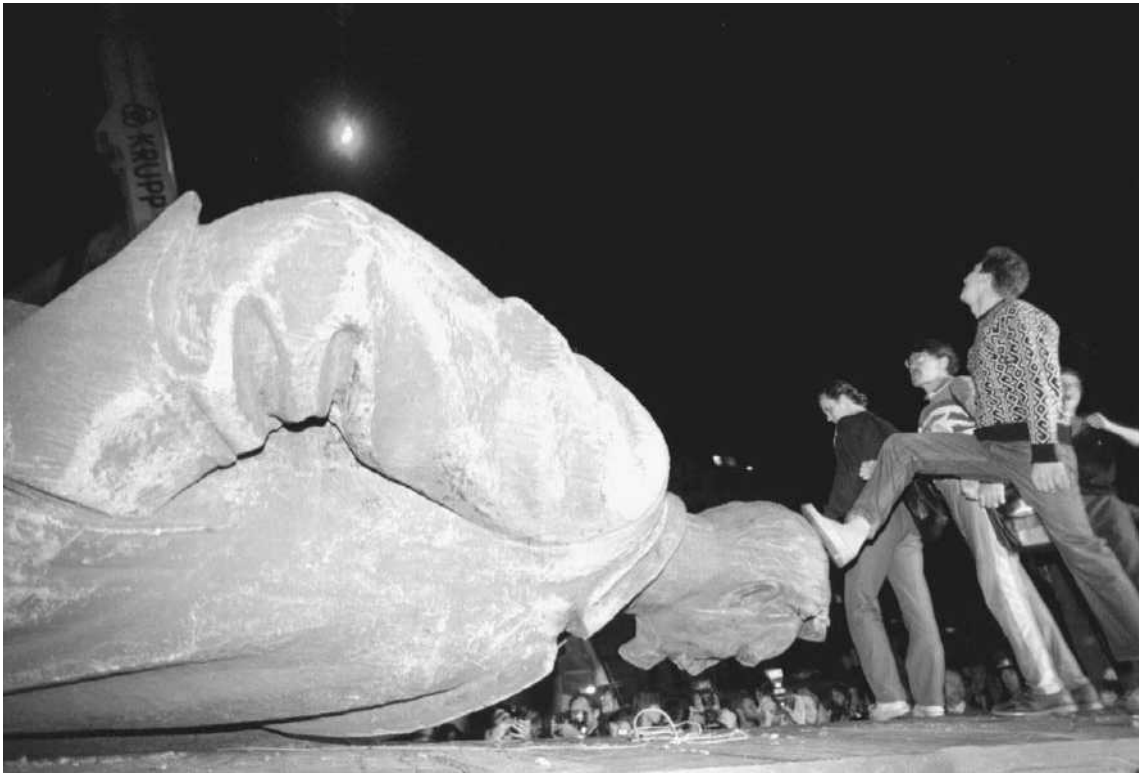
Pollard's arrest proved extremely embarrassing to the Israeli government, which quickly labeled Pollard's activities as a "rogue operation" that Israel had not controlled. In a U.S. court, Pollard received the harshest sentence possible: life in prison. By the late 1990s, there was considerable pressure from many mainstream Jewish organizations in the United States and Israel to free Pollard. The groups believed Pollard's actions had provided much-needed information to Israel. The Israeli government, supporting this point of view, officially acknowledged that Pollard was an Israeli agent and then attempted to have him released to Israel. Yet because of the highly sensitive and damaging intelligence Pollard disclosed, the United States had not acted to alter his sentence as of 2003.

## 1990 to 2001

### **A Russian coup on a statue**

On August 20, 1991, as the Cold War came to an end (see Chapter 15, End of the Cold War), tens of thousands of Moscow residents gathered around a massive 12-ton (11-metric ton) bronze statue of Feliks Dzerzhinski (1877–1926), which had stood for many, many years outside KGB headquarters. Dzerzhinski was the brutal chief of the early KGB (or Cheka, as it was then called). Shouting "Iron Felix" and "Down with the KGB," the crowd watched as two huge construction cranes removed the statue. The removal of the statue symbolically marked the end of the old KGB. By the end of 1991, reorganization of the KGB would be complete. With Soviet premier Boris Yeltsin (1931–) now in charge, the Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information (FAPSI) and the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR) were established, replacing various divisions of the KGB. FAPSI was in charge of cryptographic analysis and SIGINT communications. SVR was in charge of fighting terrorism; gathering political, economic, and scientific intelligence; and preventing drug trafficking. Russia's SVR and the United States' CIA agreed to possible cooperation in several of these areas. The GRU remained basically intact but was under new leadership.





### **Three mole arrests: Sombolay, Ames, and Hanssen**

In the United States, the intelligence community would face three highly publicized mole arrests: Albert Sombolay in March 1991, Aldrich Ames on February 23, 1994, and Robert Hanssen on February 18, 2001. Sombolay, a specialist 4th class with the Army Artillery, was stationed in Baumholden, Germany, at the start of the Persian Gulf War (1991). The U.S. goal in the Gulf War was to liberate the tiny oil-rich nation of Kuwait, which had been invaded by Iraq. Born in Zaire, Africa, Sombolay had become a U.S. citizen in 1978 and joined the U.S. Army in 1985. He was sent to Germany in December 1990. From Germany, Sombolay provided to the Jordanian embassy in nearby Brussels, Belgium, information on U.S. troop deployment, military identification cards, and information on chemical warfare. The U.S. Army Military Intelligence arrested Sombolay in March 1991. His only motive for the espionage was money.

**Jubilant Russians step on the head of the toppled statue of KGB founder Feliks Dzerzhinski in 1991.**

*Photograph by Alexander Zemlianichenko. Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

Aldrich Ames, known as Rick, was a CIA agent whose chief purpose over the years was to penetrate Soviet intelligence by recruiting foreigners to be moles for the CIA inside the Soviet Union. Instead, Ames was the most damaging mole the CIA ever suffered. In the mid-1980s, using his intimate knowledge of those spying for the United States inside the Soviet Union, he single-handedly destroyed CIA covert operations in that country. He sold to the KGB the names of twenty-four men and one woman, all Russians spying for the United States. All of them were arrested, and many of them were executed. Ames put dozens of other CIA officers in the Soviet Union at risk. For this, he was paid \$2 million, and another \$2 million was kept in Moscow for him.

Not until the early 1990s did the CIA seriously suspect and look for a mole. Assuming he would never be caught, Ames carried on with his espionage activities. By October 1992, Ames had come under increased CIA surveillance. It was not until February 1994 that the CIA felt it had enough evidence to arrest Ames and his wife, Maria del Rosario Casas. Offering full cooperation, Ames kept bargaining until his wife got only a five-year sentence and he got a life sentence without parole, rather than death. Moscow intelligence officials publicly lamented the arrest of Ames and their loss of a key information source. Ames remains a huge embarrassment to the CIA.

### **Robert Philip Hanssen**

Robert Philip Hanssen (1944–) was sworn into the FBI on January 12, 1976, and remained an FBI agent for twenty-five years. Apparently Hanssen was the exception to the rule that spies do not grow up planning to be spies. It seems Hanssen had decided to become a spy in his teen years or even earlier. From childhood through college, he subscribed to *MAD* magazine and devoured the “Spy vs. Spy” feature. Unsettled during his college years, Hanssen attended dental school for a short while before switching to Northwestern University and graduating with a master’s degree in business administration (MBA).

Hanssen married Bonnie Wauck in August 1968, and they had six children together. They were devoted Roman Catholics and belonged to a very conservative Catholic group,

Opus Dei. By the late 1970s, Hanssen was assigned to the elite New York City FBI office. Money was very tight for the family. It was at this time that Hanssen made contact with Russian agents in New York. He purportedly gave them worthless information but was paid \$20,000, perhaps to encourage his activities. Bonnie discovered him counting the cash in the basement. She marched Hanssen to their Opus Dei priest, who told Hanssen to give the money to charity and be done with such activity. Bonnie, too, demanded that he stop his espionage activities.

At the FBI, Hanssen was recognized for his brilliant mind, but he had few interpersonal skills. He was seen as a loner and an arrogant person. Nevertheless, he continued to receive important assignments. In 1983, he was assigned to the Soviet Analytical Unit in Washington, D.C., and his personnel classification was somewhere above Top-Secret. Yet his salary failed to provide a decent living for his family. On October 4, 1985, Hanssen “turned.” He revealed to the KGB the names of three of its officers who were working for the United States as double agents. Over the next five years, he delivered to the KGB thousands of secret documents, including some that contained information on nuclear weapons placement and satellite positions. In return, he received hundreds of thousands of dollars. Hanssen continued funneling information right up until his arrest by FBI agents at a drop site on February 18, 2001. Hanssen was sentenced to life in prison without parole, but an annual \$38,000 widow’s pension was arranged for his wife.



**Robert Philip Hanssen, an FBI employee who became a Soviet informant.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

### **Vasili Mitrokhin—KGB archivist**

Vasili Mitrokhin (1922–), a longtime archivist for the KGB, compiled his own private record of the KGB’s foreign operations. In 1956, Mitrokhin was assigned to check and seal

three hundred thousand files in the KGB archive. For almost thirty years, Mitrokhin copied KGB documents by hand. At first, he wrote notes on scraps of paper, threw them in the wastebasket, then retrieved them later. After a while, he put his notes on regular paper and stuffed his trouser pockets. KGB guards never stopped Mitrokhin. On the weekends, he and his family would travel to a family home in the country. There, Mitrokhin hid much of his material under the floorboards.

Mitrokhin retired from the KGB in 1984 after thirty years of work in the KGB archives. In 1992, he defected to Britain with his family. Mitrokhin brought with him his KGB files, which he believed were a part of Soviet history that needed to be preserved and shared. His files covered the entire Cold War and went back as far as 1918. In a book published in 1999 by Christopher Andrew and Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield*, the FBI called the Mitrokhin files the “most complete and extensive intelligence ever received from any source.”

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## A Worldwide Cold War

7

**“Y**ou have to take chances for peace just as you must take chances for war.... If you are scared to go to the brink, you are lost.” As noted in Ronald E. Powaski’s *Cold War: The United States and the Soviet Union, 1917–1991*, these are the words of John Foster Dulles (1888–1959), secretary of state for President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61). During the Cold War, Dulles orchestrated a strategy known as “brinkmanship.” Brinkmanship is the practice of forcing a confrontation in order to achieve a desired outcome; in the Cold War, brinkmanship meant using nuclear weapons as a deterrent to communist expansion around the world. Communism is a system of government in which a single political party controls almost all aspects of society. All property is owned by the government, which controls all industrial production; wealth is, in theory, shared equally by all. Religious practices are not tolerated under communist governments.

Dulles was a hard-line anticommunist; he viewed the Soviet Union, China, and other communist governments as enemies of democracy, government run by citizens who are





## Words to Know

**Brinkmanship:** An increased reliance on nuclear weapons as a deterrence to threats of communist expansion in the world; an international game played between the Soviet Union and the United States of who has the highest number of and the most powerful weapons with which to threaten the enemy.

**Capitalism:** An economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention.

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Nation-building:** Installing friendly governments wherever feasible around the world by the United States and the Soviet Union.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO):** A peacetime alliance of the United States and eleven other nations, and a key factor in the attempt to contain communism; the pact meant that the United States became the undisputed global military leader.

**Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO):** An alliance of nations created to combat the expansion of communism in the Southeast Asian region, specifically Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Member nations included the United States, Great Britain, France, New Zealand, Thailand, Australia, Pakistan, and the Philippines.

**Third World:** Poor underdeveloped or economically developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Many were seeking independence from political control of Western European nations.

**Warsaw Pact:** A mutual military alliance between the Soviet Union and the Eastern European nations under Soviet influence, including East Germany.

represented by elected officials. Dulles asserted that President Harry S. Truman's (1884–1972; served 1945–53) containment policy had been too reactionary, meaning that Truman only reacted to communist threats and never went on the offen-

sive. Containment was a key U.S. Cold War policy intended to restrict the territorial growth of communist rule. Dulles wanted the United States to take the initiative, freely using the threat of nuclear war, perhaps even liberating Eastern Europe from Soviet control. Dulles's position reflected the prevailing mood of the American public in the early 1950s.

In 1953, following the end of Truman's presidency in January, the death of Soviet premier Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) in March, and the end of the Korean War (1950–53) in June, the Cold War took on a new look, with new superpower leaders. Although the Cold War spread around the globe, the United States and the Soviet Union had at least begun talking, and a fairly stable military balance had been established in Europe. The United States stood behind the Western European countries, and the Soviet Union controlled the Eastern European countries. Ironically, the stability in Europe was made possible by the presence of nuclear weapons. Each superpower's arsenal of weapons ensured that in the event of an attack and counterattack, both the Soviet Union and the United States—along with much of the rest of the world—would be devastated. Neither superpower desired such an outcome. So even as the Soviet Union and the United States continued arms buildup, talks between the two helped lessen the tensions of the period and fears of nuclear war.

The superpowers tried to keep pace with each other in weapons production, but in economic terms, it was no contest: The capitalist West was far more prosperous than the communist East. This was especially apparent in Europe. In a capitalist economy, property and businesses are privately owned. In a marketplace operating relatively free of govern-



## People to Know

**Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán (1913–1971):** Guatemalan president, 1950–54.

**Carlos Castillo Armas (1914–1957):** Guatemalan president, 1954–57.

**John Foster Dulles (1888–1959):** U.S. secretary of state, 1953–59.

**Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969):** Thirty-fourth U.S. president, 1953–61.

**Nikita S. Khrushchev (1894–1971):** Soviet premier, 1958–64.

**Georgy M. Malenkov (1902–1988):** Soviet premier, 1953–55.

**Mohammad Mosaddeq (1880–1967):** Iranian premier, 1951–53.

**Ngo Dinh Diem (1901–1963):** Republic of Vietnam president, 1954–63.

**Joseph Stalin (1879–1953):** Dictatorial Russian/Soviet leader, 1924–53.

**Harry S. Truman (1884–1972):** Thirty-third U.S. president, 1945–53.





**Soviet premier Georgy M. Malenkov.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

ment regulation, competition determines prices of goods, production levels, and how goods are distributed. The stark contrast in prosperity between East and West contributed to a decline in Communist Party support throughout Western Europe. Communist rule was increasingly associated with political purges, labor camps, and show trials, none of which appealed to people in the free (democratic) and capitalist nations of Western Europe.

## New leaders

Only a few weeks after Dwight D. Eisenhower was inaugurated as the thirty-fourth U.S. president in January 1953, Soviet premier Stalin died. The new Soviet premier was Georgy Malenkov (1902–1988). Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) became the secretary general—the new Soviet Communist Party leader. With Stalin gone, the So-

viet Union changed from a dictatorship to an authoritarian government in which centralized power rested with the Soviet Communist Party. (In an authoritarian government, a ruling political party assumes full governmental authority, demands complete obedience of its citizens, and is not legally accountable to the people.)

Malenkov wanted to focus on internal Soviet issues. Stalin had previously declared that capitalism and communism could not peacefully coexist in the world. In contrast, Malenkov declared that peaceful solutions could end international Cold War problems. In early April, shortly after taking office, he called for talks to reduce military forces in Europe. In response, in a speech on April 16, President Eisenhower expressed interest in discussing arms reduction. However, Eisenhower gave Malenkov a number of conditions: He said that Malenkov would need to allow free elections in Eastern Europe, stop supporting communist revolutionary movements in Asia, permit on-site inspections as part of nuclear

disarmament, and accept West Germany's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). (NATO is a military defense alliance of several Western European nations, the United States, and Canada.) On May 11, British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965), who had been reelected in 1951, proposed that the world leaders hold a meeting to resolve Cold War tensions. However, U.S. secretary of state Dulles and West German chancellor Konrad Adenauer (1876–1967) argued against such a meeting. They claimed the Soviets were likely not sincere in pursuing peaceful coexistence, but merely trying to weaken the West. With the strong anticommunist mood in the United States, which was spurred by U.S. senator Joseph McCarthy (1908–1957) of Wisconsin, Dulles did not want the federal administration to appear weak in dealing with the communists. The idea of arms reduction talks soon faded away.

## **Senator McCarthy and the hunt for communists at home**

Senator McCarthy and his supporters stepped up anticommunist rhetoric, or overblown, dramatic statements or speeches, in the United States (see Chapter 5, Homeland Insecurities). Under their strong influence, Eisenhower signed an executive order in April 1953 giving heads of federal agencies authority to fire employees whom they suspected of disloyalty to the country. Although no one was actually charged with spying or subversion (an attempt to overthrow or undermine an established political system), hundreds of federal employees lost their jobs. Caught in the purge were some of the top political analysts who monitored China and the Soviet Union, people who were needed for developing an informed foreign policy. Also among those fired from their public service jobs was the father of the atomic bomb, J. Robert Oppenheimer (1904–1967). He had supposedly associated with communists and strongly opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb. A later investigation revealed no disloyalty on the part of Oppenheimer. (In fact, in 1963, U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson [1908–1973; served 1963–69] presented an Atomic Energy Commission award to Oppenheimer in recognition of his service to the nation.)



**Future Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev (seated, far right) and other Soviet officials meet at a Warsaw Pact conference.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

In April 1954, Senator McCarthy launched a televised investigation of supposed communist subversion in the U.S. Army. However, the public and members of Congress had finally had enough of McCarthy's unfounded accusations. The Republicans in the Senate passed a resolution officially criticizing McCarthy for denying citizens their constitutional right of a fair public trial to answer the accusations McCarthy was making with little evidence. As a result, McCarthy was not allowed to conduct any more inquiries, but the influence of his earlier actions would last for years.

## The Warsaw Pact

In Berlin in January 1954, the foreign ministers of the United States, France, Britain, and the Soviet Union met to discuss the reunification of Germany. However, each country still had differing concerns and points of view on how to

build a postwar Germany, so no agreements could be reached. Further, the Soviets insisted that NATO be abolished, and the United States insisted on free elections throughout Germany. Separately, the three Western allies agreed to give West Germany full national sovereignty and the opportunity to rearm. West Germany would join NATO in 1955. The Soviets responded to the expansion of NATO by creating the Warsaw Pact in 1955. The pact set up a mutual military alliance between the Soviet Union and the Eastern European nations under Soviet influence, including East Germany.

## The New Look—brinkmanship

During the Berlin conference, on January 12, 1954, Secretary of State Dulles announced a new U.S. military strategy in the fight against communism. In response to communist aggression of any kind, he said, the United States would retaliate with a massive nuclear attack. The strategy was designed to prevent war by threatening the ultimate war. This strategy was referred to as an “asymmetrical response.” (“Asymmetrical” means out of proportion or unequal.) In other words, the U.S. reaction would potentially be much harsher than the original aggression. The Soviets or any other aggressor would pay heavily for even minor hostile actions. Former president Truman had favored a containment policy, calling for military responses tailored to the nature of each hostile action—that is, calling for the U.S. response to be at the same general level as the hostile action. The new strategy introduced by Dulles increased secret operations and promoted more-aggressive diplomatic activity, such as directly confronting countries that allowed growth of internal communist influences and threatening economic sanctions.

Dulles argued that focusing on nuclear capability would be much cheaper than maintaining the massive conventional air and ground forces that were called for in National Security Council Document 68 (NSC-68). Truman had adopted the NSC-68 strategy in 1950. But for Eisenhower, the U.S. economy was a priority, and less spending appealed to him. Dulles’s strategy, which included a major reduction in conventional forces, was one way to reduce spending. The U.S. military budget dropped from over \$41 billion in Tru-

man's last annual budget proposed for 1954 to less than \$31 billion, the amount requested by Eisenhower for 1955, a 25-percent decrease. The number of army personnel dropped from 1.5 million to 1 million. The air force became much more prominent, playing a key role in the new massive retaliation strategy. The B-52, the nation's first intercontinental jet bomber capable of delivering nuclear bombs on Soviet targets, became the backbone of the strategic air power. Planning emphasized development of long-range intercontinental ballistic missiles and intermediate-range missiles, all armed with nuclear warheads, as well as smaller-scale tactical nuclear weapons for the army and navy. (Tactical weapons allow for more flexible maneuvering of military forces.) By December 1954, NATO's tactical nuclear weapons supplementing conventional forces (troops, ships, and airplanes) included atomic cannons and small nuclear missiles. The brinkmanship strategy, featuring a scaled-down but much more powerful military, was called the New Look.

Though it saved NATO members money by requiring fewer conventional forces, the new U.S. policy made Western European nations uneasy. The original goal of ninety-six NATO military divisions was reduced to twenty-five by late 1954. Fewer ground forces in Europe could make the West unable to respond to small incidents with anything less than U.S. nuclear retaliation. Therefore, one of the weaknesses of brinkmanship was that it gave the U.S. president fewer options for responding to hostile actions. To Europeans and many Americans, too, nuclear war seemed a drastic response to a localized hostile action. The United States tried to ease their worries by continuing to arm NATO forces with tactical nuclear weapons and maintaining U.S. troops in West Germany.

Khrushchev considered the new U.S. strategy very aggressive and threatening to Soviet interests. However, Khrushchev was interested in reviving the Soviet industrial and agricultural economy rather than pursuing massive funding for conventional arms. Like Eisenhower and Dulles, he decided to concentrate on development of nuclear ballistic missiles, a much less expensive option than development of conventional arms. As a result, Khrushchev significantly increased the Soviet nuclear weapons program. By 1955, the Soviets had over three hundred atomic and thermonuclear



weapons and intercontinental bombers. Soon the United States feared the Soviets had many more nuclear arms than they actually did. Nevertheless, when conflicts arose, both the Soviet Union and the United States could threaten each other with nuclear war. The strength of both countries deterred them from actually starting a war; whoever fired first would not only destroy the other but be destroyed itself.

## The Third World

Europe remained divided along East-West lines: Western European countries were backed by the United States, and the Soviet Union oversaw the Eastern European countries. "Nation-building," installing friendly governments willing to join in combating or promoting communism, became a key strategy for the United States and the Soviet Union during this Cold War period. Third World countries were key tar-

**U.S. secretary of state John Foster Dulles (far right) meets with British foreign minister Harold Macmillan (far left) and French foreign minister Antoine Pinay on November 8, 1955.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

gets for nation-building. (The term “Third World” refers to poor underdeveloped or developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America; most Third World countries have economies primarily based on agriculture, with few other industries.) Another major U.S. strategy was to create military defense alliances around the borders of the Soviet Union. For example, the United States made defense agreements with South Korea and with the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan; the agreements were patterned after NATO in Europe. The United States would eventually have formal agreements to defend forty-five nations around the world.

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), led by Allen Dulles (1893–1969), the brother of John Foster Dulles, would play a key role in nation-building. Less expensive than military operations and less open to congressional and public review, the CIA supported friendly leaders and their governments through secret operations; they also supported the overthrow of unfriendly governments. Various extreme methods, even assassination plots against foreign leaders, were planned. Historians later presumed that targets included Cuban president Fidel Castro Ruz (1926–), China’s premier Zhou Enlai (1898–1976), and Congo prime minister Patrice Lumumba (1925–1961). To identify possible communist influences, the CIA also infiltrated various kinds of organizations, including student groups and church groups.

The U.S. policy of nation-building was not always welcomed by Third World countries. Most Third World countries were or had been European colonies. But colonialism was coming to an end. (Colonialism is control over an economically weaker country and/or its citizens. Most often colonialism refers to Western European nations exercising control over various Third World countries.) Nationalist movements were gaining strength: Third World countries increasingly sought independence from foreign control. Nationalism refers to the strong loyalty of a person or group to its own country.

Driven by poverty and despair, people in Third World countries often wanted to overthrow local rulers who controlled the countries’ wealth; generally the wealth was benefiting a controlling colonialist power, or a capitalist country. Seeing an opportunity to weaken colonialist powers such as France, communist leaders stepped in to help. In the early

twentieth century, communists in China and Russia had aligned themselves with the peasants and common workers. Communist political ideas were in general supportive of the common people; therefore, the communists were already inclined to help Third World countries in the mid-twentieth century. In 1955, Soviet Communist Party leader Khrushchev and Soviet premier Nikolay Bulganin (1895–1975), who replaced Georgy Malenkov, visited India, Burma, and Afghanistan to offer economic aid to the nationalist movements there.

Since India had gained independence from British colonial rule in 1947, it chose a path of neutrality (not aligning with either the Soviet Union or the United States). As a result, it became a Third World leader. In 1955, India and twenty-eight other neutral countries attended a conference in Southeast Asia; they held another meeting in 1961 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. They formed a bloc, or group, of countries that agreed to focus on economic development, not Cold War politics. Many U.S. businesses began locating offices and industrial factories in neutral Third World countries, providing much-needed jobs. However, many Third World nations would equate the growing U.S. presence with the earlier hated European colonialism.

Because the communists often assisted nationalist movements, the United States had difficulty distinguishing nationalist ideologies from communism. The United States sometimes perceived nationalist movements as communist-inspired revolutions. Land reform, a common feature of nationalist movements, often involved confiscation of large foreign land holdings, which were then parceled out to citizens for small farming operations. American corporations sought U.S. government support in defending their extensive holdings in Third World nations. In an effort to keep perceived revolutionary movements in check, President Eisenhower established the Inter-American Development Bank in 1959 to provide economic assistance to governments that remained friendly to the United States. In 1961, President John F. Kennedy (1917–1963; served 1961–63) followed this policy with the formation of the Alliance for Progress program.

Another complicating factor for the United States was that longtime colonial powers, such as Britain and France, were also longtime friends of the United States. Therefore,



the U.S. government felt compelled to defend colonial holdings. A dilemma existed: If the United States supported a nationalist movement, it would be criticized by allies and hard-line anticommunists. If it did not support these movements, the nationalists would likely find support from the Soviets, America's Cold War enemy.

## The Middle East

As part of the New Look strategy, the Eisenhower administration decided to counter Soviet-supported nationalist movements with CIA covert operations, particularly in Third World countries in the Middle East. The Middle East is a vast region including parts of southwestern Asia, southeastern Europe, and northern Africa. It includes Turkey to the north, Iran to the east, and Sudan to the south. It also includes Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Syria, Jordan, Yemen, Lebanon, Cyprus, Oman, Bahrain, Qatar, and United Arab Emirates. Iran provides one example of covert CIA activity: In 1951, Iranian premier Mohammad Mosaddeq (1880–1967) nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, a British-owned company, so that profits would not go to a foreign-held company but would stay within Iran. In response, international oil companies boycotted (joined together and refused to buy) Iranian oil. In reaction to the boycott, on May 28, 1953, Mosaddeq appealed to Eisenhower for help. In his message, Mosaddeq commented that he would have to go to the Soviets if the United States did not help. Already leery of Mosaddeq's control of Iranian oil, which was critically needed by Western nations, Eisenhower declined Mosaddeq's request. In July, Mosaddeq dissolved the Iranian parliament and established relations with the Soviets. The CIA went into action in August to orchestrate a change in government by bringing in the shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919–1980), to restore a monarchy, or rule by a single person, friendly to the United States and Western Europe. On August 19, 1953, the CIA paid antigovernment rioters to take to the streets and force a coup d'état, an illegal or forceful change of government. After several hundred deaths, Mosaddeq resigned, and the shah ultimately became the ruler.

The United States provided military and economic aid to the new Iranian government in 1954. That year, an in-

ternational oil consortium, or business alliance, was established, replacing the earlier exclusively British control of Iranian oil. American oil companies owned 40 percent of the new Iranian operations. The Iranian army would become the best equipped and largest in the Middle East. The United States was particularly pleased with the regime change because Iran shared a long border with the Soviet Union. This potentially blocked a possible Soviet expansion of influence in the direction of the oil-rich Persian Gulf.

## Latin America

Latin America was another Third World region of concern to the U.S. administration during the Cold War period. Latin America includes the entire Western Hemisphere south of the United States. It includes Central and South America as well as Mexico and the islands of the West Indies. The rapidly growing population in Latin America suffered greatly from poverty, disease, and illiteracy in the mid-twentieth century. A small upper class controlled the governments, armies, and most wealth. For landless peasants, the ideas of communism, in contrast to the existing governmental systems, could be appealing. To prevent the spread of such ideas and a full-blown communist revolution, the U.S. government often felt it must support the ruling elite.

For example, in Guatemala, 2 percent of the population owned 70 percent of the nation's wealth. In 1953, President Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán (1913–1971), the popularly elected leader of Guatemala, began a program of land reform to ease some of his country's poverty. The reform program included nationalizing 234,000 acres of uncultivated land owned by the Boston-based United Fruit Company. Arbenz provided payment to the company for the land, but the company was unhappy with the payment it received. The company appealed to the Eisenhower administration for help. Since Arbenz's support base included the Guatemalan Communist Party, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles claimed that Arbenz posed a communist threat to the region. (Coincidentally, Dulles had performed legal work earlier for United Fruit Company.)

As a result of Dulles's input, Eisenhower authorized a CIA overthrow of the Guatemalan government. The United



**U.S. secretary of state John Foster Dulles.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

States trained and armed a small group of Guatemalan political exiles in neighboring countries. Suspecting a U.S.-led coup attempt, Arbenz sought help from the Soviet Union. The Soviets arranged shipments of arms to Guatemala from Czechoslovakia. Claiming Soviet interference in the Western Hemisphere, the U.S.-trained army launched an attack against the Guatemalan army under air cover flown by CIA pilots. On June 27, 1954, Arbenz fled the country. Carlos Castillo Armas (1914–1957), one of the soldiers supported by the United States, established a military junta (a group of military leaders in political control). Castillo banned all political opposition parties, then imprisoned suspected political opponents and killed many of them. Castillo also ended the land reform program and gave United Fruit Company its land back.

Guatemala would serve as a U.S. base for future operations in the region. Although the United States claimed the uprising was the will of the Guatemalan people, many Latin Americans were dismayed by the covert military force the United States used to overthrow a legally elected government. However, some Latin American leaders who were friendly with the United States took the action in Guatemala as a strong and welcome signal that they could count on U.S. help to protect them from internal uprisings. The United States worked with harsh and dictatorial regimes in Latin America—Fulgencio Batista (1901–1973) in Cuba; Anastasio Somoza (1896–1956) and sons Luis Anastasio Somoza (1922–1967) and Anastasio Somoza (1925–1980) of Nicaragua; and Alfredo Stroessner (1912–) in Paraguay—because these regimes shared the U.S. government’s anticommunist views. The United States preferred to support strong central governments, even brutal ones, rather than let communist influences take hold in struggling Latin American countries.

## Indochina

Indochina is a peninsula in Southeast Asia that extends from the southern border of China into the South China Sea. It includes, among other countries, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Because these three countries had good natural resources, especially rubber and rice, they became French colonies in the nineteenth century. In 1947, the French began fighting communist revolutionary Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969) and his Vietminh army. Over ninety thousand French troops were killed in a seven-year period. Then, in early 1954, French forces in northern Vietnam were put on the defensive by the Vietminh forces. On April 26, approximately fifteen thousand French troops became trapped at a garrison at Dien Bien Phu. France desperately appealed to the United States for military help. In deciding whether to provide assistance, Eisenhower considered the popular “domino theory”—that if Vietnam fell to communism, other countries would follow. First would be Burma, Thailand, and the rest of Indochina. Next would be Japan, Taiwan, and the Philippines, and finally Australia and New Zealand. The president considered a plan that would use both conventional and nuclear weapons against Vietminh positions surrounding the French troops. However, the American public did not want to see U.S. forces sent to a far-off war so soon after the Korean War (see Chapter 2, Conflict Builds). Therefore, Eisenhower chose not to respond, and the French forces surrendered at Dien Bien Phu on May 7, 1954.

At the urging of Britain and France, the United States joined in a conference about Vietnam in Geneva, Switzerland, that also included China and the Soviet Union. On May 8, the day after the fall of the French at Dien Bien Phu, the issue of Indochina was raised. By July, a settlement had seemingly been reached, ending the Vietnamese conflict. France agreed to recognize the independence of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Vietnam was divided in two at the seventeenth parallel. The communists would control the north half; they established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In the south was a government aligned with the West called the Republic of Vietnam. The Geneva agreement called for national elections throughout Vietnam, as well as in Laos and Cambodia, in two years. It also prohibited any of the three countries from joining military alliances or allowing foreign military bases with-

in their borders. Despite the agreement, the United States objected to communist control of the north and refused to observe the ban on military assistance to South Vietnam. The United States was eager to provide economic and covert support. Like the United States, the communists in northern Vietnam would defy the agreement, refusing to allow the national elections. The Soviet Union and communist China supplied the Vietminh army with weapons.

To combat the expansion of communism in the region, in September 1954 the United States led the creation of a Southeast Asian alliance patterned after NATO. It was called the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). Member nations included the United States, Great Britain, France, New Zealand, Thailand, Australia, Pakistan, and the Philippines. Since the Geneva settlement banned Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos from joining alliances, SEATO extended protections to those countries without their signatures. By November, U.S. military advisers were training a South Vietnamese army called the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN). For the next five years, U.S. aid to South Vietnam would total \$1.2 billion, financing 80 percent of the military expenses and almost half of the country's nonmilitary government spending.

The Geneva settlement called for public elections in all of Vietnam by 1956, but the United States opposed such elections, fearing a communist victory. Instead a tightly controlled public election was held in October 1955, in South Vietnam only. The referendum led to a 98 percent voter approval of the Republic of Vietnam's government, with Ngo Dinh Diem (1901–1963) as its president. Formal U.S. recognition came quickly to Diem, even though he had little popular support. His support came mostly from the small landlord class, the military, and his own corrupt bureaucracy. Because of this weak support, Diem moved to eliminate all political opposition. In reaction, the Vietminh, still located in pockets of southern Vietnam, began a military resistance movement with the goal of reunifying Vietnam under a communist government.

## The Far East

The easternmost part of Asia is often referred to as the Far East. Included under this general term are China, Korea,



Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and eastern Siberia. By late 1953, the United States withdrew its Seventh Fleet from the Taiwan Strait, where ships had been sent during the Korean War to guard against any possible invasion of Taiwan by the People's Republic of China (PRC), the communist government that had been controlling Mainland China since 1949. The PRC feared that the removal of the Seventh Fleet meant Chinese nationalists, who controlled Taiwan and its surrounding is-

**Representatives from the eight member nations of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) meet in September 1954.**

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lands, had U.S. approval to invade Mainland China. It was no secret that Taiwan's president, Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975), had hopes of militarily retaking Mainland China. The United States and the PRC made no progress in establishing formal relations at the 1954 Geneva conference, and on September 3, 1954, the PRC began bombarding two islands held by Taiwan, Jinmen (Quemoy) and Mazu (Matsu). Two U.S. soldiers were killed. The PRC also attacked the Tachen Islands and captured the island of Ichiang. In October, the PRC established stronger ties with the Soviets. As part of a formal Sino-Soviet (*Sino* means “Chinese”) agreement, the PRC regained control of Manchuria, and the Soviets agreed to financially assist PRC industrialization programs.

Given China's aggression against Taiwan and strengthening relationship with the Soviets, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff recommended to President Eisenhower a full military response including use of atomic weapons. Eisenhower, however, was unwilling to go to war with the PRC over the small islands. Instead, the United States signed a mutual defense treaty with Taiwan on November 23, 1954. Approved by the U.S. Senate on February 9, 1955, the treaty promised U.S. military support to Taiwan in exchange for Chiang's agreement to drop any plans of invading China. The PRC nevertheless viewed this pact with great suspicion and still saw Taiwan as a threat; therefore, the PRC's hostile actions continued. In January 1955, Congress had also passed the Taiwan Resolution, authorizing Eisenhower to use whatever force he felt necessary to protect Taiwan and its islands. Given that broad authority, Eisenhower threatened to use nuclear weapons to resolve the crisis if the PRC did not halt its bombardments in the Taiwan Strait. This act of brinkmanship forced the PRC to reconsider its position, and in April 1955 PRC foreign minister Zhou Enlai indicated an interest in discussing solutions to the Taiwan crisis; the following month, a cease-fire, or an ending of all hostilities, went into effect. Even though the two countries had no formal relations, they began meetings in Geneva. The discussions dragged on, and the crisis faded away for the time being.

The key victim of the Taiwan Strait crisis was the Communist Party cause. A lack of Soviet support during the crisis greatly bothered the PRC communists. Their disillusionment with the Soviet Union would become a major factor in

a later political split between the two countries, the two largest communist nations in the world. It also led the PRC to greatly accelerate its nuclear weapons program, because leaders there felt they could not rely on Soviet protection.

## **A Cold War thaw**

As their relationship with the PRC deteriorated, the Soviets sought to improve relations with the West. For example, on May 15, 1955, the United States and the Soviet Union reached an agreement over the future of Austria. The agreement removed all postwar occupation forces of the Soviet Union, the United States, France, and Britain. It established Austria as a fully independent and neutral country.

With both the United States and the Soviet Union having successfully tested powerful hydrogen bombs, Eisenhower and Khrushchev wished to limit the escalating arms race and reduce tensions. The two met in Geneva on July 18, 1955. It was the first meeting of superpower leaders since the Potsdam Conference ten years earlier. Little progress toward arms control was made, but having such talks was considered a good sign. The Soviets proposed to close all foreign military bases operated by the United States and the Soviet Union. They also suggested banning the use of nuclear weapons for offensive first strikes and restricting the size of armed forces in smaller nations. The United States believed such restrictions would inhibit the rearming of West Germany and jeopardize the future of NATO, potentially limiting U.S. military presence and the general military strength of the alliance. The reunification and rearming of post-World War II (1939–45) Germany continued to be a central sticking point between the two superpowers. The Soviets also proposed replacing NATO and the Warsaw Pact with an all-Europe security agreement. Germany would be unarmed, reunified, and neutral. Because of the wounds Germany inflicted on the Soviets in World War II, the Soviets could not accept a reunified, well-armed Germany made stronger by an alignment with the West. If Germany could not remain unarmed, the Soviets stated, then they would strongly prefer two separate countries: East Germany and West Germany. East Germany, under Soviet influence, would serve as a cushion between West Germany and the Soviet-controlled countries of Eastern Europe.





## Monroe Doctrine

The Cold War was not the beginning of global competition between Russia and the United States. They had crossed paths in their efforts to expand in the early nineteenth century. This interaction led to the establishment of a major U.S. foreign policy that would last into the Cold War over a century later.

In 1821, Tsar Alexander I (1777–1825) of Russia claimed the lands of Alaska and part of the Pacific Northwest. The Russian claim extended southward into an area the United States believed it had already acquired in a treaty with Spain. In addition, Russia had formed an alliance with two other European nations, and fears rose among the British and Americans that this alliance might try to gain control of some of Spain's former colonies in Latin America. The colonies had recently gained their independence from Spain. The young United States, having just defeated Great Britain in the War of 1812, wanted to rid

the Western Hemisphere of European influence. Seeking new trade opportunities and territories for future expansion, it debated what to do.

Finally, U.S. secretary of state John Quincy Adams (1767–1848) recommended that President James Monroe (1758–1831; served 1817–25) announce a policy prohibiting further establishment of European colonies in the Western Hemisphere. On December 2, 1823, in the president's annual address to Congress, Monroe pronounced a new policy that has guided the nation ever since—the Monroe Doctrine. Monroe stated that the United States would stay out of European internal affairs and wars; that the Western Hemisphere was closed to further colonization by European nations, including Russia; and that the United States would not interfere with existing colonies. Lastly—and most significantly for the later Cold War era—Monroe stated that any attempt by a European na-

The West rejected the Soviets' proposals to disband NATO and reunify a weakened Germany. They feared the Soviets were merely trying to weaken Western alliances with false promises of peaceful coexistence and then turn around and attack later. The United States would only accept a reunified Germany if nationwide free elections were allowed; there was no doubt that such elections would align Germany with the West. Eisenhower countered the Soviet military proposals with a proposal of arms control; however, the Soviets found Eisenhower's plan unacceptable. The proposed plan, "Open Skies," called for extensive aerial inspections. The Soviets



A political cartoon from the early 1900s shows President Theodore Roosevelt standing behind a cannon with a “Monroe Doctrine” sign on it, yelling “Hands Off!” to a European king who is attempting to make claims to the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo. The Monroe Doctrine declared the United States would not tolerate interference from European nations in North and South America. *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

tion to control a nation in the Western Hemisphere would be considered a hostile act. In the Cold War, the Monroe Doctrine would support efforts by the United States to combat Soviet communist influences in Latin America. Following the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, Russia shifted the southern boundary of its claim farther north, and the perceived threat against the former Spanish colonies never materialized. Russia sold the territory of Alaska to the United States in 1867 for \$7.2 million. From that point through the Cold War era, the entire Western Hemisphere was under U.S. influence, meaning the United States was willing to challenge any new European influence in the broad region.

feared that aerial inspections would reveal all Soviet military installations and make them vulnerable to U.S. nuclear missile attack.

Although the most concrete result of the conference consisted of cultural exchanges, involving the fine arts of theater, dancing, writing, etc., the conference did establish a friendlier spirit and for a time lessened fears of nuclear war. The period is often referred to as a Cold War thaw, because relations between the United States and the Soviet Union gradually began to warm. The Geneva conference revealed



**U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower (left) shakes hands with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev in Geneva in 1955. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.**

two major Cold War facts: A nuclear stalemate had been reached between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the West no longer expected to militarily win the Cold War in the event of a “hot” war.

The Cold War thaw allowed Khrushchev to turn to Soviet domestic issues. In February 1956, he gave an epic speech, the “Crimes of Stalin” speech, to the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. By denouncing the activities of former Soviet premier Joseph Stalin, Khrushchev attacked his most serious opponents in the Soviet Communist Party, who still preferred Stalin’s hard-line policies. Khrushchev described the torture and executions of many innocent people and the self-glorification that Stalin sought. Stalin’s behavior, Khrushchev contended, was counter to communist principles. According to Khrushchev, Stalin served the Soviet

Union poorly. Khrushchev pointed to a new direction for the Soviet Union: He would accept different forms of socialism, or a state-controlled society, such as the communist government led by Josip Tito (1892–1980) in Yugoslavia; it remained independent of Soviet control. Unlike Stalin, Khrushchev also claimed that communism and capitalism could peacefully coexist; conflict was not necessarily inevitable, as Stalin had preached. Khrushchev’s speech seemed to suggest that expansion would no longer be a communist goal. By mid-1956, members of the Eisenhower administration were cautiously hopeful that a new era might be beginning, with the Soviets gradually relaxing their control of Eastern Europe.

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# Cold War Almanac

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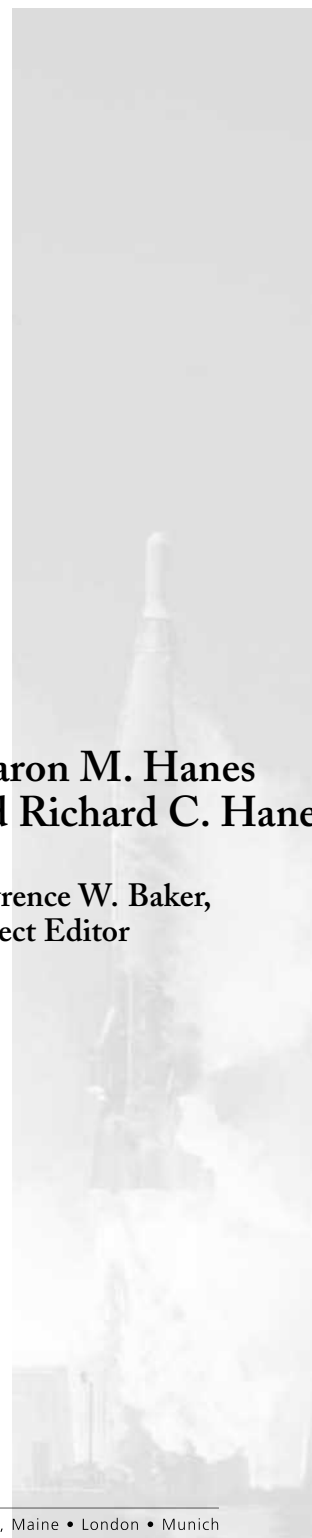
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# Introduction

**S**ometimes single events alter the course of history; other times, a chain reaction of seemingly lesser occurrences changes the path of nations. The intense rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that emerged immediately after World War II (1939–45) followed the second pattern. Known as the Cold War, the rivalry grew out of mutual distrust between two starkly different societies: communist Soviet Union and the democratic West, which was led by the United States and included Western Europe. Communism is a political and economic system in which the Communist Party controls all aspects of citizens' lives and private ownership of property is banned. It is not compatible with America's democratic way of life. Democracy is a political system consisting of several political parties whose members are elected to various government offices by vote of the people. The rapidly growing rivalry between the two emerging post-World War II superpowers in 1945 would dominate world politics until 1991. Throughout much of the time, the Cold War was more a war of ideas than one of battlefield combat. Yet for generations, the Cold War affected almost every aspect of American life and those who lived in numerous other countries around the world.



The global rivalry was characterized by many things. Perhaps the most dramatic was the cost in lives and public funds. Millions of military personnel and civilians were killed in conflicts often set in Third World countries. This toll includes tens of thousands of American soldiers in the Korean War (1950–53) and Vietnam War (1954–75) and thousands of Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. National budgets were stretched to support the nuclear arms races, military buildups, localized wars, and aid to friendly nations. On the international front, the United States often supported oppressive but strongly anti-communist military dictatorships. On the other hand, the Soviets frequently supported revolutionary movements seeking to overthrow established governments. Internal political developments within nations around the world were interpreted by the two superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States—in terms of the Cold War rivalry. In many nations, including the Soviet-dominated Eastern European countries, basic human freedoms were lost. New international military and peacekeeping alliances were also formed, such as the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization of American States (OAS), and the Warsaw Pact.

Effects of the Cold War were extensive on the home front, too. The U.S. government became more responsive to national security needs, including the sharpened efforts of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Created were the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the National Security Council (NSC), and the Department of Defense. Suspicion of communist influences within the United States built some individual careers and destroyed others. The national education priorities of public schools were changed to emphasize science and engineering after the Soviets launched the satellite *Sputnik*, which itself launched the space race.

What would cause such a situation to develop and last for so long? One major factor was mistrust for each other. The communists were generally shunned by other nations, including the United States, since they gained power in Russia in 1917 then organized that country into the Soviet Union. The Soviets' insecurities loomed large. They feared another invasion from the West through Poland, as had happened through the centuries. On the other hand, the West was highly suspicious of the harsh closed society of Soviet

communism. As a result, a move by one nation would bring a response by the other. Hard-liners on both sides believed long-term coexistence was not feasible.

A second major factor was that the U.S. and Soviet ideologies were dramatically at odds. The political, social, and economic systems of democratic United States and communist Soviet Union were essentially incompatible. Before the communist (or Bolshevik) revolution in 1917, the United States and Russia competed as they both sought to expand into the Pacific Northwest. In addition, Americans had a strong disdain for Russian oppression under their monarchy of the tsars. Otherwise, contact between the two growing powers was almost nonexistent until thrown together as allies in a common cause to defeat Germany and Japan in World War II.

It was during the meetings of the allied leaders in Yalta and Potsdam in 1945 when peaceful postwar cooperation was being sought that the collision course of the two new superpowers started becoming more evident. The end of World War II had brought the U.S. and Soviet armies face-to-face in central Europe in victory over the Germans. Yet the old mistrusts between communists and capitalists quickly dominated diplomatic relations. Capitalism is an economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention. A peace treaty ending World War II in Europe was blocked as the Soviets and the U.S.-led West carved out spheres of influence. Western Europe and Great Britain aligned with the United States and collectively was referred to as the “West”; Eastern Europe would be controlled by the Soviet Communist Party. The Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellite countries were collectively referred to as the “East.” The two powers tested the resolve of each other in Germany, Iran, Turkey, and Greece in the late 1940s.

In 1949, the Soviets successfully tested an atomic bomb and Chinese communist forces overthrew the National Chinese government, and U.S. officials and American citizens feared a sweeping massive communist movement was overtaking the world. A “red scare” spread through America. The term “red” referred to communists, especially the Soviets. The public began to suspect that communists or communist sympathizers lurked in every corner of the nation.



Meanwhile, the superpower confrontations spread from Europe to other global areas: Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. Most dramatic were the Korean and Vietnam wars, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the military standoffs in Berlin, Germany. However, bloody conflicts erupted in many other areas as the United States and Soviet Union sought to expand their influence by supporting or opposing various movements.

In addition, a costly arms race lasted decades despite sporadic efforts at arms control agreements. The score card for the Cold War was kept in terms of how many nuclear weapons one country had aimed at the other. Finally, in the 1970s and 1980s, the Soviet Union could no longer keep up with the changing world economic trends. Its tightly controlled and highly inefficient industrial and agricultural systems could not compete in world markets while the government was still focusing its wealth on Cold War confrontations and the arms race. Developments in telecommunications also made it more difficult to maintain a closed society. Ideas were increasingly being exchanged despite longstanding political barriers. The door was finally cracked open in the communist European nations to more freedoms in the late 1980s through efforts at economic and social reform. Seizing the moment, the long suppressed populations of communist Eastern European nations and fifteen Soviet republics demanded political and economic freedom.

Through 1989, the various Eastern European nations replaced long-time communist leaders with noncommunist officials. By the end of 1991, the Soviet Communist Party had been banned from various Soviet republics, and the Soviet Union itself ceased to exist. After a decades-long rivalry, the end to the Cold War came swiftly and unexpectedly.

A new world order dawned in 1992 with a single superpower, the United States, and a vastly changed political landscape around much of the globe. Communism remained in China and Cuba, but Cold War legacies remained elsewhere. In the early 1990s, the United States was economically burdened with a massive national debt, the former Soviet republics were attempting a very difficult economic transition to a more capitalistic open market system, and Europe, starkly divided by the Cold War, was reunited once again and sought to establish a new union including both Eastern and Western European nations.

# Reader's Guide

**C***old War: Almanac* presents a comprehensive overview of the Cold War, the period in history from 1945 until 1991 that was dominated by the rivalry between the world's superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The *Almanac* covers the origins of the Cold War, including the fierce divisions created by the differences between American democracy and capitalism and Soviet communism; the key programs and treaties, such as the Marshall Plan, Berlin Airlift, and Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI); how the general public coped with the rivalry and consequent nuclear buildup; government changes designed to make society feel more secure; the end of the Cold War, brought about by the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the dissolution of the Soviet Union; and the aftereffects of the Cold War, still felt in the twenty-first century.

## Coverage and features

*Cold War: Almanac* is divided into fifteen chapters, each focusing on a particular topic or time period, such as the origins of the Cold War, the beginning of the nuclear age, the



arms race, espionage, anticommunist campaigns and political purges on the home fronts, détente, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Berlin Airlift and the Berlin Wall, the Korean and Vietnam wars, and the ending of the Cold War. Each chapter contains three types of sidebars: “Words to Know” and “People to Know” boxes, which define important terms and individuals discussed in the chapter; and boxes that describe people, events, and facts of special interest. Each chapter concludes with a list of additional sources students can go to for more information. More than 140 black-and-white photographs and maps help illustrate the material.

Each volume of *Cold War: Almanac* begins with a timeline of important events in the history of the Cold War; “Words to Know” and “People to Know” sections that feature important terms and people from the entire Cold War era; and a “Research and Activity Ideas” section with suggestions for study questions, group projects, and oral and dramatic presentations. The two volumes conclude with a general bibliography and a subject index so students can easily find the people, places, and events discussed throughout *Cold War: Almanac*.

## **U•X•L Cold War Reference Library**

*Cold War: Almanac* is only one component of the three-part U•X•L Cold War Reference Library. The other two titles in this set are:

- *Cold War: Biographies* (two volumes) presents the life stories of fifty individuals who played key roles in the Cold War superpower rivalry. Though primarily a competition between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Cold War is a story of individual personalities that critically influenced the direction of the rivalry at various crossroads and in different regions of the world. Profiled are well-known figures such as Joseph Stalin, Harry Truman, Nikita Khrushchev, Henry Kissinger, John F. Kennedy, Mao Zedong, and Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as lesser-known individuals such as physicist and father of the Soviet atomic bomb Igor Kurchatov, British foreign minister Ernest Bevin, and longtime U.S. foreign policy analyst George F. Kennan.
- *Cold War: Primary Sources* (one volume) this book tells the story of the Cold War in the words of the people who

lived and shaped it. Thirty-one excerpted documents provide a wide range of perspectives on this period of history. Included are excerpts from presidential press conferences; addresses to U.S. Congress and Soviet Communist Party meetings; public speeches; telegrams; magazine articles; radio and television addresses; and later reflections by key government leaders.

- A cumulative index of all three titles in the U•X•L Cold War Reference Library is also available.

## **Acknowledgments**

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## **Dedication**

To Aaron and Kara Hanes, that their children may learn about the events and ideas that shaped the world through the latter half of the twentieth century.

## **Comments and suggestions**

We welcome your comments on *Cold War: Almanac* and suggestions for other topics to consider. Please write: Editors, *Cold War: Almanac*, U•X•L, 27500 Drake Rd., Farmington Hills, Michigan 48331-3535; call toll free: 1-800-877-4253; fax to 248-699-8097; or send e-mail via <http://www.gale.com>.

## Words to Know

### A

**Alliance for Progress:** A program designed to block the spread of communism by improving the overall quality of life for Latin Americans. The Alliance attempted to reduce disease, increase literacy, and ease poverty throughout Latin America.

**Allied Control Council:** An organization of military governors from each of the four zones of Germany.

**Allies:** Alliances of countries in military opposition to another group of nations. In World War II, the Allied powers included Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

**Annihilation:** Complete destruction.

**Armistice:** A temporary agreement to end fighting in a war; a cease-fire.

**Arms race:** A key aspect of superpower rivalry in which one superpower amasses weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, to keep up with another superpower or to gain an edge.



**Asymmetrical response:** The potentially much harsher retaliation of a nation already attacked.

**Atomic bomb:** An explosive device that releases nuclear energy (energy that comes from an atom's core). All previous explosive devices were powered by rapid burning or decomposition of a chemical compound; they only released energy from the outermost electrons of an atom. Nuclear explosives are energized by splitting an atom, a process called fission.

**Atomic Energy Commission (AEC):** A unit established by Congress in July 1946 that managed the nuclear research facilities in Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Hanford, Washington; and Los Alamos, New Mexico.

**Authoritarian:** A political system in which authority is centered in a ruling party that demands complete obedience of its citizens and is not legally accountable to the people.

## **B**

**Bay of Pigs:** The failed U.S.-backed invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs by fifteen hundred Cuban exiles opposed to Fidel Castro, on April 17, 1961.

**Berlin airlift:** Massive shipments of food and goods, airlifted into the Western sector of Berlin, organized by the Western powers, after the Soviets halted all shipments of supplies and food from the eastern zone into West Berlin. The Americans nicknamed the airlift Operation Vittles, while the British dubbed the effort Operation Plain Fare.

**Berlin blockade:** A ten-and-a-half-month stoppage by the Soviets of shipments of supplies and food through East Germany into West Berlin. The Soviets also cut all coal-generated electricity supplied from East Germany to Berlin's western sectors, and land and water routes from West Germany into Berlin were closed.

**Berlin Wall:** A wall dividing the Soviet-controlled sector of Berlin from the three Western-controlled zones, built in an attempt to stem the tide of refugees seeking asylum in the West.

**Big Three:** The trio of U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin; also refers to the countries of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union.

**Blacklisting:** Denying employment to anyone found connected to a group that in any way had anything to do with subversive activities, real or imagined.

**Bolshevik:** A member of the revolutionary political party of Russian workers and peasants that became the Communist Party after the Russian Revolution of 1917; the terms Bolshevik and communist became interchangeable, with communist eventually becoming more common.

**Brinkmanship:** An increased reliance on nuclear weapons as a deterrent to threats of communist expansion in the world; an international game played between the Soviet Union and the United States of who had the highest number of and the most powerful weapons with which to threaten the enemy.

**Bugs:** Listening devices planted in such places as telephones and in walls to allow eavesdropping on conversations.

## C

**Capitalism:** An economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention.

**Central committee:** The important administrative body in the Communist Party overseeing day-to-day party activities.

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers—the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Collectivism:** A system that combines many local holdings, such as farms or industry, into a single unit that is supervised by the government.

**Colonialism:** An economic system in which Western European nations controlled various underdeveloped countries located around the world.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Containment:** A key U.S. Cold War policy to restrict the territorial growth of communist rule.

**Counterculture:** A rebellion of Americans, mostly youth, against the established U.S. social values largely spawned by opposition to the Vietnam War.

**Counterinsurgency:** A military strategy to fight guerilla forces rising against established governments.

**Coup d'état:** The violent and forceful act of changing a government's leadership.

**Covert:** Secret.

**Cryptosystems:** Secret code systems that protect countries' communications; also called cipher; a cryptonologist "deciphered" the secret codes.

**Cuban Missile Crisis:** A showdown in October 1962 that brought the Soviet Union and the United States close to war over the existence of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba.

## **D**

**Decolonization:** When a country's people subjected to rule by a foreign power seek to overturn that rule and gain national independence.

**Deficit spending:** When a government spends more money than the revenue coming in; a key feature of the Cold War arms race with high military expenses.

**Democracy:** A system of government that allows multiple political parties. Their members are elected to various government offices by popular vote of the people.



**Destalinization:** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's effort to introduce social reforms to the Soviet Union by providing greater personal freedoms, lessening the powers of the secret police, closing concentration and hard-labor camps, and restoring certain legal processes.

**Détente:** A lessening of tensions between nations.

**Deterrence:** An attempt to discourage another nation from initiating hostile activity by threatening severe retaliation such as nuclear war.

**Dictatorship:** A form of government in which a person wields absolute power and control over the people.

**Disarmament:** The reduction of weapons and armed forces of a nation.

**Dissidents:** Those who actively disagree with the ruling authority.

**Doctrine:** A particular idea or policy embraced by a state or group.

**Domino theory:** The belief that if one country falls to communism then nearby nations will be taken over one after another.

## E

**Eisenhower Doctrine:** A doctrine giving the U.S. president the right to use force in the Middle East against any form of communist aggression.

**Espionage:** The act of spying on others to discover military or political secrets.

**Expansionism:** The policy of a nation to gain more territory by taking over control of other countries.

## F

**Fascism:** A dictatorship based on strong nationalism and often racism.

**Fifth Amendment:** An amendment to the U.S. Constitution that protects people from having to testify against themselves in formal hearings.

**Fission:** A process in which the nucleus of an atom of a heavy element is split into two nuclei, resulting in lighter el-

ements releasing a substantial amount of energy; the process utilized in atomic bombs such as that dropped on Hiroshima, Japan, in 1945.

**Flexible response:** The military strategy to maintain both sufficient conventional and nuclear weapons so that hostile actions by another nation may be met with a similar level of force.

**Fusion:** The joining together of atomic nuclei of the element hydrogen, generating an incredible amount of heat; the process utilized in hydrogen bombs.

## G

**Glasnost:** A plan for greater freedom of expression put into place by Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev in the mid-1980s.

## H

**Hollywood Ten:** Ten producers, directors, and screenwriters from Hollywood who were called before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to explain their politics and reveal what organizations they were part of. Eight of the ten had communist affiliations.

**House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC):** A congressional group established to investigate and root out any communist influences within the United States.

**Human rights:** A broad notion that all people, simply by being human, deserve certain economic and political freedoms of opportunity such as freedom from various kinds of deprivations including freedom from oppression, unlawful imprisonment and execution, torture, persecution, and exploitation.

**Hydrogen bomb:** A bomb more powerful than the atomic bomb that derives its explosive energy from a nuclear fusion reaction.

## I

**Ideology:** A body of beliefs.

**Imperialism:** A policy of expanding the rule of one nation over foreign countries.

**Industrialization:** A large-scale introduction of industry into an area, normally replacing agriculture to some degree.

**Intercontinental ballistic missile:** A missile that has a range of over 3,500 nautical miles.

**Intermediate-range ballistic missile:** A missile that has a range of between 800 and 1,500 nautical miles.

**Internationalist:** A person who promotes cooperation among nations.

**Isolationism:** A policy of avoiding official agreements with other nations in order to remain neutral.

## J

**Junta:** A group of military leaders in political control.

## K

**Kiloton:** Approximately equal to the amount of explosive force (energy released) of 1,000 tons of TNT, a conventional (non-nuclear) explosive.

**Korean War (1950–53):** A conflict that began when North Korean communist troops crossed the thirty-eighth parallel into South Korea.

## L

**Land reform:** A common feature of nationalist movements that often involves taking away large land holdings owned by foreigners and parceling them out to its citizens for small farming operations.

## M

**Manhattan Project:** A project begun in 1942—during World War II (1939–45)—with the goal of building an atomic weapon before scientists in Germany or Japan did.

**Marketplace:** The world of commerce operating relatively free of government interventions where demand and availability of goods and materials determine prices, distribution, and production levels.

**Marshall Plan:** A massive U.S. plan to promote Europe's economic recovery from the war; officially known as the European Recovery Program for Western Europe, it

was made available to all nations, though the communist regime rejected it.

**McCarthyism:** A term used to describe a person who makes accusations of disloyalty supported by doubtful evidence; it originated during the 1950s anticommunism campaign of U.S. senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin.

**Megaton:** Approximately equals the explosive force of 1,000,000 tons of TNT.

**Military industrial complex:** A politically powerful alliance of the military services and industry that provides materials to the military.

**Moles:** Spies who betray the agency they worked for by quietly funneling top secret information to the enemy.

**Molotov Plan:** A Soviet series of trade agreements—made after the rejection of the Marshall Plan—designed to provide economic assistance to eastern European countries.

**Most-favored-nation status:** An economic and political program that lowers taxes on goods exported by a foreign nation to the United States, making it much easier to sell goods to the U.S. public and businesses.

**Mutual assured destruction (MAD):** A military strategy in which the threat of catastrophic damages by a nuclear counterstrike would deter any launch of a first-strike attack.

## **N**

**Nation building:** Installing friendly governments wherever feasible around the world by the United States and the Soviet Union.

**National Security Act:** An act that created the National Security Council, which advises the president on national security policy.

**National Security Agency (NSA):** The United States' prime intelligence organization that listens to and analyzes foreign communications.

**National Security Council Document 68, or NSC-68:** A plan for keeping Soviet influence contained within its existing areas; the strategy required dramatic increases in U.S. military spending.

**Nationalism:** A strong loyalty to one's own nation and the quest to be independent from other nations.

**Nationalize:** To place land or industry under ownership of the state.

**Ninjas:** Highly skilled spies who can move in and out of buildings without keys, find entrance into forbidden places, or easily slip in and out of personal relationships.

**Nonproliferation:** The halt of the spread of nuclear weapons to previously non-nuclear countries.

**Normalization:** Improved relations between two countries to more usual diplomatic conditions.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO):** A peacetime alliance of the United States and eleven other nations, and a key factor in the attempt to contain communism; the pact meant that the United States became the undisputed global military leader.

## O

**Overt:** Open; not secret.

## P

**Parity:** The act of maintaining an equal amount of something, such as similar levels of nuclear weapons between the two superpowers.

**Peace Corps:** A U.S. program designed to promote world peace and friendship by having citizens travel abroad and assist developing nations.

**Peaceful coexistence:** A state of living peacefully and accepting other ideologies that widely differ; with regard to military competition, the United States and the Soviet Union sought to coexist peacefully.

**Perestroika:** A 1980s Soviet plan for recovery by restructuring the Soviet Union's economic and social systems.

**Philosophies:** Certain principles or bodies of knowledge that are followed by a group.

**Plutonium:** A radioactive element capable of explosive fission.

**Politburo:** The important policy making body of the Communist Party.

**Prague Spring:** A brief thaw in Cold War communist policies when in 1968 Czechoslovakia's Communist Party leader, Alexander Dubcek, sought to modernize communism with certain democratic reforms, including greater freedom of the press.

**Propaganda:** The spread of information or ideas to promote a certain organization or cause.

**Purge:** To remove undesirable persons from a group, such as mass executions of Communist Party members by Soviet leadership.

## **R**

**Red scare:** A great fear among U.S. citizens in the late 1940s and early 1950s that communist influences were infiltrating U.S. society and government and could eventually lead to the overthrow of the American democratic system.

**Reparations:** Payments made by a defeated nation for war damages it inflicted on the winning nations.

**Resistance movement:** Underground forces within a nation organized to defeat an occupying force.

**Revolutionaries:** Those seeking change by forceful overthrow of the existing government.

## **S**

**Sabotage:** An illegal interference of work or industrial production such as by enemy agents or employees.

**Satellite:** A country under domination by another; also, a man-made object that is launched into orbit around Earth.

**Second strike capability:** A military strategy in which a sufficiently large nuclear arsenal would ensure enough U.S. missiles would survive a Soviet first strike to ef-

fectively destroy the Soviet Union in an automatic second strike.

**Silent majority:** The segment of society in the 1970s that quietly supported the nation's war efforts in Vietnam as opposed to the more visible anti-war protesters.

**Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO):** An alliance of nations created to combat the expansion of communism in the Southeast Asian region, specifically Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Member nations included the United States, Great Britain, France, New Zealand, Thailand, Australia, Pakistan, and the Philippines.

**Space race:** A key feature of the Cold War rivalry between the two superpowers in their quest to gain dominance in space technology and achievements.

**Sphere of influence:** An area over which a nation holds domination over other nations, such as the United States and Soviet Union during the Cold War holding influence over major areas of the world.

**Strategic Air Command (SAC):** A unit established by the U.S. military with the goal of identifying targets in the Soviet Union and being ready to deliver nuclear weapons to those targets.

**Strategic arms:** Military weapons key to the strategy of making the enemy incapable of conducting war; generally refers to long-ranging weapons.

**Strategic Triad:** The United States' trio of weapons aimed at the Soviet Union; the arsenal consisted of long- and intermediate-range missiles fitted with nuclear warheads, long-range bombers carrying nuclear weapons, and nuclear-powered submarines with onboard nuclear-tipped missiles.

**Subversive:** An individual who attempts to overthrow or destroy an established political system.

**Superpowers:** Nations capable of influencing the acts or policies of other nations; during the Cold War, the United States and Soviet Union were considered the superpowers.

## T

**Tactical arms:** Military weapons that allow flexibility and skillful maneuverability in combat; generally referring to short-range weapons.

**Thermonuclear:** A nuclear fusion reaction releasing tremendous heat and energy as utilized in the hydrogen bomb.

**Third World:** Poor underdeveloped or economically developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Many were seeking independence from political control of Western European nations.

**Totalitarianism:** A highly centralized form of government that has total control over the population.

**Tradecraft:** The tricks and techniques used by spies in their covert, or secret, operations.

**Treaty:** A formal agreement between two nations relating to peace or trade.

**Truman Doctrine:** A Cold War-era program designed by President Harry S. Truman that sent aid to anticommunist forces in Turkey and Greece. The Soviet Union had naval stations in Turkey, and nearby Greece was fighting a civil war with communist-dominated rebels.

## U

**United Nations:** An international organization, comprised of most of the nations of the world, created to preserve world peace and security.

**Uranium:** A metallic natural element used primarily in atomic bombs and in nuclear power plants.

## V

**Vietcong:** Vietnamese communists engaged in warfare against the government and people of South Vietnam.

## W

**Warsaw Pact:** A mutual military alliance between the Soviet Union and the Eastern European nations under Soviet influence, including East Germany.



## Y

**Yalta Conference:** A 1944 meeting between Allied leaders Joseph Stalin, Winston Churchill, and Franklin D. Roosevelt in anticipation of an Allied victory in Europe over Adolf Hitler and Germany's Nazi Party. The leaders discussed how to manage lands conquered by Germany, and Roosevelt and Churchill urged Stalin to enter the Soviet Union in the war against Japan.

# People to Know

## A

**Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán (1913–1971):** Guatemalan president, 1950–54.

**Clement R. Attlee (1883–1967):** British prime minister, 1945–51.

## B

**Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar (1901–1973):** Cuban dictatorial leader, 1933–44, 1952–59.

**Lavrenty Beria (1899–1953):** Leader of the Soviet secret police (KGB) and manager of the Soviet bomb project.

**Anthony F. Blunt (1907–1983):** One of the KGB's famed Cambridge Spies.

**Willy Brandt (1913–1992):** West German chancellor, 1969–74.

**Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982):** Leader of the Soviet Union Communist Party, 1964–82.

**Zbigniew Brzezinski (1928–):** U.S. national security advisor, 1977–81.



**Guy Burgess (1910–1963):** One of the KGB's famed Cambridge Spies.

**George Bush (1924–):** Forty-first U.S. president, 1989–93.

**James F. Byrnes (1879–1972):** U.S. secretary of state, 1945–47.

## **C**

**Jimmy Carter (1924–):** Thirty-ninth U.S. president, 1977–81.

**Carlos Castillo Armas (1914–1957):** Guatemalan president, 1954–57.

**Fidel Castro (1926–):** Cuban premier/president, 1959–.

**Whittaker Chambers (1901–1961):** A journalist who admitted at the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) hearings that he had once been a communist but had later denounced communism; he named Alger Hiss as a communist.

**Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975):** Ruler of China's Nationalist (Kuomintang) party, 1943–49.

**Winston Churchill (1874–1965):** British prime minister, 1940–45, 1951–55.

## **D**

**Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970):** French president, 1958–69.

**Deng Xiaoping (1905–1997):** Leader of Communist China, 1976–90.

**Martin Dies (1900–1972):** U.S. representative from Texas, 1931–44, 1953–58; chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), often called the Dies Committee.

**Anatoly Dobrynin (1919–):** Soviet ambassador to the United States, 1962–86.

**Alexander Dubcek (1921–1992):** Czechoslovakian Communist Party leader, 1968.

**John Foster Dulles (1888–1959):** U.S. secretary of state, 1953–59.

## **E**

**Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969):** Thirty-fourth U.S. president, 1953–61.

## F

**Gerald R. Ford (1913–):** Thirty-eighth U.S. president, 1974–77.

**Klaus Fuchs (1911–1988):** British scientist who worked on the U.S. Manhattan Project and began passing detailed notes to the Soviets about the work being done on the development of a nuclear bomb.

## G

**Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–):** Soviet president, 1985–91.

**Andrey Gromyko (1909–1989):** Soviet foreign minister, 1957–85.

**Leslie R. Groves (1896–1970):** U.S. Army officer in charge of the Manhattan Project.

## H

**Alger Hiss (1904–1996):** U.S. State Department official who was accused of being a communist; he served three years and eight months in prison after being convicted of perjury.

**Adolf Hitler (1889–1945):** Nazi party president, 1921–45; German leader, 1933–45.

## J

**Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973):** Thirty-sixth U.S. president, 1963–69.

## K

**John F. Kennedy (1917–1963):** Thirty-fifth U.S. president, 1961–63.

**Robert F. Kennedy (1925–1968):** U.S. attorney general, 1961–64.

**Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971):** Soviet premier, 1958–64.

**Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968):** African American civil rights leader.

**Henry Kissinger (1923–):** U.S. national security advisor, 1969–75; secretary of state, 1973–77.

**Igor Kurchatov (1903–1960):** The Soviet Union's premier nuclear physicist who led the building of the Soviet's atomic bomb in 1948.

## L

**Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924):** Leader of the Bolshevik Revolution, 1917; head of the Soviet government, 1918–24; founder of the Communist Party in Russia, 1919.

**Patrice Lumumba (1925–1961):** Congolese nationalist movement activist; prime minister, 1960.

## M

**Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964):** Supreme commander of occupational forces in Japan, 1945–51, and UN forces in Korea, 1950–51.

**Donald Maclean (1913–1983):** One of the KGB's famed Cambridge Spies.

**Georgy M. Malenkov (1902–1988):** Soviet premier, 1953–55.

**Mao Zedong (1893–1976):** Chairman of the People's Republic of China and its Communist party, 1949–76.

**George C. Marshall (1880–1959):** U.S. secretary of state, 1947–49; secretary of defense, 1950–51.

**Joseph R. McCarthy (1908–1957):** U.S. senator from Wisconsin, 1947–57; for four years, he sought to expose American communists by manipulating the public's fear of communism and by making false accusations and claims that a massive communist conspiracy threatened to take over the country.

**Mohammad Mosaddeq (1880–1967):** Iranian premier, 1951–53.

## N

**Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970):** Egyptian president, 1958–70.

**Ngo Dinh Diem (1901–1963):** Republic of Vietnam president, 1954–63.

**Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994):** Republican congressman from California, 1947–50; member of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and closely involved with the investigation of accused communist Alger Hiss; U.S. senator from California, 1950–53; vice

president, 1953–61; and thirty-seventh U.S. president, 1969–74.

## O

**J. Robert Oppenheimer (1904–1967):** A theoretical physicist who led the building of the U.S. atomic bomb during World War II.

## P

**Kim Philby (1911–1988):** One of the KGB's famed Cambridge Spies.

## R

**Ronald Reagan (1911–):** Fortieth U.S. president, 1981–89.

**Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945):** Thirty-second U.S. president, 1933–45.

## S

**Eduard Shevardnadze (1928–):** Soviet foreign minister, 1985–90.

**Joseph Stalin (1879–1953):** Dictatorial Russian/Soviet leader, 1924–53.

## T

**Harry S. Truman (1884–1972):** Thirty-third U.S. president, 1945–53.

## U

**Walter Ulbricht (1893–1973):** Head of the East German government, 1949–71.

## V

**Cyrus Vance (1917–2001):** U.S. secretary of state, 1977–80.

## Y

**Boris Yeltsin (1931–):** Russian president, 1989–99.

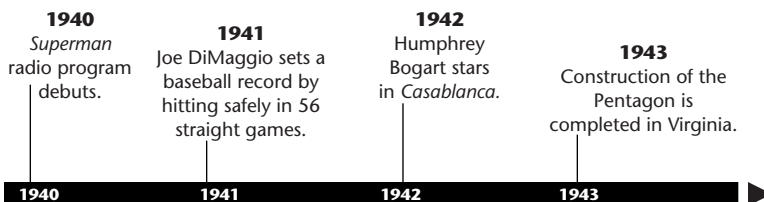
# Cold War Timeline

**September 1, 1939** Germany invades Poland, beginning World War II.

**June 30, 1941** Germany invades the Soviet Union, drawing the Soviets into World War II.

**December 7, 1941** Japan launches a surprise air attack on U.S. military installations at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, drawing the United States into World War II.

**November 1943** U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin meet in Tehran, Iran, to discuss war strategies against Germany and Italy.



**August-October 1944** An international conference held at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., creates the beginning of the United Nations.

**February 1945** The Yalta Conference is held in the Crimean region of the Soviet Union among the three key allied leaders, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin to discuss German surrender terms, a Soviet attack against Japanese forces, and the future of Eastern Europe.

**April-June 1945** Fifty nations meet in San Francisco to write the UN charter.

**May 7, 1945** Germany surrenders to allied forces, leaving Germany and its capital of Berlin divided into four military occupation zones with American, British, French, and Soviet forces.

**July 16, 1945** The first successful U.S. atomic bomb test occurs in Alamogordo, New Mexico.

**July-August 1945** U.S. president Harry S. Truman, Soviet premier Joseph Stalin, and British prime minister Winston Churchill meet in Potsdam, Germany, to discuss postwar conditions of Germany.

**August 14, 1945** Japan surrenders, ending World War II, after the United States drops two atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

**December 2, 1946** The United States, Great Britain, and France merge their German occupation zones to create what would become West Germany.

**March 12, 1947** U.S. president Harry S. Truman announces the Truman Doctrine, which says the United States

**1944**

Franklin D. Roosevelt is elected to an unprecedented fourth term as U.S. president.

1944

**1945**

George Orwell's *Animal Farm* is published.

1945

**1946**

The first general-purpose computer, the ENIAC, is completed.

1946

**1947**

Jackie Robinson becomes the first black major league baseball player.

1947



will assist any nation in the world being threatened by communist expansion.

**June 5, 1947** U.S. secretary of state George C. Marshall announces the Marshall Plan, an ambitious economic aid program to rebuild Western Europe from World War II destruction.

**July 26, 1947** Congress passes the National Security Act, creating the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Council (NSC).

**October 23, 1947** Actor Ronald Reagan testifies before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), a Congressional group established to investigate and root out any communist influences within the United States.

**December 5, 1947** The Soviets establish the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) to promote the expansion of communism in the world.

**February 25, 1948** A communist coup in Czechoslovakia topples the last remaining democratic government in Eastern Europe.

**March 14, 1948** Israel announces its independence as a new state in the Middle East.

**June 24, 1948** The Soviets begin a blockade of Berlin, leading to a massive airlift of daily supplies by the Western powers for the next eleven months.

**April 4, 1949** The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance involving Western Europe and the United States, comes into existence.

**May 5, 1949** The West Germans establish the Federal Republic of Germany government.

**1947**

Tennessee Williams's *A Streetcar Named Desire* opens on Broadway.

**1948**

The Baskin-Robbins ice cream chain opens.

**1949**

The first Emmy Awards ceremony is held.

1947

1948

1949

- May 12, 1949** The Soviet blockade of access routes to West Berlin is lifted.
- May 30, 1949** Soviet-controlled East Germany establishes the German Democratic Republic.
- August 29, 1949** The Soviet Union conducts its first atomic bomb test.
- October 1, 1949** Communist forces under Mao Zedong gain victory in the Chinese civil war, and the People's Republic of China (PRC) is established, with Zhou Enlai as its leader.
- January 1950** Former State Department employee Alger Hiss is convicted of perjury but not of spy charges.
- February 3, 1950** Klaus Fuchs is convicted of passing U.S. atomic secrets to the Soviets.
- March 1, 1950** Chiang Kai-shek, former leader of nationalist China, which was defeated by communist forces, establishes the Republic of China (ROC) on the island of Taiwan.
- April 7, 1950** U.S. security analyst Paul Nitze issues the secret National Security Council report 68 (NSC-68), calling for a dramatic buildup of U.S. military forces to combat the Soviet threat.
- June 25, 1950** Forces of communist North Korea invade pro-U.S. South Korea, starting the Korean War.
- October 24, 1950** U.S. forces push the North Korean army back to the border with China, sparking a Chinese invasion one week later and forcing the United States into a hasty retreat.
- June 21, 1951** The Korean War reaches a military stalemate at the original boundary between North and South Korea.

**1949**  
Boxing  
champion Joe  
Louis retires.

**1950**  
The first Xerox  
copy machine is  
produced.

**1951**  
*I Love Lucy* debuts  
on CBS-TV.

1949

1950

1951

- September 1, 1951** The United States, Australia, and New Zealand sign the ANZUS treaty, creating a military alliance to contain communism in the Southwest Pacific region.
- October 3, 1952** Great Britain conducts its first atomic weapons test.
- November 1, 1952** The United States tests the hydrogen bomb on the Marshall Islands in the Pacific Ocean.
- March 5, 1953** After leading the Soviet Union for thirty years, Joseph Stalin dies of a stroke; Georgy Malenkov becomes the new Soviet leader.
- June 27, 1953** An armistice is signed, bringing a cease-fire to the Korean War.
- August 12, 1953** The Soviet Union announces its first hydrogen bomb test.
- May 7, 1954** Vietminh communist forces defeat the French at Dien Bien Phu, leading to a U.S. commitment to containing communist expansion in Vietnam.
- September 8, 1954** The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is formed.
- February 8, 1955** Nikolai Bulganin replaces Georgy Malenkov as Soviet premier.
- May 14, 1955** The Warsaw Pact, a military alliance of Soviet-controlled Eastern European nations, is established; the countries include Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania.
- October 31, 1956** British, French, and Israeli forces attack Egypt to regain control of the Suez Canal.

**1952**  
NBC-TV's *The Today Show* debuts.

**1953**  
Lung cancer is attributed to cigarette smoking.

**1954**  
The first issue of *Sports Illustrated* is published.

**1955**  
Jonas Salk invents the polio vaccine.

1952

1953

1954

1955

**November 1, 1956** In Hungary, the Soviets crush an uprising against strict communist rule, killing many protesters.

**March 7, 1957** The Eisenhower Doctrine, offering U.S. assistance to Middle East countries facing communist expansion threats, is approved by Congress.

**October 5, 1957** Shocking the world with their new technology, the Soviets launch into space *Sputnik*, the first man-made satellite.

**November 10, 1958** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev issues an ultimatum to the West to pull out of Berlin, but later backs down.

**September 17, 1959** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev arrives in the United States to tour the country and meet with U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower.

**May 1, 1960** The Soviets shoot down over Russia a U.S. spy plane piloted by Francis Gary Powers, leading to the cancellation of a planned summit meeting in Paris between Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower.

**April 15, 1961** A U.S.-supported army of Cuban exiles launches an ill-fated invasion of Cuba, leading to U.S. humiliation in the world.

**June 3, 1961** U.S. president John F. Kennedy meets with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev at a Vienna summit meeting to discuss the arms race and Berlin; Kennedy comes away shaken by Khrushchev's belligerence.

**August 15, 1961** Under orders from Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, the Berlin Wall is constructed stopping the flight of refugees from East Germany to West Berlin.

**1957**  
*West Side Story* opens  
on Broadway.

**1959**  
Alaska and  
Hawaii become  
the 49th and  
50th U.S. states.

**1961**  
Soviet cosmonaut Yuri  
Gagarin becomes the first  
man to orbit Earth.

**1962**  
Jim Beatty becomes  
the first person to run  
the mile in less than  
four minutes.

1956

1958

1960

1962

**October 1962** The Cuban Missile Crisis occurs as the United States demands that the Soviets remove nuclear missiles from the island.

**January 1, 1963** Chinese communist leaders denounce Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's policies of peaceful co-existence with the West; the Soviets respond by denouncing the Chinese Communist Party.

**August 5, 1963** The first arms control agreement, the Limited Test Ban Treaty, banning above-ground nuclear testing, is reached between the United States, Soviet Union, and Great Britain.

**August 7, 1964** U.S. Congress passes the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, authorizing U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson to conduct whatever military operations he thinks appropriate in Southeast Asia.

**October 16, 1964** China conducts its first nuclear weapons test.

**March 8, 1965** The first U.S. ground combat units arrive in South Vietnam.

**June 23, 1967** U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson and Soviet prime minister Aleksey Kosygin meet in Glassboro, New Jersey, to discuss a peace settlement to the Vietnam War.

**January 30, 1968** The communist Vietcong forces launch the Tet Offensive, convincing the American public that the Vietnam War is not winnable.

**July 15, 1968** Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev announces the Brezhnev Doctrine, which authorizes the use of force where necessary to ensure maintenance of communist governments in Eastern European nations.

**1963**

U.S. president John F. Kennedy is assassinated.

**1965**

Demonstrations against the Vietnam War occur in forty U.S. cities.

**1966**

The National Organization for Women (NOW) is established.

**1967**

*Rolling Stone* magazine is first published.

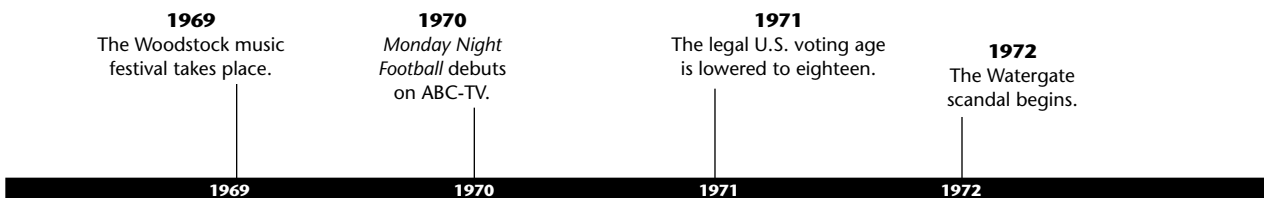
1962

1964

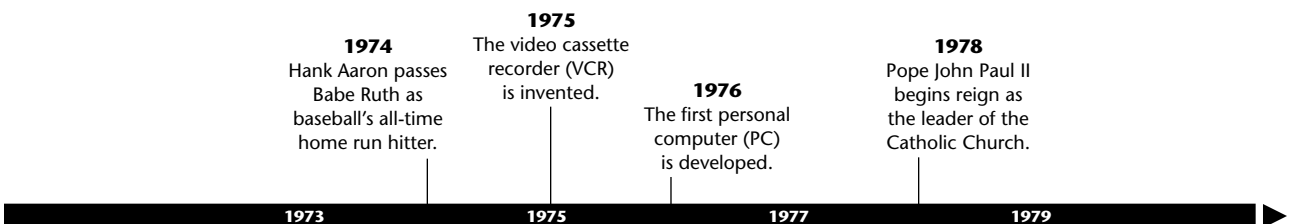
1966

1968

- August 20, 1968** The Warsaw Pact forces a crackdown on a Czechoslovakia reform movement known as the “Prague Spring.”
- August 27, 1968** Antiwar riots rage in Chicago’s streets outside the Democratic National Convention.
- March 18, 1969** The United States begins secret bombing of Cambodia to destroy North Vietnamese supply lines.
- July 20, 1969** The United States lands the first men on the moon.
- April 16, 1970** Strategic arms limitation talks, SALT, begin.
- April 30, 1970** U.S. president Richard Nixon announces an invasion by U.S. forces of Cambodia to destroy North Vietnamese supply camps.
- May 4, 1970** Four students are killed at Kent State University as Ohio National Guardsmen open fire on antiwar demonstrators.
- October 25, 1971** The People’s Republic of China (PRC) is admitted to the United Nations as the Republic of China (ROC) is expelled.
- February 20, 1972** U.S. president Richard Nixon makes an historic trip to the People’s Republic of China to discuss renewing relations between the two countries.
- May 26, 1972** U.S. president Richard Nixon travels to Moscow to meet with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev to reach an agreement on the strategic arms limitation treaty, SALT I.
- January 27, 1973** After intensive bombing of North Vietnamese cities the previous month, the United States and North Vietnam sign a peace treaty, ending U.S. involvement in Vietnam.



- September 11, 1973** Chilean president Salvador Allende is ousted in a coup in Chile.
- June 27, 1974** U.S. president Richard Nixon travels to Moscow for another summit conference with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.
- August 9, 1974** Under threats of impeachment due to a political scandal, Richard Nixon resigns as U.S. president and is replaced by Vice President Gerald R. Ford.
- November 23, 1974** U.S. president Gerald R. Ford and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev meet in the Soviet city of Vladivostok.
- April 30, 1975** In renewed fighting, North Vietnam captures South Vietnam and reunites the country.
- August 1, 1975** Numerous nations sign the Helsinki Accords at the end of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.
- December 25, 1977** Israeli prime minister Menachim Begin and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat begin peace negotiations in Egypt.
- September 17, 1978** Israeli prime minister Menachim Begin and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, meeting with U.S. president Jimmy Carter at Camp David, reach an historic peace settlement between Israel and Egypt.
- January 1, 1979** The United States and the People's Republic of China (PRC) establish diplomatic relations.
- January 16, 1979** The shah of Iran is overthrown as the leader of Iran and is replaced by Islamic leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.
- June 18, 1979** U.S. president Jimmy Carter and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev sign the SALT II strategic arms limitation agreement in Vienna, Austria.



**July 19, 1979** Sandinista rebels seize power in Nicaragua with Daniel Ortega becoming the new leader.

**November 4, 1979** Islamic militants seize the U.S. embassy in Tehran, Iran, taking U.S. staff hostage.

**December 26, 1979** Soviet forces invade Afghanistan to prop up an unpopular pro-Soviet government, leading to a decade of bloody fighting.

**April 24, 1980** An attempted military rescue of American hostages in Iran ends with eight U.S. soldiers dead.

**August 14, 1980** The Solidarity labor union protests the prices of goods in Poland.

**January 20, 1981** Iran releases the U.S. hostages as Ronald Reagan is being sworn in as the new U.S. president.

**November 12, 1982** Yuri Andropov becomes the new Soviet leader after the death of Leonid Brezhnev two days earlier.

**March 23, 1983** U.S. president Ronald Reagan announces the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

**September 1, 1983** A Soviet fighter shoots down Korean Airlines Flight 007 as it strays off-course over Soviet restricted airspace.

**October 25, 1983** U.S. forces invade Grenada to end fighting between two pro-communist factions.

**February 13, 1984** Konstantin Chernenko becomes the new Soviet leader after the death of Yuri Andropov four days earlier.

**February 1985** The United States issues the Reagan Doctrine, offering assistance to military dictatorships in defense against communist expansion.

**1980**  
Former Beatle John Lennon is murdered.

**1981**  
MTV makes its debut.

**1982**  
The compact disc (CD) is introduced.

**1985**  
Microsoft releases Windows.

1979

1981

1983

1985



**March 11, 1985** Mikhail Gorbachev becomes the new Soviet leader after the death of Konstantin Chernenko the previous day.

**October 11–12, 1986** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. president Ronald Reagan meet in Reykjavik, Iceland, and agree to seek the elimination of nuclear weapons.

**October 17, 1986** Congress approves aid to Contra rebels in Nicaragua.

**November 3, 1986** The Iran-Contra affair is uncovered.

**June 11, 1987** Margaret Thatcher wins an unprecedented third term as British prime minister.

**December 8–10, 1987** U.S. president Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev meet in Washington to sign the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), removing thousands of missiles from Europe.

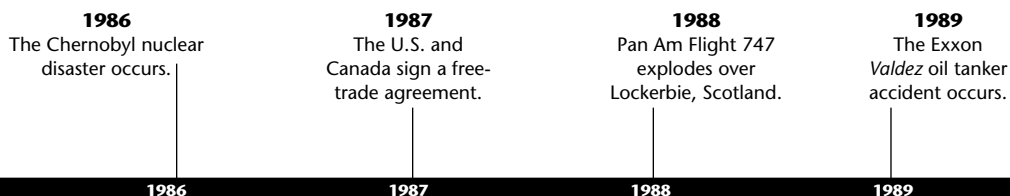
**February 8, 1988** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announces his decision to withdraw Soviet forces from Afghanistan through the following year.

**May 29, 1988** U.S. president Ronald Reagan journeys to Moscow for a summit meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

**January 11, 1989** The Hungarian parliament adopts reforms granting greater personal freedoms to Hungarians, including allowing political parties and organizations.

**January 18, 1989** The labor union Solidarity gains formal acceptance in Poland.

**March 26, 1989** Open elections are held for the new Soviet Congress of People's Deputies, with the communists suffering major defeats; Boris Yeltsin wins the Moscow seat.



- May 11, 1989** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announces major reductions of nuclear forces in Eastern Europe.
- June 3–4, 1989** Chinese communist leaders order a military crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square, leading to many deaths.
- June 4, 1989** The first Polish free elections lead to major victory by Solidarity.
- October 7, 1989** The Hungarian communist party disbands.
- October 23, 1989** Massive demonstrations begin against the East German communist government, involving hundreds of thousands of protesters and leading to the resignation of the East German leadership in early November.
- November 10, 1989** East Germany begins dismantling the Berlin Wall; Bulgarian communist leadership resigns.
- November 24, 1989** Czechoslovakia communist leaders resign.
- December 1, 1989** U.S. president George Bush and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev begin a three-day meeting on a ship in a Malta harbor to discuss rapid changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.
- December 20, 1989** Lithuania votes for independence from the Soviet Union.
- December 22, 1989** Romanian communist leader Nicolae Ceausescu is toppled and executed three days later.
- March 1990** Lithuania declares independence from Moscow.
- March 14, 1990** Mikhail Gorbachev is elected president of the Soviet Union.
- March 18, 1990** Open East German elections lead to a major defeat of Communist Party candidates.

**1989**  
Wayne Gretzky becomes professional hockey's all-time leading scorer.

**1989**  
A major earthquake hits San Francisco, California.

**1990**  
*The Simpsons* debuts on the FOX network.

1989

1990

**May 29, 1990** Boris Yeltsin is elected president of the Russian republic.

**June 1990** Russia declares independence as the Russian Federation.

**October 15, 1990** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his reforms that ended the Cold War.

**November 14, 1990** Various nations sign the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, ending the economic and military division of Europe created by the Cold War.

**July 1, 1991** The Warsaw Pact disbands.

**August 19, 1991** Soviet communist hardliners attempt an unsuccessful coup of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, leading to the banning of the Communist Party in Russia and other Soviet republics.

**August 20–September 9, 1991** The various Soviet republics declare their independence from the Soviet Union, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kirgizia, and Tadjikistan.

**October 3, 1991** West and East Germany reunite as one nation.

**December 8, 1991** Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia create the Commonwealth of Independent States organization as an alliance replacing the Soviet Union.

**December 25, 1991** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev resigns as the Soviet president, and the Soviet Union ceases to exist.

**January 28, 1992** In his Annual State of the Union Address, U.S. president George Bush declares victory in the Cold War.

**1990**  
The Hubble Space Telescope is deployed in space.

**1991**  
The Persian Gulf War takes place.

**1992**  
Hurricane Andrew causes \$15 billion in damage in Florida.

1990

1991

1992

## Research and Activity Ideas

The following research and activity ideas are intended to offer suggestions for complementing social studies and history curricula, to trigger additional ideas for enhancing learning, and to provide cross-disciplinary projects for library and classroom use.

- **Newspaper search:** Old issues of local newspapers are likely available at your public library, a nearby college or university library, or from the local newspaper office itself. Locate and review newspapers for the following events using the approximate dates given. Assess if reporters grasped the major points of the crisis. Choose interesting accounts to read to the class. The events are: Cuban Missile Crisis (October 23, 1962, through the end of October 1962); Berlin, Germany, Airlift (mid-July 1948 to mid-May 1949); Building the Berlin Wall (August 14, 1961, through the end of August 1961); and Tearing Down the Berlin Wall (November 10, 1989, through the end of November 1989).
- **The bomb scare:** At the height of the Cold War (1945–91), many individuals attempting to protect family members considered building bomb shelters in case of nuclear at-



tack. At your local library, secure an old copy of the September 15, 1961, issue of *Life* magazine. Look for an article titled “Fallout Shelters.” Also note the preceding letter to the American public from President John F. Kennedy.

- **Make an important decision:** Would you choose to build a shelter or rely on public bomb shelters being identified at that time by the Civil Defense? If you decide you would build, consider the same issues as those 1960s families did in the article. Where would you place your shelter, what kind would you build, could you afford to build it, and what and how many provisions would you stock it with? In the event of an attack warning, how long would it take to gather your family at the shelter?
- **Pretend you are a 1960s teenager:** Would a family shelter represent comfort and security, or a constant reminder of a possible doomsday event? Write what your thoughts might have been as the shelter was constructed.
- **Arms control treaties:** Create a timeline of nuclear weapons control treaties. Briefly describe the substance of each treaty and indicate which countries signed onto them. Begin with the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty. In addition to information found in books, check out information on the Internet at [www.atomicarchive.com](http://www.atomicarchive.com).
- **Strategic Triad:** To defend the United States from a nuclear attack, the U.S. government and military developed a system known as the Strategic Triad. Triad, meaning three, incorporated: (1) long-range bombers carrying nuclear weapons; (2) land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles; and (3) missile-carrying submarines. The reasoning behind the Triad was that an enemy could not hope to destroy all three systems in a first attack—at least one system would be left to retaliate. Hence, an enemy should be discouraged from launching an attack. Choose one of the three systems and report to the class. To learn more about the history of these systems, go to these Web sites on the Internet: U.S. Strategic Air Command, <http://www.stratcom.af.mil>; Titan Missile Museum, [http://www.pimaair.org/titan\\_01.htm](http://www.pimaair.org/titan_01.htm); Ballistic Missile Submarines (SSBNs), <http://www.stratcom.af.mil/factsheethtml/submarines.htm>; and U.S. Navy Fact File, <http://chinfo.navy.mil/navpalib/factfile/ships/ship-ssn.html>.

- **At the movies:** Watch one of the following movies, each of which have Cold War overtones: *I Married a Communist* (1950); *My Son John* (1952); *Storm Center* (1956); *On the Beach* (1959); *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962); *Dr. Strangelove* (1963); *The Russians Are Coming, the Russians Are Coming* (1966); *The Deer Hunter* (1978); *Red Dawn* (1984); and *The Hunt for Red October* (1990). Applying your knowledge of the Cold War, how was the superpower rivalry portrayed in the movie? Whether the movie was dramatic and suspense-filled or a comedy spoof, what ideas about the Cold War did it relay to the audiences?
- **Map project:** Create the two following maps, then compare and contrast them. First, create a map of Europe and the Soviet Union as the countries existed in the late 1960s. Include the democratic Western European countries and the communist Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union. Second, create a map of the same geographical area in 2000 after the breakup of the Soviet Union during the 1990s.
- **U.S. Cold War military sites:** On a map of the western United States, locate the following sites involved in top secret Cold War military activities. Using a numbered key, on the map briefly describe the mission charged to each site. Using your favorite Internet search engine, enter these terms: Los Alamos, White Sands, Titan II Museum, Trinity Site, Nevada Test Site, Long Beach Navy Yard, Mare Island Naval Shipyard, North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) Headquarters, and Strategic Air Command (SAC) Headquarters.
- **Spying from above:** Research and report on aircraft and satellite spies. Include the U-2, Corona Satellite project, SR71 Blackbird (succeeded the U-2), and drone-type aircraft such as the U.S. Air Force Predator.
- **International Spy Museum, Washington, D.C.:** Go to the website of the International Spy Museum (<http://www.spymuseum.org>) and find out about such fascinating topics as the tools of the trade of spying, lives of the spies of the Cold War, the Berlin Tunnel, or any other topic that catches your imagination at this exciting site.

- **VENONA Project:** Research the VENONA Project, which was the U.S. Army's Signal Intelligence Service's attempt, beginning in 1943, to decode the encrypted messages of the Soviet intelligence agencies, the KGB and GRU. The National Security Agency (NSA) ended a fifty-year silence on VENONA when it released documents in 1995 for the general public to study. The intelligence secrets uncovered by deciphering codes helped expose Soviet espionage activities carried out in the United States. For information, go to the National Security Agency's Web site, <http://www.nsa.gov/docs/VENONA> and the Public Broadcasting Service's *NOVA Online* Web site at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/venona>.
- **CNN's "Cold War Experience":** Media giant CNN produced a documentary series on the Cold War for television broadcast in 1998. It won the prestigious George Foster Peabody Award for an excellent documentary series. To coincide with the programming, CNN developed an Internet interactive website, the *Cold War Experience*, that allows you to explore many facets of key situations and events of the Cold War. Go to this website at <http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/> for spellbinding information about the bomb, culture, technology, espionage, and more.
- **Development of nuclear weapons:** Divide the class into two groups, the Americans and the Soviets. Research and then write a class play on the development of the early nuclear technology. First act: The successful American development of an atomic bomb by 1945 with leading characters J. Robert Oppenheimer and Brigadier General Leslie R. Groves. Second act: The successful Soviet development of an atomic bomb by 1949 with leading characters Igor Kurchatov (physicist) and Lavrenti Beria (head of the KGB, the Soviet secret police). Third act: Follow Oppenheimer and Kurchatov until their deaths. What conclusions did they both independently come to concerning nuclear development, and how did they promote their views?
- **Coded or encrypted messages:** Divide the class into small groups for creating secret codes. Have each group make up an encrypted message using three letters for one

letter, such as “abc” standing for “t.” Make a tiny code deciphering book. Exchange code books and messages with another group. All students then become codebreakers employed by the National Security Agency and break the code. Remember, in real situations, code books changed from week to week and month to month, making deciphering very difficult.

- **Fission and fusion:** Explore the scientific basis of and difference between the nuclear reactions of fission and fusion. Explain the difference in destructive force between the atomic bomb based on fission and the hydrogen bomb based on fusion. Define what is meant by strategic and tactical nuclear weapons.
- **Terrorist thievery:** In the era of terrorists in the early twenty-first century, why do government officials fear that plutonium and uranium isotopes (two or more forms of an element that differ from each other according to their mass number) might be stolen. Which type of bomb, fission or fusion, might a terrorist produce with the stolen material? Would that bomb destroy a large part of the world or would it be, however devastating, limited in its destructive effects?
- **Interviews:** Make a list of persons who students know lived during much of the Cold War. Parents or grandparents born in the 1940s would be good candidates. Develop questions ahead of time. Tape record the interview if possible or take careful notes. Transcribe the recording or notes into a clear written retelling of the interview. This process is known as taking and recording an oral history. Share the oral history with the class.
- **Cartoon creation:** Cartoons are common features in newspapers and magazines. Used to illustrate the artist’s viewpoint of an occurrence or common issue of the day, cartoons draw reactions from readers ranging from laughter to quiet agreement with the artist to howls of disgust. Use your imagination and artistic skills to create a cartoon about some aspect of the Cold War. Take either the side of the United States or of the Soviets. Suggestions for topics are Winston Churchill’s phrase the “Iron Curtain,” the Berlin Airlift, the Berlin Wall, the nuclear arms race, the space race, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, the mutual



assured destruction policy, détente, and President Ronald Reagan's "Star Wars" program. Be sure to convey an emotion such as humor, fear, or surprise. Write a caption for the cartoon that captures the essential message or spirit of the cartoon.

- **Debate #1:** Divide the class into two groups: (1) democratic, capitalists of Western Europe and the United States and (2) the communists of the Soviet Union. Debate thoroughly the differences in the two systems of government and economies. In reality, both sides believed their system was best. So staunchly defend what you think is right about your respective system. Were there any similarities or common ground in the two systems, or were they hopelessly incompatible?
- **Debate #2:** Divide the class into two groups: U.S. government officials and Soviet government officials. Set the debate in the time frame of 1945 to approximately 1949, post-World War II. Remember, the two groups were becoming more distrustful of each other with each passing day. Explore the reasons why, then debate over a "summit" table such issues as why the Soviets insisted on occupying Eastern European countries, why German reunification was such a stumbling block, and why Americans were suspicious of a communist conspiracy to take over the world and therefore began a policy of "containment."
- **Debate #3:** Divide the class into two groups: one in favor of a massive arms buildup to deter the Soviets and the other opposed to an arms buildup and instead vigorously pressing for arms control talks. Debate the advantages and problems with mutual assured destruction (MAD).
- **Debate #4:** Research and debate the ideas of the domino theory, particularly relating it to China, Korea, and Vietnam. How did it impact tensions of the Cold War?
- **Debate #5:** Study and debate President Ronald Reagan's "Star Wars" project. How did Reagan's insistence on the program affect the Soviets and did it prolong or hasten an end to the Cold War?
- **The image of Nikita Khrushchev:** At your public library, or a nearby college or university library, locate *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower* (2000) by the

late Soviet leader's son, Sergei Khrushchev. In the 1960s, most Americans thought of Nikita Khrushchev as an evil, stubborn Soviet leader determined to blow up the United States with nuclear weapons. From your reading of the book, construct your own personality and leadership profile of Nikita Khrushchev.

- **Mikhail Gorbachev:** Study in depth the life and ideologies of the Soviet Union's final president, Mikhail Gorbachev. Why was he chosen for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1990?

# Cold War Almanac

## Renewed Tensions

8

**“W**e will bury you!” Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) shouted these dramatic words in a speech in Moscow in 1956. His language struck fear in many U.S. citizens and contributed to Cold War paranoia. However, the line was misinterpreted; the statement referred to a Russian phrase meaning “We will outlast you and attend your funeral [or burial].” Khrushchev himself later complained about the negative reaction: “I once said, ‘We will bury you,’ and I got into trouble with it. Of course we will not bury you with a shovel. Your own working class will bury you.” But the damage had been done, and the line has been quoted out of context for years and years.

Four years later, at a United Nations meeting on September 20, 1960, the Soviet leader lashed out again. (The United Nations is an international organization, composed of most of the nations of the world, created to preserve world peace and security.) After British prime minister Harold Macmillan (1894–1986) made a speech that was critical of the Soviet Union, the red-faced Soviet leader angrily responded by taking off his shoe and banging it on the table and waving it at Macmillan.





## Words to Know

**Capitalism:** An economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned.

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls almost all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Democracy:** A system of government in which several political parties compete.

**Eisenhower Doctrine:** A doctrine giving the U.S. president the right to use force in the Middle East against any form of communist aggression.

These two images of Khrushchev are among the more memorable moments of the Cold War, a forty-five-year rivalry between the two world superpowers, the communist Soviet Union and the capitalist democracy of the United States. Communism is a system of government in which a single political party, the Communist Party, controls nearly all aspects of society. Government leaders are selected by the party leadership. The communist system prohibits private ownership of property; goods produced and resulting wealth are, in theory, shared equally by all citizens. A communist government controls all economic production and does not allow religious practices. A democracy is a system of government in which several political parties compete. Their members are elected to various government offices through general public elections. Capitalism is an economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Economic activity operates relatively free of government interventions; competition determines the prices, production, and distribution of goods. Religious freedom is one of the cornerstones of the United States; it is guaranteed in the Bill of Rights.

In February 1956, Khrushchev, the Soviet leader, made a lengthy historic speech setting a new course for his nation. Khrushchev strongly denounced the past practices of former Soviet premier Joseph Stalin (1879–1953), calling them crimes against the people. Stalin's crimes included mass killings of Eastern Europeans in the 1930s. Khrushchev condemned Stalin for placing his own quest for power above the welfare of the people. Breaking from Stalin's precedent, Khrushchev called

for peaceful competition with the West.

The speech gave U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61) some hope that tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union could be eased; it even seemed that the Soviets might loosen their hold on Eastern Europe. However, Khrushchev’s speech triggered a dramatic and unexpected outcry against the Soviets by Eastern Europeans. Revealing the truth about the Stalin era sparked a backlash against Soviet rule in Eastern Europe.

Despite the seemingly optimistic prospects in early 1956, Eisenhower’s second term as president, beginning in January 1957, coincided with increased tensions worldwide. European crises erupted, and in the Third World—from the Congo in Africa to Cuba in Latin America—the Cold War between non-communist and communist factions intensified. Third World is a term used to refer to poor underdeveloped or developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Most Third World countries are former colonies whose economies are primarily based on agriculture. Latin America includes the entire Western Hemisphere south of the United States. It includes Central and South America as well as Mexico and the islands of the West Indies.

## European unrest

Following the horrific revelations about the Stalin era, Eastern Europeans boldly demonstrated their disdain for communist rule. In June 1956, riots broke out in Poland after workers went on strike; they were protesting wage cuts imposed by the government and harsh working conditions. In an effort to peacefully resolve the crisis, Khrushchev ousted the Stalin-era Polish leaders. He installed a new communist leader, Wladyslaw Gomulka (1905–1982), who promised



### People to Know

**Fidel Castro Ruz (1926–):** Cuban premier/president, 1959–.

**Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969):** Thirty-fourth U.S. president, 1953–61.

**Nikita S. Khrushchev (1894–1971):** Soviet premier, 1958–64.

**Patrice Lumumba (1925–1961):** Congolese nationalist movement activist; prime minister, 1960.

**Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970):** Egyptian president, 1958–70.

**Joseph Stalin (1879–1953):** Dictatorial Russian/Soviet leader, 1924–53.

**Over two hundred thousand people gather in Warsaw, Poland, to listen to new Communist Party leader Wladyslaw Gomulka.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



worker reforms. Khrushchev quickly became uncomfortable with the reforms and asked Gomulka to limit his efforts. Gomulka had pressed for more expansive social reforms, including greater personal freedoms, than Khrushchev was willing to accept. The new Polish leader refused to back down, and Khrushchev chose not to force the issue.

Seeing Soviet rule being successfully challenged in Poland, students in Hungary decided to press for even greater change in their country. They wanted to eliminate communism altogether and turn Hungary toward neutrality. On October 23, 1956, student demonstrations turned violent in the growing rebellion against the Soviet presence. One week later, Hungarian leader Imre Nagy (1896–1958) announced that Hungary would pull out of the Warsaw Pact and drop the ban on political parties within Hungary. Orchestrated by the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact was a military alliance of Eastern European nations, designed to protect them in case of Western European aggression. The pact also served another



er purpose: It gave the Soviets firmer control over the internal affairs of the member countries.

Khrushchev decided events in Hungary had gone too far, and on November 4 he responded with force. Some two hundred thousand Soviet troops and fifty-five hundred tanks launched a bloody surprise attack. Before the revolt, the United States had been encouraging Eastern European nations to follow independent communist paths, much like Yu-

**Soviet tanks roll into Budapest, Hungary, to break up anticommunist revolts in 1956.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



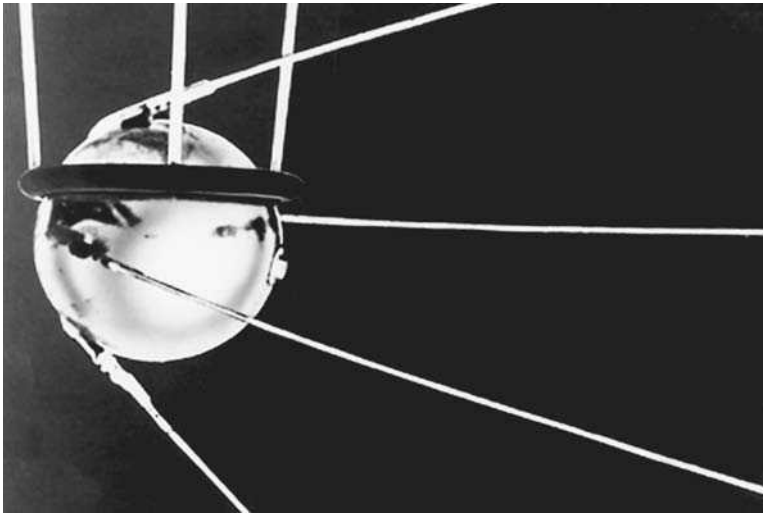
goslavia. However, Eisenhower did not want to risk nuclear war, so he chose not to assist the Hungarian anticommunist movement. By November 8, after several days of fierce fighting, all public unrest was crushed. The death toll was high: Close to thirty thousand Hungarians and several thousand Soviet troops were killed. In addition, over two hundred thousand Hungarians fled into neutral Austria. Many ended up in the United States. The Soviets arrested and later executed Nagy. With Soviet approval, János Kádár (1912–1989) assumed the Hungarian leadership, the beginning of his more than thirty years in power.

The Hungarian revolt and resulting massive Soviet response caused major repercussions. The incident weakened Khrushchev's standing at home. Soviet communist hardliners blamed Khrushchev's anti-Stalin speech for the turmoil in Eastern Europe. Khrushchev pulled back his support for reform, or political change, and instead increased Soviet economic aid to Eastern Europe, hoping to avoid more unrest and further use of military force. By June 1957, Khrushchev had prevailed over the internal political challenge, and for the time being, he turned his attention to the skies.

## The missile race

Early in the morning of October 4, 1957, the Soviet Union launched the world's first Earth-orbiting satellite, *Sputnik I*. (*Sputnik* means "fellow traveler," a phrase often used by Soviet communists to refer to each other. A satellite is an constructed object that orbits, in this case, the Earth.) On November 3, the Soviets launched a satellite carrying a dog named Laika, who lived for ten days, proving that a living creature could survive in space for a period of time. These launches were a start for space exploration, but they were perhaps more important as propaganda (information spread to further one's own cause) victories for Khrushchev and the Soviet Union. The American public was shocked by the rapid technological advances the Soviets had made, though the United States was not too far behind, launching its first successful satellite on February 1, 1958.

Riding a wave of reversed popularity in the Communist Party following the crisis in Hungary, Khrushchev re-



**The Soviet Union's *Sputnik*, the world's first Earth-orbiting satellite.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

placed Nikolay Bulganin (1895–1975) as Soviet premier in March 1958. Khrushchev was the secretary general of the Soviet Communist Party, the real office of power within the Soviet Union, and Bulganin had served as the Soviet premier. Now Khrushchev claimed both titles.

The U.S. scientific community and U.S. officials worried about the Soviets' intercontinental ballistic missile capabilities: Was the United States now vulnerable to nuclear missile attacks? Reports stated that the United States was falling behind in both missile technology and the number of long-range bombers; the threat of massive retaliation by the United States might no longer be an effective deterrent to hostile actions. Fears of a Soviet nuclear missile advantage rose in the American public. With substantial public support, Congress passed the National Defense Education Act in 1958, providing \$5 billion for higher education to increase U.S. technological capabilities. An emphasis was placed on science, mathematics, engineering, and foreign languages. Funding increased for additional Strategic Air Command bombers and nuclear weapons. The United States also poured more funding into its space program. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was established in October 1958 to guide U.S. space program development.

On July 4, 1956, long before the Soviets launched their first satellite, the United States had begun to make se-



## National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)

The Soviet Union launched *Sputnik I* on October 4, 1957. It was the first artificial satellite to orbit Earth. The event stunned the American public and U.S. officials, who had thought the United States had a significant technological advantage over the Soviets. At that time, rocket and upper atmospheric research in the United States was primarily conducted by the Department of Defense (DOD). The DOD had been working on Project Vanguard. The goal of the project was to orbit a U.S. satellite by 1957, but the project had fallen behind schedule. Following the successful Soviet launch, the DOD launched its first satellite on February 1, 1958. However, the United States remained alarmed because of the rapid advances in the Soviet space program. Soon, Congress created the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), which began operations on Oc-

tober 1, 1958. NASA received a \$100 million annual budget. The “space race” became a key feature of the Cold War rivalry between the two superpowers.

NASA tackled several avenues of research, including manned and unmanned spaceflight, information-gathering satellites, and aircraft safety research. Landmark successes came quickly: On May 5, 1961, Project Mercury launched the first American in space, Alan B. Shepard Jr. (1923–1998). On February 20, 1962, John H. Glenn Jr. (1921–) was the first U.S. astronaut to orbit Earth. However, continued Soviet advances in the “space race” had led President John F. Kennedy (1917–1963; served 1961–63) to proclaim on May 25, 1961, that a key goal of the United States was to be the first to land a man on the

cret espionage, or spy, flights over the Soviet Union, using high-altitude U-2 planes. Flying 12 miles high, they could photograph 750-mile-wide (1,200-kilometer) corridors. Through the U-2 photography, Eisenhower learned more about Soviet missile capabilities, Soviet nuclear testing, and the Soviet space program. The secret surveillance flights and other intelligence-gathering showed that the Soviets had no technological advantage; there was no reason to fear. The Soviets had not deployed intercontinental missiles.

However, Eisenhower could not let the public know that the United States had the advantage over the Soviet Union. Publicizing information about Soviet missile capabilities would reveal the extent of the secret U.S. spy program. As a result, public pressure forced Eisenhower to increase funding for the U.S. missile program, and the existing U.S. advan-



One of NASA's crowning achievements: Neil Armstrong is the first man to step on the Moon, July 20, 1969.

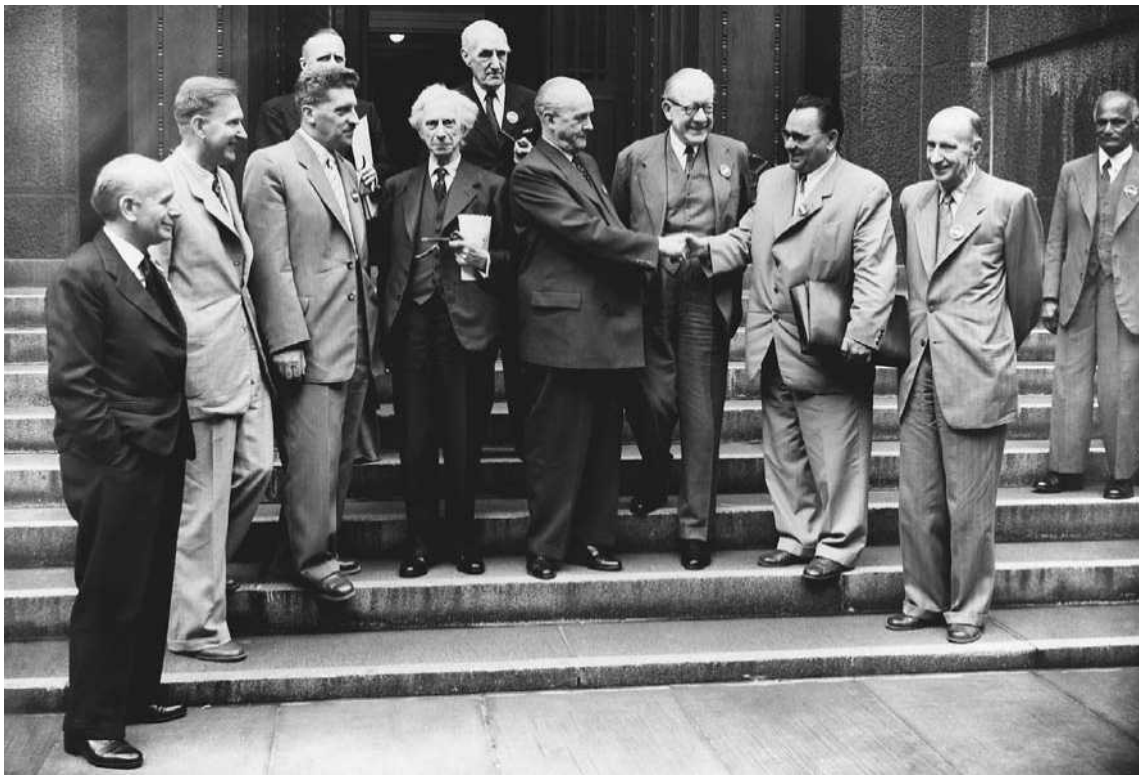
Moon; the goal date was the end of the 1960s. NASA would spend more than \$25 billion during the rest of the decade on Project Apollo. On July 20, 1969, U.S. astronaut Neil A. Armstrong (1930–) became the first man to step on the Moon, fulfilling Kennedy's challenge.

Cooperation with the Soviets began in 1975 while the Cold War still persisted. A test rendezvous (linking up) and docking in space between separately launched American- and Soviet-manned space capsules proved successful. Shortly after the end of the Cold War, in 1993, the Soviet Union and the United States began a joint program to establish the International Space Station. By the late 1990s, American and Soviet astronauts were routinely sharing space quarters for long periods of time.

tage grew. Between 1957 and 1960, the United States would triple its stash of nuclear weapons, going from six hundred to eighteen hundred, including Polaris nuclear submarines. Intermediate-range ballistic missiles were sent to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries in Europe to be shared among the Western European nations, including West Germany. NATO is a peacetime alliance of the United States and eleven other nations.

## Back-and-forth test-ban proposals

Earlier, the Soviets had found U.S. test-ban proposals unacceptable because the proposals included on-site inspection requirements. The Soviets were unwilling to provide the United States with maps of their military installations. How-



**Prominent world scientists gather in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1955 to discuss the prospects of a nuclear test ban.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

ever, in December 1957, aware of the U.S. buildup, Khrushchev began pressing for a ban on nuclear weapons testing. This time Eisenhower was not interested.

In March 1958, the Soviets proposed a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, including West Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany. The proposal suggested that the manufacture and deployment of nuclear weapons within this zone be banned. Again the United States and its NATO allies rejected the proposal, claiming West Germany might be left vulnerable to attack by Soviet conventional forces.

Unhappy with NATO's response, Khrushchev decided to put pressure again on West Berlin. By 1958, West Berlin had received \$600 million in economic aid from the United States and had become a showcase of democratic capitalism. Close to three million East Germans, many of them young professionals, had moved to the West Berlin zone. Khrushchev believed

the rearming of West Germany was in clear violation of post-war treaties. He threatened to end Soviet occupation of East Berlin and give the East German government control over access to West Berlin if the Western allies did not leave West Berlin. The Western allies did not want East Germany to gain the status of an independent nation. Not only would formal recognition of East Germany establish yet another communist nation, but it would potentially greatly hinder future reunification with West Germany into one Germany again. To appease Khrushchev and avoid further problems in Berlin, the United States and Britain agreed to the Soviet test-ban proposal in October 1958. The suspension of nuclear testing would last three years. From May 11 to August 5, 1959, representatives from the four main powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, France, and Britain—met in Geneva to determine the fate of Berlin. Though few agreements were reached, the crisis was averted, and tensions over Berlin declined for the next few years.

## **Spirit of Camp David**

Khrushchev traveled to the United States in September 1959 to meet with Eisenhower. After touring an Iowa corn farm and being turned away from Disneyland because the United States feared for his safety, Khrushchev met with Eisenhower at Camp David, the presidential retreat in Maryland, 70 miles from Washington, D.C. Though they made little firm progress, they did agree to keep Berlin as it was for the time being and to meet again in Europe the following spring. The relationship of the two superpower leaders seemed to be on much stronger footing. The improved relations were referred to as “the spirit of Camp David.”

## **The Middle East erupts**

The Middle East is a large region that includes parts of southwestern Asia, southeastern Europe, and northern Africa. It extends from Turkey in the north to Sudan in the south and stretches to Iran in the east. It includes Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Syria, Jordan, Yemen, Lebanon, Cyprus, Oman, Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates. The region was critically important to the United States and West-

ern Europe because of its vast oil reserves and its long boundary with the Soviet Union. The boundary could be used to block potential expansion of Soviet influence toward the Persian Gulf. For these reasons, Eisenhower decided to forge an anti-Soviet alliance among Arab states. Britain had long been the dominant colonial power in the region, but its control had declined after World War II (1939–45). (Colonialism refers to a political and economic relationship in which a powerful country maintains control over the people of a poorer or weaker country. Most often the term is used in reference to Western European nations that historically controlled various underdeveloped countries.) Because of its close association with the new nation of Israel, the United States had a problem in filling the regional power void left by Britain. (The United States, through its strong pro-Israel lobby within the United States itself, provided substantial economic support of the new nation.) Attempting to pursue a more neutral approach to the Israel-Arab dispute, the United States helped arrange a defense treaty among willing Middle East nations. (Israel's violent displacement of Palestinian Arab populations in creating the new nation created lasting animosity.) Established in February 1955 and known as the Baghdad Pact, the treaty included Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and Iraq, as well as Great Britain. The United States trusted that this group of nations would serve as a solid barrier to Soviet expansion in the Middle East. However, Egypt would soon prove this wrong.

Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970) was the leader of Egypt. He had overthrown King Farouk (1920–1965) to capture control of the country in July 1952. At first, Eisenhower saw Nasser as a positive influence on Arab stability and signed a treaty with him in 1954. Under the treaty, Britain would withdraw all of its troops from Egypt. However, Nasser desired much more. He wanted to lead a pan-Arab nationalist movement, an alliance of all Arab nations to rid the region of outside political influences. The movement sought to eliminate Israel from the region to regain lost lands and to create a Palestinian state in its place. In 1955, Nasser declined to join the Baghdad Pact. Instead he asked for assistance from the Soviets to attack Israel. By September 1955, Egypt was receiving arms from Czechoslovakia at the request of the Soviets. In April 1956, Egypt formed a military alliance with

Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen. In May, Nasser extended formal recognition to communist China. Nasser was becoming a hero to the Arab world in his drive to destroy Israel.

On July 19, 1956, Eisenhower responded to Nasser's actions by announcing that the United States would no longer offer financial assistance for the construction of the Aswan High Dam, a key project designed to greatly improve agriculture in Egypt through inexpensive hydroelectric power. On July 26, Nasser responded by nationalizing the Suez Canal, the main shipping link between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. This meant Nasser now controlled the movement of oil shipments from the Middle East to Western Europe. Britain, France, and Israel combined forces to take back the canal: On October 29, Israel launched an attack against Egypt. Two days later, French and British forces attacked with warplanes and paratroopers. Nasser responded by sinking ships in the canal, closing it to shipments. An oil crisis loomed for Europe. Highly upset by the French and British military action, Eisenhower introduced a United Nations (UN) resolution calling for a cease-fire in the region. The resolution was also supported by the Soviets, but Eisenhower feared the attack by Western forces would drive Egypt ever closer to the Soviets. By December 22, Britain and France had withdrawn their troops from Egypt.

Though Egypt's forces had been overwhelmed in the Suez War, Nasser emerged from the conflict with greater prestige. The Western nations, on the other hand, were left divided. Stung by the UN resolution and threats from the Soviet Union, France would leave NATO by 1966 and pursue its own nuclear development program. The last bit of British influence in the Middle East had disappeared as well. As the Soviets passed more weapons to Nasser, Eisenhower went to



**Britain's *Empire Ken* sails into Port Said, Egypt, carrying reinforcements during the Suez Crisis of 1956.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



Congress in January 1957 for expanded presidential powers in the region. As a result, the Eisenhower Doctrine was established: The president was granted the right to use force in the Middle East against any form of communist aggression. The doctrine made the United States the dominant foreign power in the region.

Inspired by Nasser's leadership in Egypt, nationalist movements erupted in various Arab countries. In February 1958, Nasser formed the United Arab Republic (UAR) alliance with Syria and Yemen. On July 14, 1958, the pro-Western government of Iraq fell to General Abdul Karim Kassem (1914–1963), who wanted Iraq to join the UAR. That same day, Camille N. Chamoun (1900–1987), the president of the pro-Western Lebanon government, requested U.S. aid to combat an attempted coup d'état, an illegal or forceful change of government, there as well. Eisenhower immediately sent fourteen thousand U.S. troops to Lebanon; he also sent air support for three thousand British troops who were defending Jordan's King Hussein (1935–1999). By placing eleven hundred Strategic Air Command aircraft on alert, Eisenhower warned the Soviets not to get involved in Lebanon.

By October 1958, stability had been restored in Lebanon and Jordan. In addition, Iraq's Kassem dropped his effort to join the UAR and ensured the security of Western oil company property in Iraq. Nevertheless, Iraq did withdraw from the U.S.-inspired Baghdad Pact in 1958. The name of the Baghdad Pact was changed to Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).

By 1961, Nasser's effort at uniting the Arab world was falling apart. Syria withdrew from the UAR, and Egypt became enemies with Syria and Iraq. The Soviet influence in the Middle East was challenged by U.S. influence. After the Suez War, the United States had replaced Britain and France

as the most influential Western power in the region. The pro-U.S. governments of Lebanon, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia welcomed the Eisenhower Doctrine. Egypt, Syria, and Iraq looked to the Soviets for military and economic aid. However, the superpowers had trouble making the Middle East countries into dependent states; efforts to resolve the Israel-Palestine dispute would also prove futile. The oil reserves in the region gave these countries a degree of political and economic independence found in few other places. The value of the reserves allowed these countries to be nationalists.

## Second Taiwan Strait crisis

In August 1958, the communist People's Republic of China (PRC), also known as Mainland China, had once again begun bombarding the offshore islands controlled by the Republic of China (ROC). Leaders of the ROC had established themselves on the island of Taiwan after being driven from the mainland by Chinese communists. The communists who led the PRC sought to force acceptance of their government as the official representative government of all Chinese people; they wanted diplomatic recognition of the ROC to stop. Khrushchev sent a note to Eisenhower threatening global nuclear war if the United States supported an attack against the Chinese mainland. Ignoring the threat, Eisenhower sent the U.S. Seventh Fleet back to the Taiwan Strait to escort ROC supply ships. The PRC artillery was careful not to hit the U.S. ships, and the United States showed no inclination to become further involved militarily. On October 6, 1958, a cease-fire went into effect when the United States offered the PRC a resolution that involved reduction of ROC forces on the smaller islands being bombarded. ROC president Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975) consented to the U.S. proposal, and the second crisis in the Taiwan Strait quickly came to an end.

Despite Khrushchev's seemingly strong support of the PRC, Chinese communists in that government viewed his actions with great suspicion. They believed Khrushchev knew full well that the United States had no intention of going to war with the Soviet Union; and they seriously doubted that the Soviets would risk nuclear war on behalf of the PRC. In fact, the break between the PRC and the Soviet Union was

widening. The Soviets were becoming increasingly fearful of the belligerent PRC leader, Mao Zedong (1893–1976), and his possible lack of restraint in the future use of nuclear weapons. The Soviets had been providing some assistance to PRC in the development of nuclear capabilities but stopped the assistance in 1959—they feared the PRC might turn its nuclear weapons on the Soviet Union. They also pressed PRC for repayment of a \$2.4 billion debt from the Korean War (1950–53), despite the fact that the PRC was struggling economically. In 1958, Mao had introduced a massive economic program to transform the PRC's largely agricultural economy into a major industrial society. The program, called the Great Leap Forward, was a disaster and made the PRC even more reliant on Soviet economic assistance. From the Soviets' perspective, there were now enemies to the east and west: The PRC was a growing threat on the eastern border, and West Germany, supplied with nuclear missiles from the United States, menaced the western Soviet boundary.

## Africa

For centuries, Britain, France, and Portugal had carved up sub-Saharan Africa into various colonial holdings. (Sub-Saharan Africa refers to the part of the continent that lies south of the Sahara, a region of deserts that extends across northern Africa. It includes all the countries south of Egypt, Libya, and Algeria; most of them are Third World nations, or poor underdeveloped or developing nations whose economies are primarily based on agriculture.) The Europeans who colonized Africa sought access to slaves and natural resources. A well-established region of European influence, the area stayed stable following World War II, remaining quite distant from the superpower rivalry through much of the 1950s. Though the United States generally opposed colonialism, it was evident that the colonial holdings of such Western European allies as Great Britain, France, Portugal, and Belgium had kept Africa relatively safe from communist expansion; the United States and the Soviet Union, therefore, focused on the oil-rich Middle East and other regions. However, by the late 1950s, the process of decolonization gained momentum in Africa. During decolonization, a



country ruled by a foreign power seeks to overturn that rule and gain national independence.

In the summer of 1960, the ongoing conflict between the superpowers shifted to sub-Saharan Africa, at least temporarily. On June 30, 1960, Belgium announced it was granting independence to Congo (from 1971 to 1997 known as Zaire; as of 1997 known as the Democratic Republic of Congo). On July 5, the Congolese army mutinied and attacked its white officers and a number of settlers. Congo's prime minister, Patrice Lumumba (1925–1961), was unable to maintain control as Belgian forces arrived to restore order. In reaction to the presence of the Belgian troops, a separatist movement rose up in the Congolese province of Katanga. (Separatists seek to gain political independence for their region of a country.) With the conflict widening, Lumumba asked for help from the United Nations (UN). A UN resolution called for replacement of the Belgian forces with an interna-

**On July 1, 1960, Congolese troops march in celebration of their country's independence from Belgium a day earlier. The festivities were short-lived, however, as major conflicts began on July 5. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.**

tional military force on July 15. However, the UN military was unwilling to take on the Katanga separatist movement. Discouraged, Lumumba turned to the United States for assistance but was refused. He was considered too unreliable for long-term relations. Lumumba then approached the Soviets, who immediately responded with equipment and personnel. The United States saw the Soviets' aid as a violation of the UN resolution. Because Lumumba accepted Soviet assistance, U.S. officials considered him a communist and a threat to the region. CIA director Allen Dulles (1893–1969) put a plan in motion to overthrow Lumumba. Relying on pro-U.S. Congolese leaders, the plan led to Lumumba's overthrow in September and his assassination on January 17, 1961.

## **A Cuban revolution**

Cuba was another Third World country that became the focus of Cold War rivalries. From 1934 through 1958, Cuba was ruled by dictator Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar (1901–1973). Maintaining strong ties with the United States, Batista allowed U.S. corporations to dominate the economy of the island, including the sugar industry and oil production. The arrangement led to severe economic problems among the Cuban population. Unemployment and illiteracy were high, and disease was widespread. Because of U.S. corporate involvement in Cuba, only a small percent of the population accounted for most of Cuba's wealth. Young activist Fidel Castro Ruz (1926–) found the situation ripe for a revolt against the dictatorship. Leading the revolution, Castro seized power on January 1, 1959. He proposed to introduce major social and economic reforms. He also promised to reduce illiteracy, improve housing and health care, and combat organized crime. He wanted to end American economic domination. Like President Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán (1913–1971) in Guatemala, Castro proposed land reform, the breakup of large estates into smaller parcels for common citizens to own and farm. Alarmed by Castro's plans, U.S. businesses sought help from the Eisenhower administration.

Castro drew the ire of U.S. officials by rounding up hundreds of Batista supporters and executing them, with minimal legal process. Although the United States extended



Revolutionary leader Fidel Castro waves to the crowd after seizing power of the Cuban government on January 1, 1959. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.

diplomatic recognition to Castro's government, Eisenhower refused to meet with Castro when Castro made a visit to the United States in April 1959. Castro sought financial aid from the United States to support his reforms, but the United States refused to give such aid. By late 1959, Castro's Cuba nationalized, or took control and ownership of, private businesses and foreign holdings on the island, including American banks.

Eisenhower concluded that Castro was a communist, although Castro was actually a nationalist, not a communist, at the time. Eisenhower saw the new Cuban leader as a threat to Latin America. Unable to obtain American aid, Castro signed a trade agreement with the Soviet Union in February 1960. Eisenhower then decided to initiate a CIA plan to overthrow Castro; the U.S. government would train Cuban refugees to carry out the plan. Upon hearing of the secret plot, Castro turned more fully to the Soviets for help and protection. The Soviet Union responded with economic aid. Castro also signed arms agreements with Eastern European countries. By the sum-

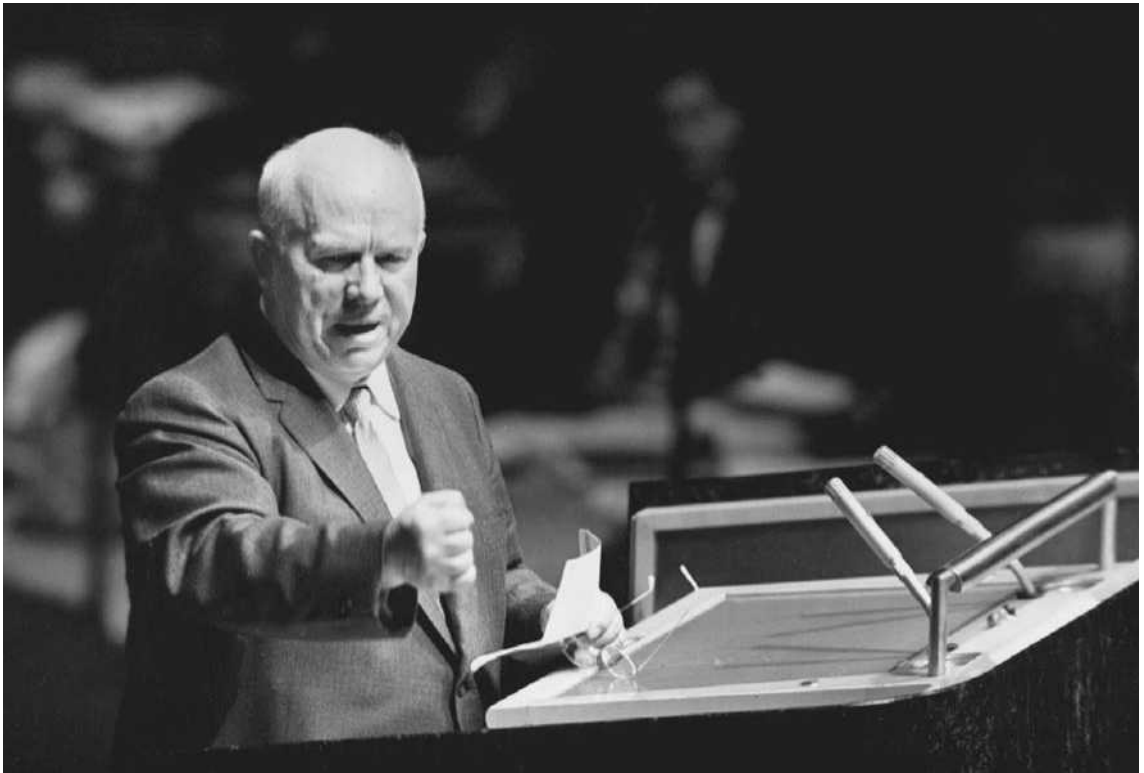
mer of 1960, Cuba had become part of the Soviet sphere of influence. Eisenhower responded decisively by reducing and then cutting U.S. imports of Cuban sugar. While Castro was nationalizing foreign land holdings, the United States made it clear that it would never allow the Guantánamo naval base, located on the eastern tip of Cuba, to be seized. Castro responded by nationalizing all other American interests. On September 26, 1960, Castro strongly denounced U.S. policies in a speech before the United Nations (UN) General Assembly. In October, Eisenhower placed an embargo, or trade stoppage, on most U.S. exports to Cuba, and by January 1961 Eisenhower had severed diplomatic ties with Cuba, leaving the island an outpost of Soviet influence in the Western Hemisphere.

Other major changes were brewing as well in the broader Third World arena. In September 1960, the UN General Assembly met at its headquarters in New York City. Seventeen new nations, sixteen of which were former Western colonies in Africa, were accepted as UN members. The UN was becoming an international organization of largely Third World nations, quite different from its original fifty members in 1945, which were mainly European nations. Seizing on the opportunity, on September 24 Khrushchev made a speech to the General Assembly in which he sought to align the Soviet Union with the Third World in opposition to Western colonialism. It was clear that the United States would no longer dominate UN activities.

## **Darkening skies**

Following the meeting of Khrushchev and Eisenhower at Camp David in September 1959, the two superpowers had worked toward a summit meeting through early 1960. Key issues were a new U.S. proposal for a test-ban agreement and the Berlin occupation. By late March, in preparation for the summit meeting, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union had worked out the basic elements of a comprehensive nuclear test ban. The summit meeting was then scheduled for May in Paris. Hope was running high for greater cooperation between the two superpowers.

However, just as a major breakthrough in U.S.-Soviet relations seemed a certainty, shocking news halted diplo-



matic progress. On May 7, 1960, Khrushchev announced that on May 1 an American U-2 spy plane had been shot down deep inside the Soviet Union. Since July 1956, over two hundred U-2 missions had been flown. Though he had orders to commit suicide rather than be captured, the American pilot, Francis Gary Powers (1929–1977), was securely in Soviet hands. At first, Khrushchev tried to quietly resolve the matter by giving Eisenhower an opportunity to claim that he personally knew nothing of the spy flights and that any future flights would be stopped. Eisenhower refused to claim personal innocence. Next, Khrushchev, angry that the United States was spying during a period when the superpowers were working on a thawing of relations, asked for an apology. Not wanting to give in to a Khrushchev demand, Eisenhower angrily refused. The Paris summit meeting began as scheduled on May 19, 1960, but with Khrushchev's refusal to participate, little hope of progress existed; the U-2 spy controversy had chilled the diplomatic atmosphere. Eisen-

**An angry Nikita Khrushchev pounds his fist at a United Nations session in October 1960.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*



hower returned to Washington, D.C., two days later. The test-ban agreement was left uncompleted and the future of Berlin unresolved.

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# Cuban Missile Crisis

9

In November 1960, U.S. senator John F. Kennedy (1917–1963) of Massachusetts defeated Vice President Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994) in the presidential election. Kennedy was taking on a difficult job: U.S. relations with the Soviet Union were declining, and the world seemed to be proceeding deeper into crisis and conflict. A prime example of this was displayed on the evening of October 22, 1962, when Kennedy addressed the nation via television. The president had undisputable evidence that Soviet-built nuclear missiles capable of reaching the United States and many Latin American countries were in place in Cuba, 90 miles (145 kilometers) from the U.S. shoreline.

As noted in the *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, in his televised address, Kennedy said, “Should these offensive military preparations continue ... further action will be justified. I have directed the Armed Forces to prepare for any eventualities [possible action].... It shall be the policy of this Nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.... No one can foresee precisely





## Words to Know

**Bay of Pigs:** Failed U.S.-backed invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs by fifteen hundred Cuban exiles opposed to Fidel Castro, on April 17, 1961.

**Capitalism:** An economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Cuban Missile Crisis:** A showdown in October 1962 that brought the Soviet

Union and the United States close to war over the existence of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba.

**Democracy:** A system of government that allows multiple political parties. Their members are elected to various government offices by popular vote of the people.

**National Security Agency (NSA):** The United States' premier organization assigned to protect U.S. information systems and listen in on and analyze foreign intelligence information.

**Quarantine:** A blockade; during the Cuban Missile Crisis, the United States installed a buildup of naval ships around Cuba, with the intent of preventing any additional Soviet ships and their military cargo from reaching Cuba. Because blockades were against international law, the term "quarantine" was used instead.

what course it [the retaliation] will take or what costs or casualties will be incurred." In the following decades, especially during the 1990s as Soviet documents became available, records revealed that in late October 1962, the world was indeed at the brink of a nuclear holocaust. The intersection of the careers of a U.S. president and a newly established leader of a small nearby island, Fidel Castro Ruz (1926– ), would keep the world's population on the edge of their seats for many days.

## A young Fidel Castro

Born in Mayarí, Cuba, in 1926, Castro grew up in a solidly middle-class home. He graduated from the University

of Havana in 1950 with a law degree. During most of Castro's early years, Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar (1901–1973), an oppressive dictator (a leader who uses force and terror to maintain control), ruled Cuba. Batista had been in complete control of the island since 1933, either directly or through other presidents. Batista's economic policies helped establish light industries, such as canneries, and allowed foreign companies, many from the United States, to build their businesses in Cuba. U.S. corporations dominated the sugar industry, oil production, and other key aspects of the island's economy. Most of Cuba's wealth was owned by a tiny percentage of the population; most Cuban citizens lived in dire poverty. Under these circumstances, Cuba was ripe for revolution, and Castro, the handsome, intense young lawyer, proved to be a charismatic leader.

In 1953, Castro attempted to overthrow Batista and was sent to prison. After his release in 1955, Castro went to Mexico and immediately gathered rebels together. In December 1956, Castro and his men landed in Cuba and carried on guerrilla, or irregular and independent, attacks against Batista's army for the next few years. The people of Cuba, especially the many who lived in poverty, increasingly supported the young revolutionaries, or those seeking radical change. On January 1, 1959, Batista fled Cuba. Within weeks, Castro established himself as premier.

Initially, the United States supported Castro, who was not a communist at the time. Communists believe that the best economic system is one that eliminates private ownership of property. Under this system, the goods produced and the wealth accumulated are, in theory, shared equally by all. A single party, the Communist Party, controls government and almost all other aspects of society. Communism is in direct contrast with the values of democratic, capitalist countries such as



## People to Know

**Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar (1901–1973):** Cuban dictatorial leader, 1933–44, 1952–59.

**Anatoly Dobrynin (1919–):** Soviet ambassador to the United States, 1962–86.

**Fidel Castro Ruz (1926–):** Cuban premier/president, 1959–.

**Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969):** Thirty-fourth U.S. president, 1953–61.

**John F. Kennedy (1917–1963):** Thirty-fifth U.S. president, 1961–63.

**Robert F. Kennedy (1925–1968):** U.S. attorney general, 1961–64.

**Nikita S. Khrushchev (1894–1971):** Soviet premier, 1958–64.



**A young Fidel Castro (seated).** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

the United States. A democratic government system requires government leaders and others who hold public office to be elected by the citizens in general elections. Candidates represent different political parties—and ultimately, all the people who vote for them. Capitalist economic systems allow private ownership of property and businesses. Competition in a free, or open, market determines prices, production, and distribution of goods.

The American media, including *Life* and *Reader's Digest* magazines, hailed Castro as an educated, daring, determined soldier. Castro wanted to lift Cubans out of poverty. He cut rents, proposed improved education and health care, and instituted farming reform, or dramatic change. He broke up large estates into smaller parcels for common citizens to farm. He also sought to end America's domination of the Cuban economy. How-

ever, Castro made no movement toward setting up free elections, which he had earlier promised to do. Appalled at Castro's actions, many middle-class and wealthy Cubans fled to the United States. From there, they began an anti-Castro campaign aimed at influencing the Cubans who stayed behind. To Castro's dismay, the United States did nothing to stop the anti-Castro effort. When Castro sought aid for his reforms from the United States, he was refused. During 1960, Cuba's relations with the United States rapidly slid downhill. The Soviet Union was ready and able to step in, signing a trade agreement with Castro in February 1960.

## Moving toward communism

During mid-1960, Castro nationalized, or took control and ownership of, a billion dollars' worth of U.S. businesses in Cuba, including American oil refineries and banks. In response, U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969;

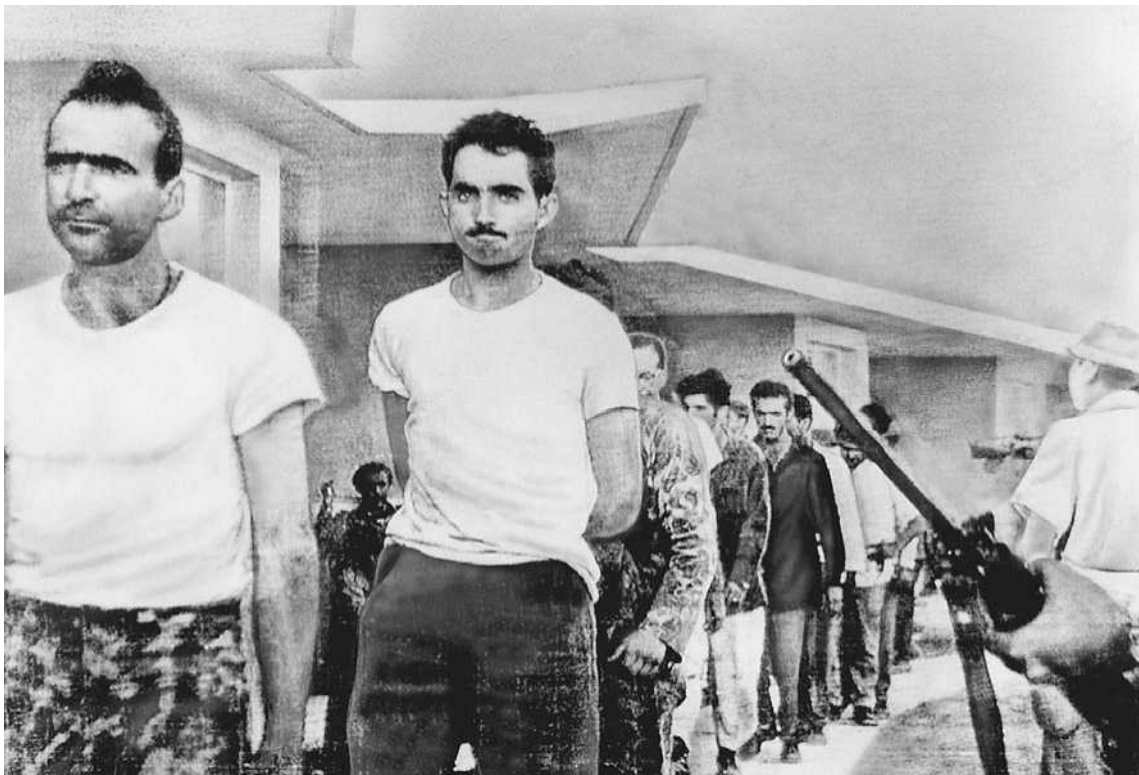
served 1953–61) halted U.S. importation of Cuban sugar, but the Soviet Union quickly agreed to buy the surplus. The Soviets also agreed to supply petroleum products to Cuba. In September 1960, Castro met Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) at the United Nations in New York City. Khrushchev warmly received Castro and privately gloated that communism had its first toehold in the Americas. Castro publicly aligned his country with the communist Soviet Union. On January 3, 1961, the United States and Cuba broke all diplomatic ties. For the most part, the American populace of the early 1960s believed that no leader would voluntarily turn toward communism; they figured that the Soviets must have been behind Castro all along. They overwhelmingly supported a hard-line anti-Castro policy.

President Eisenhower had early on suspected that Castro would take Cuba down the communist path, so in March 1960 he had secretly authorized the use of \$13 million to train Cuban exiles, the people who had fled Cuba, to carry out an invasion of Cuba and oust Castro. Approximately fifteen hundred exiles volunteered to be trained for this job by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The top-secret training took place in the Central American countries of Guatemala and Nicaragua.

## **The Bay of Pigs fiasco**

When President Kennedy took office, he inherited the Cuban problem. He had been briefed by Eisenhower's administration about the plans to remove Castro. Surprised, Kennedy nevertheless allowed the CIA and the Cuban exiles to proceed. However, knowing that it would look bad for a powerful nation to invade a tiny island, he refused to involve the American military; U.S. military aircraft would not be allowed to provide cover for the invasion. Kennedy hoped it would appear that the United States had played no part. The CIA and the fifteen hundred exiles, sure that the Cuban people would rise up and aid their effort against Castro, went ahead with their invasion on April 17, 1961, at a swampy beach area known as the Bay of Pigs.

Castro had gotten word of the planned invasion through informants who knew some of the exiles and had



**Anti-Castro forces captured during the failed Bay of Pigs invasion are marched off to prison on April 21, 1961.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

his army ready with Soviet-made tanks. The defeat of the invading exiles was swift and complete. It was clear the failed invasion was backed by the United States, because the band of exiles could have never become so organized or bold otherwise. Kennedy was publicly embarrassed by the failure. He vowed that in the future he would consider more carefully the advice of those surrounding him.

The Cuban people had not risen up to overthrow Castro as expected. Instead, the Bay of Pigs invasion seemed to increase their support of Castro. Now firmly in the communist camp, Castro railed against American imperialism. (Imperialism is the practice of taking over other countries by force for economic or political gain.)

By this time, the Castro that Americans constantly saw on television was an eccentric-looking character: He always dressed in a military uniform, he had a scruffy beard, and his cigar seemed to be permanently attached to his mouth. Convinced that Castro was a serious threat to the

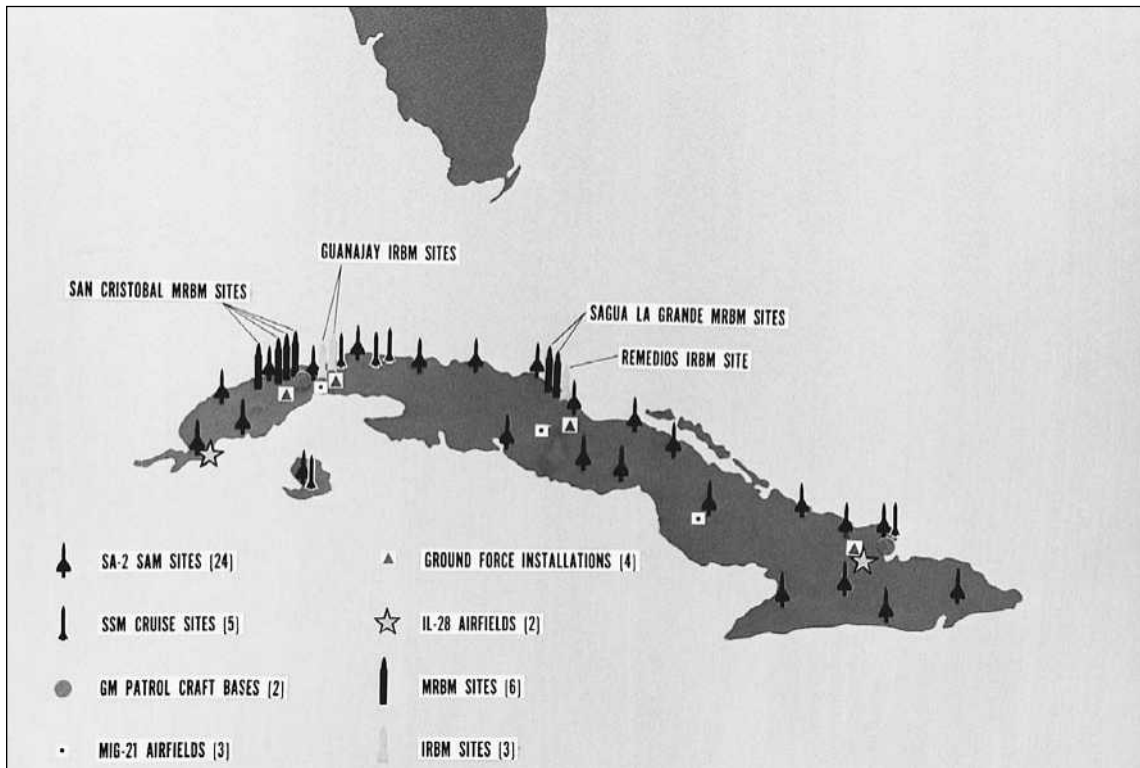
United States, President Kennedy ordered Operation Mongoose, a top-secret plan to oust Castro. Operation Mongoose encompassed various plots, from placing hallucinatory drugs in Castro's drinking water to assassinating him. However, Operation Mongoose never materialized.

## Communism on the march

Khrushchev was eager to maintain the forward progress of communism in the Western Hemisphere. By the spring of 1962, he had already sent many advisors and arms to Cuba. The Soviet investment in the island was substantial. Cuba's locale was a logistic dream for Khrushchev and a nightmare for the United States. Khrushchev fumed over the fact that U.S. missiles with nuclear warheads were openly located in Turkey, Italy, and the United Kingdom, within easy striking distance of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev admitted that those warheads scared the Soviets. The Soviets had never placed nuclear weapons outside their country's boundaries, because the weapons positioned inside the Soviet Union had the capability of annihilating Western Europe and reaching the United States. Nevertheless, Khrushchev knew that if he stationed nuclear weapons in Cuba, only 90 miles from the U.S. coastline, it would cause Americans a great deal of anxiety.

When approached with the idea, Castro was not convinced that he wanted his island to be an outpost of Soviet nuclear weapons. But he soon agreed, and sent his brother Raúl and a Cuban military delegation to Moscow to work out the details. Castro wanted the missiles openly placed on Cuba, with the full knowledge of the international community. He hoped this would raise his status among Latin American leaders. But Khrushchev insisted on secrecy; he believed that once the missiles were in place, the United States could not act without the possibility of provoking war. So in secrecy the Soviets planned to install forty missile launchers in Cuba. Of the forty, twenty-four would be SS-5 medium-range ballistic missile (MRBM) launchers, each armed with two missiles. Each missile, armed with a nuclear warhead, had an explosive power equal to 1 million tons (907,000 metric tons) of TNT. At the end of World War II (1939–45), the city of Hiroshima, Japan, had been leveled in minutes by the equivalent of 13,000 tons (11,791 metric tons) of TNT. The MRBMs had a





**A map of Cuba in 1962 showing Soviet missile sites and the types of installations at each.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

range of 1,100 miles (1,270 kilometers), so Washington, D.C.; Dallas, Texas; and all the southeastern states were at risk. The other sixteen missile launchers would be long-range, capable of sending missiles northward to Canada and south into Latin America. Calculations showed that the only major U.S. city they could not reach was Seattle, Washington.

In July 1962, Soviet ships sailed toward Cuba with their cargo of missile equipment. Also headed for Cuba was the latest Soviet military equipment plus over forty thousand Soviet troops. Soviet fighter planes known as MiG's, some bombers to be assembled in Cuba, and surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) to protect the nuclear missile sites all moved across the Atlantic Ocean to Cuba. The size of the undertaking was enormous. All the while, the Soviet government consistently assured the United States that the arms buildup in Cuba was purely defensive in nature—that the Soviet Union had no need to station missiles outside its own territory. These assurances would soon prove to be lies.

## Revelations of October 14, 1962

Alarming intelligence reports from the National Security Agency (NSA) began late in 1960 and continued in 1961. The NSA was America's prime intelligence organization that listened to and analyzed foreign communications. Through intercepted messages, the NSA determined that Cuba was significantly building up its weapons, with the Soviet Union's help.

Additionally, the NSA heard Spanish being spoken on a surveillance tape from Czechoslovakia, an Eastern European nation under Soviet control; it turned out that Cuban fighter pilots were being trained in Czechoslovakia by the Soviet military. The NSA also intercepted messages that indicated that Soviet ships headed for Havana, Cuba, had no cargo listed—a quiet method of concealing the equipment they carried. The NSA reported on construction of SAM sites and new radar installations of air defense systems in Cuba. They also spotted Cubans training on Russian military equipment. U.S. officials in Washington, D.C., grew increasingly worried. Nevertheless, all these systems could be categorized as defensive systems, and Soviet authorities continued to insist that everything they provided to Cuba was purely defensive. U-2 reconnaissance aircraft, secret planes that gathered information, flew at high altitudes over Cuba, and the pictures they brought back did not indicate any offensive weapons sites in Cuba.

Then on October 14, 1962, a U-2 mission returned with chilling photographs. Processed and analyzed on October 15, the photos showed the first clear evidence of medium-range ballistic missiles at construction sites in an area known as San Cristóbal. The photographs arrived on the desk of the president's national security advisor, McGeorge Bundy (1919–1996), on the evening of October 15. The MRBM installation appeared almost complete; the longer-range equipment looked as if it would not be ready until the end of the year. Knowing that sleep would be hard to come by for a while, a grim Bundy decided to let the president sleep that night.

At 9 A.M. the next morning, Bundy showed and explained the photographs to President Kennedy. Kennedy immediately called together a small group of senior cabinet members, security officials, and military leaders to assess the situation and advise him. The group became known as Ex-Comm, short for Executive Committee of the National Secu-



## Kennedy's Favorite Spy Photograph

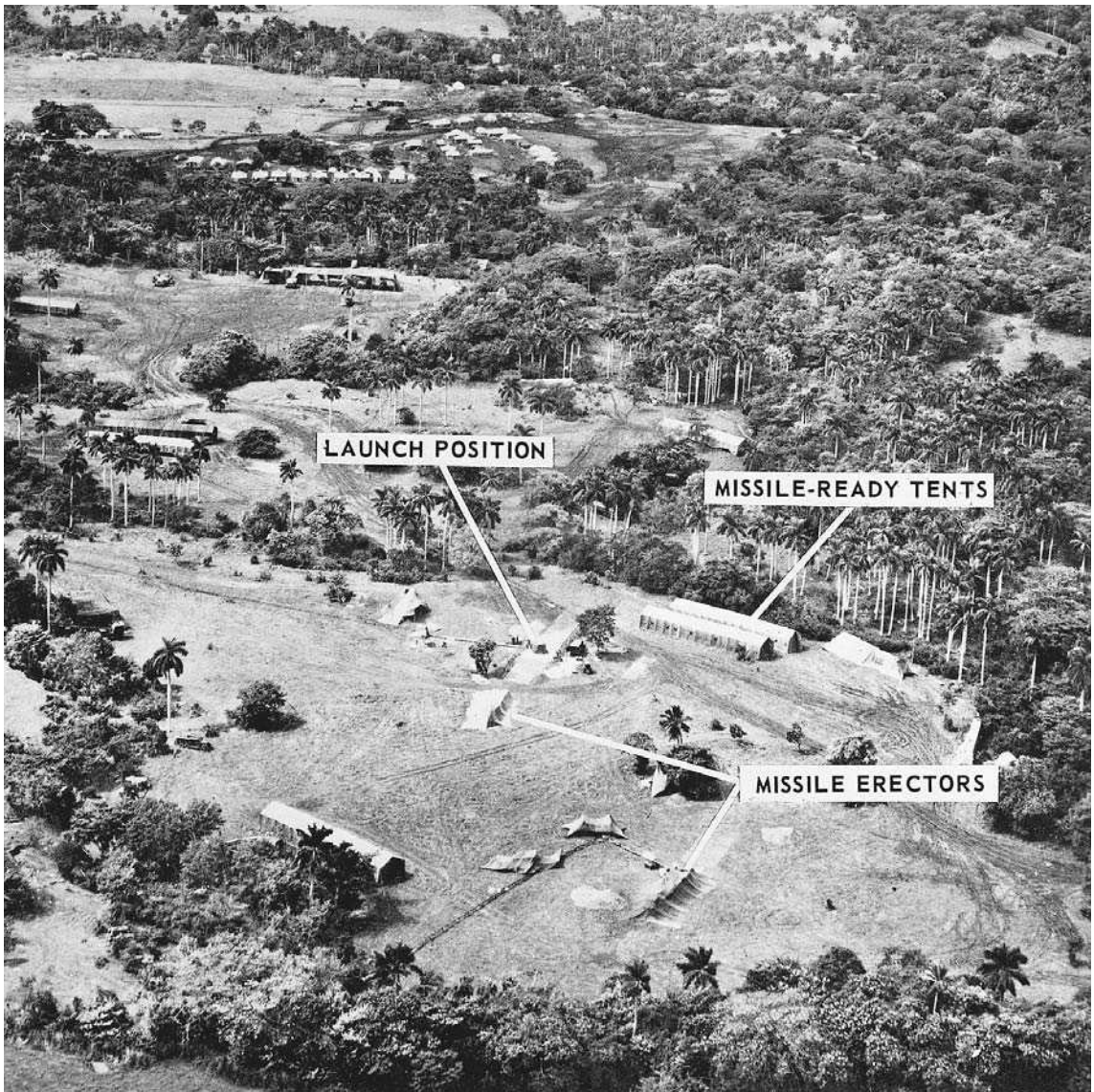
Mounted on a wall in President Kennedy's office was a photograph of a Cuban launch site for Soviet SAMs, surface-to-air missiles. The picture clearly shows roads in a six-pointed star pattern connecting the launch sites. The picture was taken at an altitude of less than 500 feet (152 meters), at 713 miles (1,147 kilometers) per hour, by a U.S. Air Force RF-101C. Kennedy liked the photograph because of the clarity of the geometric design of the missile installations.

rity Council; it stayed almost continuously in session for the next two weeks. (The National Security Council is part of the executive branch of the U.S. government. The council advises the president on matters of foreign policy and defense.) With an eye cast toward historical documentation, Kennedy secretly had all the brainstorming discussions of Ex-Comm tape-recorded.

The following days brought the United States and the Soviet Union to the brink of nuclear war. When the Ex-Comm tapes became available in the 1990s at the close of the Cold War, they confirmed that there were several moments when one more command or one slight move

on either country's part could have unleashed a nuclear holocaust. On October 16, 17, and 18 Ex-Comm discussions included a variety of proposals, from doing nothing, at least not immediately, to staging an invasion of Cuba. Members of the committee divided into two camps: hawks and doves. Hawks favored immediate military strikes to take out the missiles and Castro's communist government. Key hawks were General Maxwell Taylor (1901–1987), chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and other military leaders at the Pentagon. Doves, fearing massive casualties, favored a strategy of diplomacy and less aggressive tactics. Key doves were Secretary of State Dean Rusk (1909–1994) and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara (1916–). At the outset, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy (1925–1968), the president's brother, joined the Joint Chiefs of Staff in supporting an invasion or a surprise air strike. However, after further discussions, he decided an air strike was not in the best interests of the United States. In fact, many Ex-Comm members changed their minds—supporting one position, then another—as ideas were discussed.

All Ex-Comm members agreed from the start on one objective: The missiles must be removed from Cuba one way or another. President Kennedy and Ex-Comm could not permit this armed Soviet intrusion into the Americas, within



easy reach of North, Central, and South America. If the United States did not respond, the committee reasoned, Khrushchev would push for more communist influence in the region; this would undermine U.S. leadership in the Western Hemisphere and cause a massive negative reaction among the American public. Kennedy's political future would be in doubt, and fear of eventually being surrounded by Soviet-controlled communist states would increase.

**Aerial reconnaissance photo shows a Soviet missile site in San Cristóbal, Cuba, on November 3, 1962.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



## The Inside Word

The response of the U.S. intelligence system during the Cuban Missile Crisis helped President John F. Kennedy navigate the ominous days of late October 1962. Three groups played key roles in providing information from surveillance and reconnaissance missions. (Surveillance and reconnaissance refer to examination and survey of enemy territory and activities.) The groups included the Signals Intelligence, the Strategic Air Command, and the Tactical Air Command.

Signals Intelligence, or SIGINT, is part of the National Security Agency (NSA). NSA is America's premier organization assigned to protect U.S. information systems and listen in on and analyze foreign intelligence information. NSA is the largest employer of mathematicians in the United States; NSA employees are often referred to as the "codemakers and codebreakers." SIGINT has a long and fabled history: In World War II (1939–45) SIGINT

broke the codes of the Japanese military, helping bring an end to the war. SIGINT monitored the Soviet arms buildup in Cuba at its earliest stages, in mid-1960. SIGINT listened in on and analyzed Soviet communications discussing the operation to supply Cuba with weapons; they also heard messages from Soviet ships headed for Havana. Then they intercepted Cuban discussions about the arrival of "Russian equipment" at the unloading docks.

By May 1961, SIGINT listened to radio chatter from Cuba about special ship cargo—defensive radar systems associated with anti-aircraft weapons. Then in August and September 1962, SIGINT picked up information that SAMs, surface-to-air missiles, had arrived on the island. Subsequently it reported that fifteen SAMs were operational, most likely in position to protect secret operations. In other words, the SAMs were in position to shoot down U.S. Air Force reconnaissance flights.

## President Kennedy addresses the American people

On Thursday, October 18, intelligence reports given to Ex-Comm indicated that medium-range missiles were almost ready, capable of being launched from Cuba in about eighteen hours. That afternoon, Soviet foreign minister Andrey Gromyko (1909–1989), in the United States for a United Nations meeting, met with President Kennedy at the White House. Kennedy did not reveal his proof of the missiles. Gromyko still insisted that Soviet military assistance for

The Strategic Air Command (SAC) of the U.S. Air Force operated the high-flying U-2 aircraft that photographed various portions of Cuba. In October 1962, photographs taken on U-2 missions revealed definite construction of bases for intermediate-range ballistic missiles only 90 miles (145 kilometers) from the U.S. coastline.

While U-2s continued their high-altitude photography, the Tactical Air Command (TAC), also part of the U.S. Air Force, used the RF-101C aircraft to take low-level photographs of Cuban missile sites and of the docks where Soviet ships brought their cargo. The crews of the RF-101Cs directed photography on daring flights that traveled at 700 to 1,000 miles (1,126 to 1,609 kilometers) per hour, often at treetop level. U-2 and RF-101C aircraft continued making reconnaissance flights throughout the Cuban Missile Crisis. On October 27, one U-2 was lost over Cuba when it was shot down by a SAM.

SIGINT provided round-the-clock information to senior military and political leaders. The SIGINT command center was under the direction of Juanita Moody, who had served as a cryptanalyst (codebreaker) during World War II. She and Lieutenant General Gordon Blake took the responsibility of overseeing the staff of the command center and getting information to the White House. It was SIGINT, through interception of radio messages from Soviet vessels, that first notified President Kennedy on October 24 that the “quarantine” appeared to be working. Mapping the location of the Soviet vessels, SIGINT confirmed that the ships appeared to be stopped in the water outside the ring of American ships.

SIGINT, along with U-2 and RF-101C aircraft, continued surveillance and reconnaissance as the Cuban missiles were dismantled and shipped back to the Soviet Union.

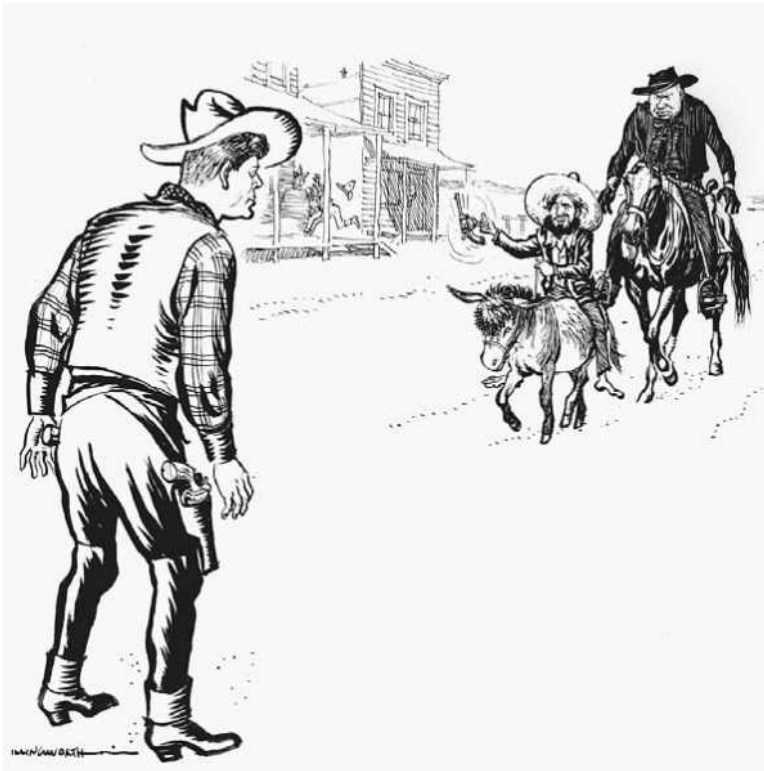
Cuba was only defensive. Late that night, Ex-Comm decided against immediate invasion of Cuba and settled tentatively on a more cautious plan—a naval blockade around Cuba that would prevent any additional Soviet ships and their military cargo from reaching Cuba.

President Kennedy did not want to announce the grave situation to the American public until a plan of action was decided upon, so he continued his planned schedule of campaign appearances as if nothing was amiss (the purpose of these appearances was to support various candidates for

the upcoming November midterm elections). As plans favoring the blockade firmed up, he cancelled the rest of his campaign appearances. Kennedy thought the blockade most likely would not trigger immediate war. While demonstrating that the United States would not tolerate the missiles, the U.S. response still gave Khrushchev a way out and time to withdraw from the situation. Because blockades were against international law, the term “quarantine” was used instead.

Once the decision for a quarantine was made, Kennedy requested that the television networks clear out a prime-time evening slot on Monday, October 22, for an urgent address to the nation. Anatoly Dobrynin (1919–), the Soviet ambassador to the United States, who knew nothing of the offensive missiles, was handed the text of Kennedy’s speech shortly before airtime. Dumbfounded, he quietly went back and sat in his embassy office, attempting to gather himself before relaying Kennedy’s message to Moscow’s leaders.

Addressing the American people, President Kennedy explained the situation fully. As noted in the *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, Kennedy announced that the quarantine was scheduled to begin the morning of October 24, that the U.S. military was on full alert and prepared for any scenario, and that any nuclear missile launched would require a “full retaliatory response.” Kennedy called for immediate meetings of the Organization of American States (OAS) and the United Nations Security Council. (All the nations of North, Central, and South America make up the OAS, which was created to ensure mutual protection and cooperation in the Western Hemisphere.) Kennedy called “upon Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this clandestine [secret], reckless, and provocative threat to world peace and to stabilize relations between our two nations.” Kennedy called on Khrushchev “to move the world back from the abyss [pit or depth] of destruction.” As Kennedy spoke, the Joint Chiefs of Staff put the level of U.S. military alert worldwide at DEFCON 3, heightened state of preparedness for nuclear war. DEFCON, short for Defense Condition, is a rating system describing progressive alert levels used within the military; DEFCON 5 is normal peacetime readiness, while DEFCON 1 is maximum force readiness (for instance, an enemy’s missiles are in the air and a nuclear war is imminent). For the first time in history, all planes of the U.S.



An editorial cartoon depicting a western-style showdown between cowboys: on the left, U.S. president John F. Kennedy; on the right, Cuban president Fidel Castro (riding donkey) and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (riding horse). *Illustration by Leslie Gilbert Illingworth, Daily Mail (London). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

air defense system were armed with nuclear weapons. U.S. nuclear submarines took up assigned positions, and nuclear missiles located in the United States were readied for firing.

## To the brink of nuclear war

On October 23, Khrushchev denounced the quarantine as a violation of international law. Khrushchev vowed that his ships would continue on course, that any American ship trying to stop them would be fired on by Soviet submarines stationed around Cuba. Those Soviet submarines had each been armed with a nuclear warhead, and their crew members had orders to fire if provoked. It appeared Moscow would push to the brink of nuclear war. The secretary general of the United Nations issued a plea to the United States and the Soviet Union, asking them not to push the world into war.

On the morning of October 24, the U.S. quarantine went into place, and the U.S. military went to DEFCON 2, the



last level before nuclear war. This alert level was reached at no other time in history. Then U.S. intelligence reported an amazing development: It appeared that the Soviet ships had halted in the ocean. Secretary of State Rusk made his famous statement, "We're eyeball to eyeball and I think the other fellow just blinked," as noted in Dino A. Brugioni's *Eyeball to Eyeball: The Inside Story of the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Yet Khrushchev did not back down entirely. He relayed a message to President Kennedy calling the quarantine an aggressive act, and the missiles already in Cuba remained. However, on October 25, the Soviet vessels carrying military equipment turned around. Those with no military equipment proceeded; they were searched and then allowed to go on to Havana.

Meantime, at President Kennedy's request, Robert Kennedy was having secret "backdoor" meetings with Soviet ambassador Dobrynin. On the evening of October 26, a long emotional letter from Khrushchev offered to remove the missiles from Cuba if the United States vowed not to invade Cuba. Dobrynin and Robert Kennedy met, and Dobrynin brought up the offensive U.S. missiles located in Turkey. The next morning, October 27, before President Kennedy could respond to Khrushchev's first letter, a second, more demanding letter insisted that the United States agree to remove the missiles in Turkey if the Soviets agreed to remove the missiles in Cuba. Events that Saturday—known as Black Saturday because many felt it was the day the world came closest to annihilation—turned even uglier. A U.S. U-2 flight over Alaska drifted into Soviet airspace, and the Soviets regarded it as a test of their defense system. The U-2 simply drifted out of Soviet airspace without incident, but it caused much tension among Soviet leaders. Then in Cuba, another American U-2 was spotted and brought down with a surface-to-air missile. The pilot was killed. Amid the worsening situation, the U.S. military command was clamoring for a fight. In their book *Cold War: An Illustrated History, 1945–1991*, Jeremy Isaacs and Taylor Downing report that Secretary of Defense McNamara walked out of the White House that evening into the open air and thought he would never live to see another Saturday.

Robert Kennedy advised the president to simply ignore Khrushchev's demands in the second letter and accept the terms of the first letter. President Kennedy agreed. Robert Kennedy then met with Dobrynin and informed him that

the United States would halt the quarantine and not invade Cuba if the Soviets would pull out the missiles. When Dobrynin asked about the missiles in Turkey, Kennedy assured him that those missiles would be removed after the crisis was over. However, Kennedy insisted that this agreement be kept secret, because the United States could not appear to withdraw protection for Western Europe for its own purposes. Dobrynin relayed this information to Moscow. Soviet leaders did not realize that the United States considered the missiles in Turkey outdated and had intended to remove them soon anyway. The next morning, October 28, Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles from Cuba. Immediately both sides breathed easier. DEFCON was reset at alert level 5, the lowest concern level. Khrushchev proceeded to bring the Soviet missiles back to the Soviet Union.

Both Khrushchev and President Kennedy could claim their diplomacy halted the crisis when it appeared to be spiraling out of control. Castro, on the other hand, gained no advantage from their agreement; he was outraged over the missiles being removed, angered because he was totally left out of the negotiations by Khrushchev and not even consulted about their removal, but he could do nothing about it. Despite the appearance of defeat, Khrushchev's main goal was to keep Cuba communist, and in the early twenty-first century, Cuba remained a communist country.

By the spring of 1963, the United States had removed all its missiles from Turkey. Press reports never mentioned that their removal had anything to do with the Cuban Mis-



**Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy (left) consults with President John F. Kennedy on October 1, 1962, during the Cuban Missile Crisis.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



**President John F. Kennedy looks relieved after a news conference in November 1962, following the end of the Cuban Missile Crisis.**  
*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

sile Crisis. Few people knew that the missiles in Turkey had been replaced by much more effective missiles on a Polaris submarine.

The world had been to the brink of nuclear war, but at that point, having scared themselves mightily, the superpowers compromised. Sobered leaders in Washington, D.C., and Moscow began serious talks to start the process of bringing nuclear weapons under control with a test-ban treaty. In June 1963, a direct hot line was set up between Washington, D.C., and Moscow to help reduce the chance of nuclear war occurring because of miscalculation or misunderstanding.

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# Mutual Assured Destruction

10

**A**ndrey Sakharov (1921–1989), father of the Soviet Union’s first true hydrogen bomb, witnessed the test of that bomb on November 22, 1955. He was distressed by what he saw and disturbed by the results of his work. As noted on the Public Broadcasting Service’s *Race for the Superbomb* Web site, Sakharov wrote, “When you see all of this yourself, something in you changes. When you see the burned birds who are withering on the scorched steppe [land], when you see how the shock wave blows away buildings like houses of cards, when you feel the reek [smoke] of splintered bricks, when you sense melted glass, you immediately think of times of war ... All of this triggers an irrational yet very strong emotional impact.”

Between 1945 and 1991, the Cold War dominated global affairs. The Cold War was a war of ideological differences between the United States and the Soviet Union, the countries that emerged as superpowers after World War II (1939–45). The Cold War came about because of differences in political, economic, and cultural systems, but ultimately what defined the Cold War was nuclear weapons. By the late 1960s, both superpowers had spent and were continuing to





## Words to Know

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Limited Test-Ban Treaty of 1963:** An agreement between the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain that banned nuclear bomb testing in the atmosphere, in outer space, or underwater. They could continue underground testing as long as radioactive fallout did not reach outside the country doing the testing.

**Mutual assured destruction (MAD):** A military strategy in which the threat of catastrophic damages by a nuclear counterstrike would deter any launch of a first-strike attack.

**Strategic Air Command (SAC):** A unit established by the U.S. military with the goal of identifying targets in the Soviet Union and being ready to deliver nuclear weapons to those targets.

**Strategic arms:** Military weapons key to the strategy of making the enemy incapable of conducting war; generally refers to long-ranging weapons.

**Strategic Triad:** The United States' trio of weapons aimed at the Soviet Union; the arsenal consisted of long- and intermediate-range missiles fitted with nuclear warheads, long-range bombers carrying nuclear weapons, and nuclear-powered submarines with onboard nuclear-tipped missiles.

**Tactical arms:** Military weapons that allow flexibility and skillful maneuverability in combat; generally referring to short-range weapons.

spend billions of dollars every day to develop and deploy nuclear weapons. Neither country wanted to use these weapons, but both wanted the dubious security of knowing they could annihilate the other side if the other side were to attack. If each could destroy the other, then starting a war meant assured self-destruction. Ironically, the buildup of nuclear weapons deterred the superpowers from starting a war with each other. "Assured destruction," a term first used about

1964, bluntly describes the end result of a nuclear war. The term soon evolved into “mutual assured destruction,” appropriately abbreviated MAD.

Scientists and government leaders from both countries hoped that the threat of catastrophic damages by a nuclear counterstrike would deter the other side from launching a first-strike attack. At the same time, they continued to try to outwit the other side, building up their arsenals, or collections of weapons, with new arms and defense systems. This policy of deterrence, an attempt to discourage another nation from initiating hostile activity by threatening severe retaliation such as nuclear war, led the United States to develop the “Strategic Triad.” The triad, or trio, of weapons, all aimed at the Soviet Union, included long- and intermediate-range missiles fitted with nuclear warheads, long-range bombers carrying nuclear weapons, and nuclear-powered submarines with onboard nuclear-tipped missiles. The Soviet Union responded by developing and deploying, or strategically distributing, the same types of weapons, all aimed at the United States. From the late 1950s and into the 1960s, the nuclear arms race was on.

## **Beginning to build nuclear stockpiles**

In 1951, the U.S. Air Force began the Atlas missile project, the development of the first intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). It also concentrated on developing its attack force of long-range bombers. Both the missiles and bombers would carry nuclear warheads over thousands of miles to the Soviet Union. These long-range missiles and bombers were known as “strategic” weapons. Some political and military strategy experts began to worry that the United States would have to react to even a small conflict in Europe with an all-out nuclear assault. Because of the emphasis on long-range weapons that carry large payloads, weapons of lesser capability for responding with more limited means were neglected as part of the arsenal. So short-range, or “tactical,” weapons were designed. These included rockets with ranges of about 100 miles (161 kilometers) and small artillery, both armed with nuclear warheads that could target advancing troops or other specific military sites rather than annihilate whole regions. The United States built both strategic and tactical weapons for its nuclear stockpiles.





## *Dr. Strangelove, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*

The movie *Dr. Strangelove, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* arrived in theaters in 1964, only two years after the October 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. The crisis took the world's superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, to the brink of nuclear war. The ruling military strategy of the 1960s was deterrence, or "mutual assured destruction" (MAD): If one superpower launched a first strike, it would kill millions and destroy the country being attacked. However, before this happened, the attacked country would launch a counterattack, thus assuring the mutual destruction of both countries. With MAD as the end result, neither superpower wanted to launch a first strike. Under these circumstances, it seemed that only a horrendous mistake or a madman controlling the command center would initiate a nuclear war.

*Dr. Strangelove*, directed by Stanley Kubrick (1928–1999), explores the madman scenario. In the early 1960s, the madman character, Jack D. Ripper, an insane U.S. Air Force general, orders a long-range bomber equipped with nuclear warheads to attack the Soviet Union. He is the only one who knows the code to call the bomber back but quickly seals off all communication channels. Dr. Strangelove, played by come-



**Peter Sellers as Dr. Strangelove.** *Reproduced by permission of the Kobal Collection.*

dic actor Peter Sellers (1925–1980), and President Muffley, also played by Sellers, try desperately but unsuccessfully to return the bombers to the United States. The Dr. Strangelove character is a German scientist who was brought to the United States after World War II to work on the U.S. missile projects. Considerable comic exaggeration is used throughout the movie. For example, the pilot of the bomber, played by Slim Pickens (1919–1983), straddles the nuclear bomb as it drops over the Soviet Union, slapping the bomb with his Stetson hat and yelling "Yahoo!" as if he's riding a bronco in a rodeo.

By the mid-1950s, the Soviet Union had successfully tested the hydrogen bomb and was developing ICBMs. Although the United States still had a greater number of nu-



clear weapons, the Soviets were making great strides in building up their country's nuclear arsenals. In response, the U.S. military services accelerated development of missile delivery systems—the ICBMs, intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs), and a new class of submarines. The United States spared no expense to make the systems operational as quickly as possible.

The Atlas ICBM missile, which could deliver a nuclear warhead 6,500 miles (10,459 kilometers) from the launch site, became the air force's number one priority. Two more ICBMs, Titan II and the Minuteman, were in development. Becoming operational in 1958, the Thor was the first U.S. IRBM; its range was 1,725 miles (2,776 kilometers). Meanwhile, the U.S. Navy designed and tested a new class of nuclear-powered submarine. The first nuclear-powered submarine, the USS *Nautilus*, went to sea in January 1955.

During the same period, U.S. Air Force general Curtis LeMay (1906–1990), who was in charge of the Strategic Air

**Two U.S. B-47 bombers fly in formation in August 1953.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

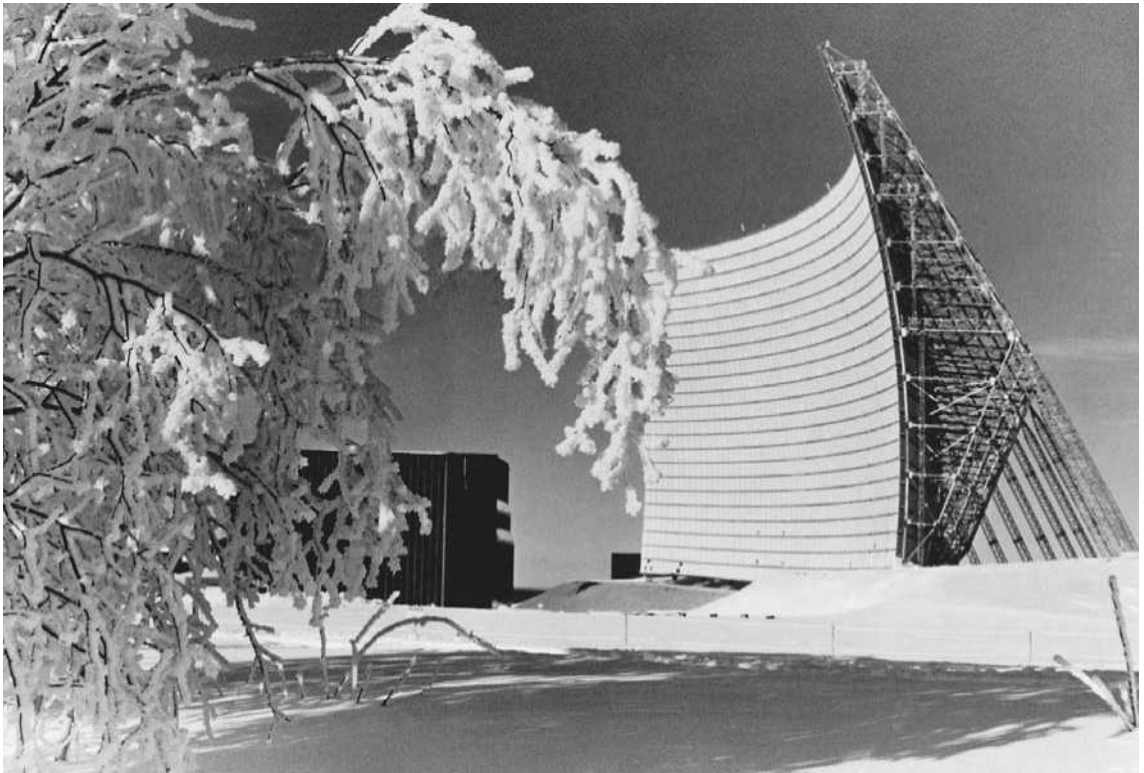
Command (SAC), convinced Congress to fund more strategic and tactical nuclear weapons, as well as long-range bombers to carry the weapons. By the late 1950s, the air force had taken delivery of over two thousand B-47 Stratojet aircraft, including bombers, reconnaissance planes, and aircraft designed for training purposes. The B-47 could refuel in midair. Built by Boeing Aircraft, the B-47 would be the design prototype of the new Boeing 707 commercial jet airliner, which provided the basic design for airliners that followed. SAC also had roughly five hundred of the enormous, long-range B-52 bombers. Both the B-47s and B-52s could deliver nuclear bombs to the Soviet Union.

## The Strategic Triad

To discourage an enemy attack, both the United States and the Soviet Union depended on the credible threat of retaliation. They had accumulated sufficient means to utterly destroy any foe, thus giving any potential enemy a second thought about taking offensive hostile action. The three nuclear deterrent systems developed in the 1950s in the United States became known as the Strategic Triad. The Triad included long-range bombers carrying nuclear weapons, land-based ICBMs, and nuclear-powered submarines. Each system was independent of the other, and each carried enough force to destroy the enemy. The enemy could not hope to destroy all three systems at the same time in a first strike, so the Strategic Triad seemed invincible. Each part of the Triad was operational by the early 1960s.

SAC kept a minimum of twelve long-range B-52 bombers airborne around the clock; each one carried three or four nuclear bombs. Refueled in midair, the B-52s traveled over North America and over the Mediterranean Sea. To back them up, half of the B-52 attack force on the ground stayed on alert and could be airborne in fifteen minutes.

Operational by 1959, the Atlas ICBMs were housed in underground missile silos in the central United States; a few resided on the West Coast and in New York State. The underground silos were for protection from enemy attack. An elevator raised the missile to the surface, because Atlas could only be fired from above ground.



Fifty-four technically advanced Titan II missiles were deployed in underground concrete sites by December 31, 1963; they were located near Tucson, Arizona; Jacksonville, Arkansas; and Wichita, Kansas. Quicker-reacting than the Atlas, the 150-ton (136-metric-ton) Titan IIs could be launched within one minute of an order. These missiles remained on alert into the early 1980s. The smaller (40-ton, or 36-metric ton) Minuteman, with the same long range of more than 6,000 miles (9,654 kilometers), was still in development. SAC deployed Thor IRBMs at sites in England in 1959, where they were maintained—ready to fire—by the Royal Air Force. During the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962, approximately 182 ICBMs were readied for immediate launch.

The third component of the Strategic Triad was ballistic missile submarines, referred to as SSBNs. These submarines were easily maneuverable and could hide for long periods in the depths of the ocean. Between 1960 and 1966, the U.S. Navy launched forty-one SSBNs (or “boomers,” as

**A Ballistic Missile Early Warning System tracking site in Clear, Alaska.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

they were nicknamed). Each carried sixteen Polaris nuclear missiles. The submarines lay undetectable on the bottom of every ocean, on twenty-four-hour alert.

In addition to the offensive weapons, early-warning radar systems were essential. Operational by 1962, the Ballistic Missile Early Warning System (BMEWS) maintained three tracking sites: the first in Thule, Greenland; the second in Clear, Alaska; and the third on England's east coast at Fylingdales Moor. With radar trained on the Soviet Union, these sites could track any incoming missile. Information automatically went to the North American Air Defense Command, known as NORAD, located underground near Colorado Springs, Colorado. In turn, NORAD immediately alerted SAC, under the command of General Thomas Power (1905–1970), in Omaha, Nebraska. SAC served as the command center, the place where orders to fire nuclear weapons would originate. However, if SAC were destroyed, local commanders could give orders to fire nuclear weapons if they believed the United States to be under nuclear attack.

Although at the time exact figures were not available, the Soviet Union was believed to have nuclear capabilities similar to those of the United States. The Soviets had fewer weapons, but their nuclear warhead stockpile was considerable. Soviet ICBMs, aimed at U.S. cities, were housed in underground silos, just as the U.S. missiles were. A large Soviet SSBN force patrolled the depths of the oceans.

## Keeping tensions high

Several occurrences greatly heightened tensions in the early 1960s. First, in May 1960, a U.S. Air Force U-2 reconnaissance (spy) flight flying high in the sky over the Soviet Union was brought down by new Soviet anti-aircraft weapons. U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61) refused to apologize to the Soviets; he also refused to promise that the spying would stop. Furious, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) refused to participate in a scheduled summit meeting of world powers that month in Paris.

Next, on October 30, 1961, over the remote northwestern Soviet island of Novaya Zemlya, the Soviets tested what became known as the Soviet superbomb. The nuclear bomb had a force equal to 50 million tons (45 million metric

tons) of TNT. (In comparison, the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima, Japan, in 1945 had a force equal to 13,000 tons of TNT.) The superbomb was the largest explosion on earth up to that date, but Khrushchev promised future bombs double its size. This promise was never turned into action, and in the early twenty-first century, the bomb of October 30, 1961, remained the largest bomb ever exploded.

The closest the superpowers came to initiating a worldwide nuclear holocaust was October 1962 during the Cuban Missile Crisis. The level of U.S. military alert worldwide was at DEFCON 2 alert, the last level before nuclear war and the first time in history that this alert level was reached. DEFCON, short for Defense Condition, is a rating system describing progressive alert levels used within the military; DEFCON 5 is normal peacetime readiness, while DEFCON 1 is maximum force readiness (for instance, an enemy's missiles are in the air and a nuclear war is imminent). The ICBMs in their silos and the SSBNs in the ocean were prepared for firing. It took high-level diplomacy and some luck to prevent an actual nuclear war (see Chapter 9, Cuban Missile Crisis).

## Scared silly

Despite the nuclear arms race, as early as 1953 President Eisenhower, in his "Atoms for Peace" speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations, had proposed using nuclear power for peaceful purposes such as electrical power generation. The proposal was brushed aside. However, Khrushchev kept alive the notion of negotiating on constructive nuclear research and development. In 1956 at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party, he stated that war between the United States and the Soviet Union was not inevitable. Yet it took the Cuban Missile Crisis, when the superpowers took the world to the brink of nuclear war, to convert talk into action.

Scared silly by the crisis, U.S. and Soviet leaders set up a direct line of communication, a hot line between the White House and the Kremlin, or Soviet government, in Moscow. Going into effect on June 20, 1963, the Hot Line Agreement was designed to reduce the risk of a nuclear war being caused by misunderstanding, miscalculation, or accident. The hot line utilized transatlantic cables and radiotelegraph circuits



## Nuclear Accidents

A number of chilling accidents involving B-52s carrying thermonuclear bombs occurred in the 1960s. The bombs ride in the B-52s in an unarmed state and must be armed by special procedures that would take a crew member a few minutes to execute. The bombs are equipped with safety devices designed to keep an unarmed bomb from detonating even if it falls to the earth because of an accident. Although there have been a number of close calls, a thermonuclear explosion has miraculously never occurred as a result of an accident. Recently, the opening of military archives revealed a considerable number of near misses. Two of the most famous are the Palomares Incident and the Thule Accident.

One near miss occurred on January 17, 1966. Known as the Palomares Incident, a U.S. Air Force B-52 bomber based in North Carolina was on routine patrol over the southeastern coast of Spain. The B-52 carried four unarmed B-28 hydrogen bombs. Attempting to refuel in midair at 30,000 feet (9,144 meters), the B-52 collided with the fueling boom (the instrument through which the fuel enters the plane needing refueling) of the KC-135 tanker jet. The resulting explosion released the four bombs; three fell to the ground around Palomares, a farming community near the coastal highway, and the fourth fell 5 miles (8 kilometers) offshore in the Mediterranean Sea. Immediately, the United States announced there was no public health danger.

The bomb that fell into the Mediterranean Sea spurred an intensive underwater search. The search involved thirty-three naval vessels and took eighty-one days. Eventually, the bomb was located by a submersible at 2,500 feet (762 meters). Fortunately, the bomb was intact and apparently had leaked no radiation.

Of the three bombs that landed near Palomares, one landed in a dry riverbed, relatively intact. Although safety devices in all three prevented the thermonuclear devices from exploding, the high explosives in two of the bombs detonated, spreading radioactive particles over approximately 650 acres of farmland, more than 1 square mile (2.6 square kilometers). Winds then spread the plutonium dust and made it impossible to determine how far the dust was spread. For the next three months, seventeen hundred U.S. military personnel and Spanish civil guards moved an estimated 1,750 tons (1,587 metric tons) of plutonium-contaminated soil and vegetation, primarily tomatoes, from around Palomares. It was shipped to the United States for disposal. The U.S. personnel wore protective clothing, but the Spanish workers were not well protected. After the initial cleanup effort, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and Spain's Junta de Energía Nuclear (JEN) began a program to monitor the health of those living in the area. AEC provided funds, and JEN performed the monitoring programs. By the



**Submarine crewmen recover a B-28 hydrogen bomb that had been missing for 81 days, since it fell into the sea after an accident over Palomares, Spain.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

mid-1980s, costs for the cleanup, the monitoring programs, and the five hundred medical claims filed by villagers from Palomares added up to more than \$120 million.

Another incident, the Thule Accident, occurred on January 21, 1968. A B-52 bomber carrying four unarmed B-28 hydrogen bombs was on an early-warning patrol mission. It was flying high above the early-warning radar towers on the U.S. air base in Thule, Greenland (at that time, a province of Denmark). Suddenly, a fire broke out on the aircraft. Minutes later, smoke filled the B-52, and electrical power was lost. Six of the seven crew members ejected safely. The

aircraft crashed 7 miles (11 kilometers) from the base onto ice-covered North Star Bay at a speed of 560 miles (900 kilometers) per hour. As at Palomares, the thermonuclear devices did not detonate even in the inferno of the crash. However, the high explosives within the bombs surrounding the thermonuclear devices did explode (just as they had at Palomares). Radioactive materials spread over the ice. A massive cleanup followed. In the next eight months, seven hundred U.S. military personnel and Danish civilians at Thule collected 10,500 tons (9,524 metric tons) of snow, ice, and debris in barrels. The barrels were sent to the Savannah, Georgia, River Plant for disposal. Aircraft debris went to Oak Ridge, Tennessee, for disposal. The cleanup cost approximately \$9.4 million. Years later, studies of Danish workers who were involved in the cleanup reported high incidences of cancer. U.S. Air Force personnel who participated in the cleanup were not monitored.

The Palomares Incident and the Thule Accident provoked protests from the international community. Neutral, nuclear-free countries wanted U.S. aircraft carrying nuclear weapons to stop flying over their countries. By the late 1960s the Strategic Air Command (SAC) suspended airborne patrol missions. Instead, SAC depended on land-based early-warning radar systems and on the speed and efficiency of the U.S. Air Force in getting B-52s airborne.



for constant communication readiness. In 1963, the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain, which was also processing nuclear weapons, negotiated a three-way agreement that banned nuclear bomb testing in the atmosphere, in outer space, or underwater. They could continue underground testing as long as radioactive fallout did not reach outside the country doing the testing. This agreement was known as the Limited Test-Ban Treaty of 1963.

Despite the encouraging agreements, the Soviets put forth an all-out effort after the Cuban Missile Crisis to match U.S. weapons production. The Soviet SS-9 Scarp ICBM missiles became operational and could target sites 7,000 miles (11,263 kilometers) away. By the late 1960s, the Soviet Union surpassed the United States in its ICBM count. The Soviets also introduced advanced SSBNs of the “Yankee” class, each capable of carrying sixteen nuclear missiles. The United States likewise kept its strategic and tactical nuclear weapons production in high gear and its Strategic Triad primed and ready. Both superpowers now had the means to annihilate the world many times over.

## Opposing the bomb

Nuclear technology has stirred conflict and controversy from its earliest days. The awesome power of nuclear test bombs caused widespread fear among the general public. Many people opposed the nuclear arms race, some for moral reasons and some because of environmental concerns. Even scientists who understood the technology deplored the way it was being used. Albert Einstein (1879–1955), America’s most famous physicist, openly agonized a few years later that his 1939 letter to U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45), which stressed the urgency of the atomic bomb situation, helped spawn the development of the bomb. J. Robert Oppenheimer (1904–1967), director of the Manhattan Project, which produced two types of atomic bombs by 1945, vehemently opposed U.S. development of the hydrogen bomb. Likewise, Igor Kurchatov (1903–1960), the scientist who headed the Soviet Union’s nuclear program, became increasingly alarmed about the destructive power of nuclear weapons. After observing the 1955 test of the first true Soviet hydrogen bomb, Kurchatov and Andrey Sakharov regretted

the consequences of their accomplishments. From then until his death in 1960, Kurchatov stressed the use of nuclear power for the good of humankind.

The first mass public outcry against nuclear weapons happened in Great Britain. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) formed in London in spring 1958. One of the founders was British mathematician and philosopher Bertrand Russell (1872–1970). Russell feared that humankind would not long survive if the superpowers became involved in a sort of nuclear game. CND organized a protest march at Easter from London to Aldermaston, where British nuclear weapons were researched and produced. It was in this march that the logo for nuclear disarmament, soon to become the worldwide symbol for peace, first appeared—on round, lollipop-shaped cardboard signs.

At Easter the next year, the Ban the Bomb march, which became an annual event, again proceeded down the same path to Aldermaston. Ban the Bomb protests and marches spread to West Germany, Holland, and Sweden. By late 1960, the militant Committee of 100 had formed. It was an organization in favor of nuclear disarmament that was dedicated to inciting civil disobedience, or willfully disobeying the law for a common cause. Its members planned protests at Holy Loch in Scotland, where a U.S. nuclear submarine carrying Polaris missiles had docked. The eighty-nine-year-old Russell, the committee's president, was arrested and sent to prison for inciting civil disobedience. Although he was released after one week, his imprisonment sparked worldwide outrage. The CND's march to Aldermaston and the Committee of 100 protests began what would become an international peace movement. The citizens of Western Europe and the United States were keenly aware of the stakes of the nuclear arms race. However, people in the Soviet Union



**Soviet nuclear physicist  
Andrey Sakharov.**

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the Corbis Corporation.*



## History of the Peace Symbol

The peace symbol used extensively through most of the second half of the twentieth century originated in London, England, in the spring of 1958. Gerald Holton, a commercial artist in London, designed the symbol for banners for the first antinuclear protest march. The people involved in the march, which was organized by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), held lollipop-shaped signs bearing the peace symbol as they marched from London to Aldermaston on Easter weekend. Aldermaston was a British site for research and production of nuclear weapons.

Holton's first banner featured a white circle drawn on a purple square; inside the circle was a symbol that looked like a cross with its arms drooping downward. Holton used semaphore, a visual signaling system involving flags and arm movements, to create the symbol. He chose the letters N and D (for "nuclear disarmament") for his design. The semaphore code for D is a man holding flags with one arm straight up and



**Gerald Holton's peace symbol is shown on an American flag.** *Photograph by Wally McNamee. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

one straight down so as to make a straight line. The N semaphore code is a man holding flags with both arms pointed down and away from his sides. By layering one code letter over the other, Holton made the now famous peace symbol.

and Eastern Europe rarely had access to news of what was going on. But concern over nuclear weapons was growing, and even U.S. president John F. Kennedy (1917–1963; served 1961–63) remarked at a commencement speech in June 1963 that the money used for developing nuclear weapons could be better spent improving the lives of people.

## More bombs, more treaties

China detonated its first hydrogen bomb on October 16, 1964. Five nations now had nuclear weapons: the United



## Duck and Cover

During the 1950s, schoolchildren throughout the United States were taught the “duck and cover” drill. For a bomb drill, a school commonly rang its bell in a pattern of short—long—short—long—short—long and so on. This pattern was in contrast to the fire drill bell of three long rings. Upon hearing the bell rings for the bomb drill, children moved to a central hall, or under their desks, sat down on the floor with knees tucked under, and covered their ducked heads with their hands. Whether principals and teachers really thought children would be safer in this position during a nuclear attack is debatable. However, it made everyone feel better to at least have a plan.



Schoolchildren in 1944 participate in a “duck and cover” drill. *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, China, and France. The 1963 Limited Test-Ban Treaty had been a small step forward, but neither China nor France had signed it. By the mid-1960s, both superpowers, with rapidly advancing nuclear research, were building systems or shields to protect themselves from ICBM attack. These were called antiballistic missiles (ABMs). Although it was unlikely that such systems could provide anywhere near complete protection in a nuclear attack, both countries spent billions of dollars developing them. In 1967, U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973; served 1961–69) approached the new Soviet prime minister, Aleksey Kosygin (1904–1980), about curtailing ABM deployment, due to the overwhelmingly high cost of development and the unreliable performance. Kosygin only spoke of reducing the total number of strategic missiles, so ABM development continued.

Meanwhile, several nuclear treaties were signed and ratified (passed by the individual governments involved) in

1967 and 1968. In 1967, the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain signed and ratified the Outer Space Treaty, which banned putting nuclear weapons in orbit around the Earth and using the Moon or other celestial bodies for installation or testing of nuclear weapons. Also in 1967, twenty-four Latin American countries banned the “manufacture, acquisition, testing, deployment, or other use of nuclear weapons” in their countries. The treaty was called the Latin American Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty. Cuba did not sign the treaty. Most important, the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain were the first three countries to sign and ratify the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in 1968. They also agreed to not share nuclear weapon technology with those countries that did not have such technology already. Under this agreement, nations without nuclear weapons agreed not to acquire them, and nations with nuclear arms would negotiate for disarmament. Over the next few years, over one hundred more countries signed the treaty. Progress continued in November 1969 with the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) in Helsinki, Finland.

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## An Unsettled World

11

Communism was a central theme during the 1960 presidential election between the Democratic candidate, U.S. senator John F. Kennedy (1917–1963) of Massachusetts, and the Republican candidate, Vice President Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994). Since the late 1940s, Nixon had a strong record of fighting the threat of communism in the United States. Communism is a system of government in which a single political party—the Communist Party—selects government leaders and controls nearly all other aspects of society. Private ownership of property is prohibited, and the government directs all economic production. The goods produced and the accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all.

During the presidential campaign, Kennedy took a tough stance against communism to match Nixon's record, and he ended up winning in a very close race. When Kennedy took office in January 1961, Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) released two U.S. Air Force officers being held by the Soviets. The officers had been shot down the previous July while flying in Soviet airspace on a recon-





## Words to Know

**Alliance for Progress:** A program designed to block the spread of communism by improving the overall quality of life for Latin Americans. The Alliance attempted to reduce disease, increase literacy, and ease poverty throughout the region.

**Bay of Pigs:** Failed U.S.-backed invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs by fifteen hundred Cuban exiles opposed to Fidel Castro, on April 17, 1961.

**Berlin Wall:** A wall dividing the Soviet-controlled sector of Berlin from the three Western-controlled zones, built in an attempt to stem the tide of refugees seeking asylum in the West.

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively

equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Cuban Missile Crisis:** A showdown in October 1962 that brought the Soviet Union and the United States close to war over the existence of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba.

**Imperialism:** The process of expanding the authority of one government over other nations and groups of people.

**Peace Corps:** A U.S. program designed to promote world peace and friendship by going abroad and assisting developing nations.

**Prague Spring:** A brief thaw in Cold War communist policies when in 1968 Czechoslovakia's Communist Party leader, Alexander Dubcek, sought to modernize communism with certain democratic reforms, including greater freedom of the press.

**Third World:** Poor underdeveloped or developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America; most Third World countries have economies primarily based on agriculture, with few other industries.

**Vietcong:** Vietnamese communists engaged in warfare against the government and people of South Vietnam.



naissance mission. Kennedy recognized Khrushchev's act as a goodwill gesture and responded by removing importation restrictions on certain Soviet food and offering to increase scientific and cultural exchanges between the two countries.

Despite this hopeful beginning, relations between the two superpowers would soon dramatically deteriorate. Kennedy's pledge to be tough on communism, along with his inexperience in foreign affairs, made him very cautious about improving relations with the Soviets, regardless of Khrushchev's offers. Yet Kennedy was determined to demonstrate his leadership capabilities, and he wanted the lead role in developing foreign policy. He appointed Dean Rusk (1909–1994), a little-known former Truman administration State Department official, as his secretary of state. Unlike previous secretaries of state, Rusk would serve as an advisor, not a policy maker. In addition to Rusk, Kennedy relied on a small inner circle of advisors, including Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara (1916–). Historians believe the small number led to some poor decisions in the early 1960s, when the United States had to respond to serious Soviet challenges.

While Kennedy was hesitant to cooperate, Khrushchev was inconsistent in his actions. Rejecting the inflexible policies and brutal style of the previous Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin (1879–1953), Khrushchev truly desired to change the direction of the Soviet Union and improve the lives of Soviet citizens. To reach this goal, he felt he needed to ease tensions with the West. But under pressure from communist hard-liners, Khrushchev would routinely switch between being friendly and challenging the West. De-



## People to Know

**Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982):** Leader of the Soviet Union Communist Party, 1964–82.

**Fidel Castro Ruz (1926–):** Cuban premier/president, 1959–.

**Alexander Dubcek (1921–1992):** Czechoslovakian Communist Party leader, 1968.

**Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973):** Thirty-sixth U.S. president, 1963–69.

**John F. Kennedy (1917–1963):** Thirty-fifth U.S. president, 1961–63.

**Nikita S. Khrushchev (1894–1971):** Soviet premier, 1958–64.

**Robert S. McNamara (1916–):** U.S. secretary of defense, 1961–68.

**Ngo Dinh Diem (1901–1963):** Republic of Vietnam president, 1954–63.

**Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994):** Republican vice president, 1953–61; Republican candidate for U.S. president, 1960; thirty-seventh U.S. president, 1969–74.

**Dean Rusk (1909–1994):** U.S. secretary of state, 1961–69.

spite his personal gestures to Kennedy, Khrushchev would talk tough in public. For example, to potentially expand Soviet influence, he would openly encourage revolutionary independence movements in Third World countries. (Third World countries are poor underdeveloped or developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Most Third World countries have economies primarily based on agriculture, with few other industries. In the 1960s, many of these countries were still under the political control of other countries, mostly Western European nations.) As a result of the U.S.-Soviet rivalry, the Third World would serve as a major stage of conflict during the 1960s. The two superpowers competed over the allegiance of various nations. They either supported existing governments or tried to install new ones friendly to either democracy or communism. The tough talk and sometimes poor decision-making of the two superpower leaders nearly made the Cold War into a nuclear war. The Cuban Missile Crisis, especially, nearly led to war. This incident was a showdown in October 1962 that brought the Soviet Union and the United States close to war over the existence of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba. (See Chapter 9, Cuban Missile Crisis.)

On November 22, 1963, President Kennedy was shot and killed in Dallas, Texas, allegedly by Lee Harvey Oswald (1939–1963), while on a campaign trip. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973) immediately took office, showing the Soviets that the U.S. power structure remained intact despite the president's sudden death. Like Kennedy, Johnson had a strong interest in domestic affairs but little foreign policy experience. He forged ahead with a sweeping social reform program, which he called the "Great Society." Under Johnson's leadership, many landmark pieces of legislation were passed, including the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed all discrimination on the basis of race, religion, or ethnic origin, covering employment, education, housing, and public accommodations, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which ensured full political voting rights for all adults. However, Cold War confrontations consumed much of Johnson's time and energy and eventually contributed to his decision to not seek another term after just over five years in office.

Almost eleven months after Kennedy's death, Khrushchev fell from power in the Soviet Union. Having backed down in confrontations with Kennedy in Berlin and



## Peace Corps

On October 14, 1960, after a long day of campaigning for the upcoming presidential election, the Democratic candidate, U.S. senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, arrived at the University of Michigan campus in Ann Arbor. It was 2 A.M., and Kennedy was ready to get some rest before another active day. However, ten thousand students turned out to greet the candidate at that late hour. In a spontaneous address before the crowd, Kennedy proposed an international volunteer organization. He challenged the youthful crowd to serve their country, to represent the United States by going abroad to assist developing nations. Three months later, the newly elected Kennedy mentioned the program again in his inaugural address on January 20, 1961. On March 1, he signed an order establishing the Peace Corps. Kennedy appointed his brother-in-law, R. Sargent Shriver (1915–), to be the first Peace Corps director. Congress passed legislation on September 22 of that year making the Peace Corps a permanent program.

The overarching goal of the Peace Corps as stated in the legislation is to “promote world peace and friendship.” To accomplish this goal, the agency recruited volunteers skilled in education, agriculture,

health care, and public works. Volunteers worked two-year terms and learned to speak the language of the country they were assigned to; their living conditions were similar to the living conditions of the people they assisted. Another key objective of the program is to create a better understanding of Americans among the Third World populations. One of the first groups of volunteers in the summer of 1961 was sent to the African nation of Ghana. Upon arrival at the airport, the fifty-one American volunteers quickly impressed their host country by singing the national anthem of Ghana in the local native language.

In the first year, the Peace Corps sent five hundred volunteers to eight developing countries. By 1963, seven thousand volunteers were working in forty-four countries, and in 1966, over fifteen thousand volunteers were working in fifty-two countries. As the Cold War neared its end in 1991, the Peace Corps expanded to Eastern Europe, going to Poland and Hungary in June 1990 and to the former Soviet states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in 1992. In 1993, Peace Corps volunteers began serving in the People’s Republic of China. The Peace Corps is one of the most successful programs created during Kennedy’s administration.

Cuba, Khrushchev was removed from office on October 15, 1964, in a bloodless coup. Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982), a Communist Party hard-liner, replaced Khrushchev as leader of the party, and Aleksey N. Kosygin (1904–1980) became the

head of the Soviet government. Through the 1960s, Brezhnev would increasingly dominate Soviet affairs, overshadowing Kosygin. Brezhnev would become the longest-serving Soviet leader during the Cold War.

## **Second-strike strategies**

During his first few months in office in early 1961, Kennedy reassessed U.S. Cold War strategies. He did not favor the brinkmanship policy of his predecessor, Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61), which emphasized the threat of nuclear weapons as a deterrent to any hostile action by the Soviets. Kennedy believed that the potential for global annihilation was too great with this policy in place. He wanted other means to retaliate against hostile actions, something substantially less destructive than nuclear weapons. He sought a new strategy that would give him greater flexibility in responding to various levels of hostile actions and threats. In addition to nuclear weapons, Kennedy's new strategy included greater use of covert, or secret, operations and antiguerrilla forces (small groups of soldiers specializing in surprise attacks) and more emphasis on conventional (nonnuclear) air, ground, and naval forces.

To support this new strategy, military spending increased dramatically from \$43 billion in 1961 to \$56 billion by 1963. The number of naval ships doubled, and the army expanded from eleven to sixteen divisions. The number of tactical air squadrons grew from sixteen to twenty-three. For antiguerrilla operations, Kennedy created a counterinsurgency force called the Green Berets, a name Kennedy personally chose. (Counterinsurgency is organized military action designed to combat guerrilla forces, or insurgents, that are attempting to overthrow an established government.) The U.S. Army's Special Forces School at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, trained 114,000 U.S. soldiers and 7,000 foreign military officers by June 1963. The Special Forces were specifically trained to perform in Latin America and Southeast Asia.

The nuclear arsenal, or weapons stockpile, also grew under Kennedy's new plan. Kennedy's goal was second-strike capability—a nuclear arsenal large enough to ensure that some U.S. missiles would survive a Soviet first strike; the sur-



**Airmen refuel a missile carrying a nuclear warhead in 1964.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

living missiles would destroy the Soviet Union in an automatic second strike. This differed from earlier strategies that focused on firing off as many missiles as possible before the enemy's missiles struck. Second-strike capability meant that even in the event of a surprise attack, massive retaliation was possible. To prepare for this scenario, the United States installed solid-fuel Minuteman missiles in underground silos; submarines were equipped with Polaris missiles. By the end

of the decade, the United States would have over a thousand intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), seven hundred missiles for submarine launch, and more than five hundred long-range B-52 bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons. All missiles carried nuclear warheads.

The Soviets did not stand still while the United States pursued its new military defense strategy. In early 1965, Brezhnev announced a massive increase in Soviet nuclear arms development. He sought to reach the level of nuclear capability that the United States had achieved and maintain superiority over the People's Republic of China (PRC), which now had its own nuclear weapons. By the late 1960s, new missile technologies, including the antiballistic missile (ABM) defense system and multiple-warhead missiles, were being developed by both superpowers. They would be very costly for both countries to produce. Because of the cost, President Johnson and Brezhnev agreed to consider new proposals for limiting the future growth of nuclear arsenals and restricting the spread of nuclear weapons to other nations. Though progress was slow, Johnson did sign three arms agreements. One pact, the 1967 Latin American Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty, banned the spread of nuclear weapons to Latin America; another, the Outer Space Treaty, prohibited the use and deployment of nuclear weapons in space or on the Moon. The most important treaty was the 1968 Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT), which banned the spread of nuclear weapon capabilities to nonnuclear countries worldwide.

## **The Berlin and Cuba crises**

Two major Cold War crises came quickly for Kennedy. Soon after taking office, Kennedy personally approved a plan to invade Cuba—against Secretary of State Rusk's advice. About four years before Kennedy became president, Fidel Castro Ruz (1926–) had led a revolution in Cuba to overthrow Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar (1901–1973), a dictator the United States worked with because he was not communist. Castro did not begin his regime as a communist, but he began to lean toward the Soviet Union for support when the United States showed hostility toward his economic reform programs. The Eisenhower administration had come up with a plan to oust Castro, and following Kennedy's approval of the



plan, some fifteen hundred Cuban exiles, trained in Guatemala by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), made an amphibious (water) landing at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba on April 17, 1961. However, just before the invasion, CIA bombers failed to hit their targets in an initial air strike. Fearing impending doom for the operation, Kennedy cancelled a second strike. He ordered that the U.S. personnel not take any further active role. Without the expected air support, almost twelve hundred of the exiles were easily captured after three days of fighting. (The captured invaders were later freed in December 1962 in exchange for \$53 million worth of tractors and other equipment.) The operation proved a disaster and placed the United States and President Kennedy in a very bad public light (see Chapter 9, Cuban Missile Crisis).

Shortly after the failed invasion of Cuba, Berlin once again became the focus of Cold War tension. In early June 1961, Kennedy and Khrushchev met in Vienna, Austria. The Soviet leader pressed Kennedy for a German peace treaty that

**Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (left) talks with U.S. president John F. Kennedy at their summit in Vienna, Austria, in June 1961. Soviet foreign minister Andrey Gromyko (center, without glasses) looks on.**  
*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

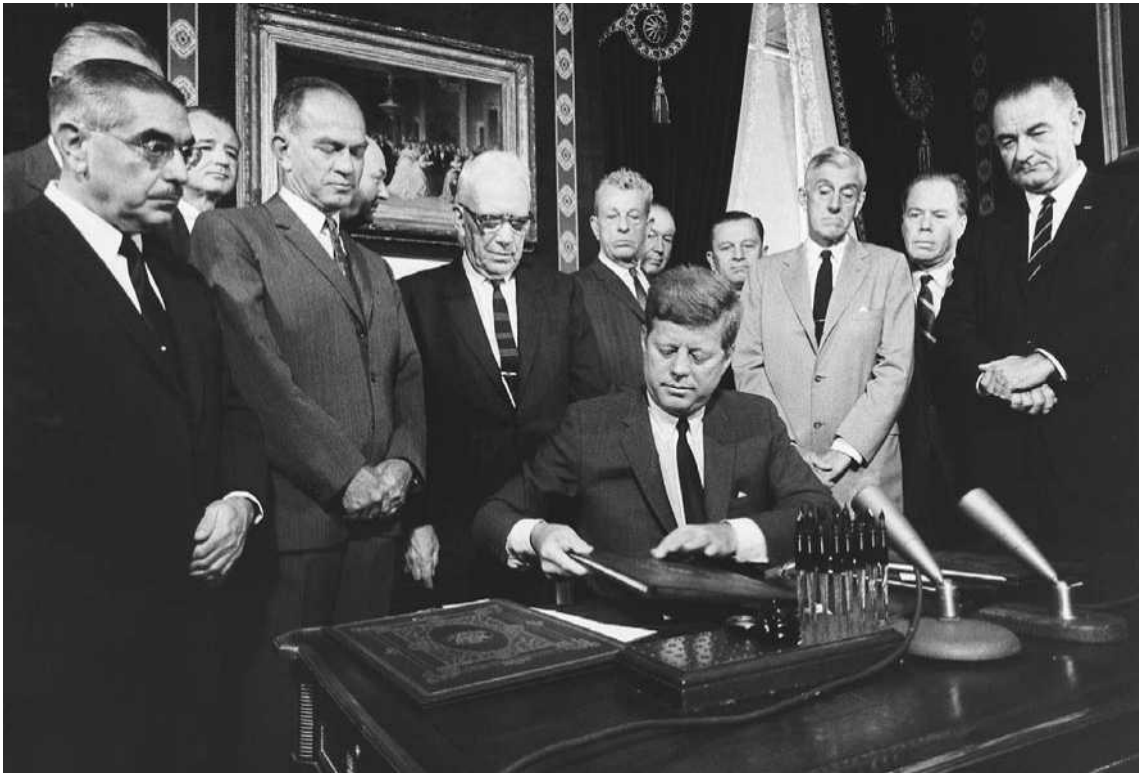
would recognize the existing boundaries of Eastern Europe, where Soviet influence had become well established. Because of the rapidly escalating post–World War II (1939–45) tensions in the late 1940s between the Soviet Union and the Western allies, a peace treaty officially ending the war and resolving the future of Germany had never been signed. Khrushchev also demanded that Western military forces leave Berlin, a German city that was jointly controlled by the Western allies and the Soviets. Kennedy rejected Khrushchev’s demands.

In response, on August 13, the East Germans began building a wall through the middle of Berlin. The Soviets wanted to stop the flow of approximately one thousand people a day leaving East Berlin for West Berlin. The decrease in population was hurting the East German economy. As a result of the creation of the wall, the United States and the Soviet Union resumed nuclear weapons testing, ending a three-year break. Kennedy sent an additional fifteen hundred U.S. soldiers to Germany and began preparing for a nuclear showdown. Seeing Kennedy’s strong response, Khrushchev backed off his demands (see Chapter 3, Germany and Berlin).

Khrushchev faced increasing criticism from Soviet Communist Party leaders. He had backed down on his demands for a Berlin settlement in late 1961, and even though the U.S. invasion of Cuba failed, the threat of a future invasion lingered. In an effort to strengthen his leadership position, Khrushchev decided early in 1962 to deploy nuclear missiles in Cuba, only 90 miles (145 kilometers) from the U.S. coastline. Months later, on October 14, 1962, a high-altitude U.S. spy plane spotted Soviet missile bases under construction in Cuba. Two extremely tense weeks followed, during which the United States blockaded Soviet cargo ships carrying missiles to Cuba. On October 28, Khrushchev announced that he would remove the missiles in Cuba. In return, Kennedy agreed not to invade Cuba and secretly promised to remove medium-range Jupiter missiles from Turkey. Kennedy won widespread praise for his handling of the crisis and for averting military engagements. Khrushchev’s defeat in Cuba was another blow to his image at home in the Soviet Union. It would cost him his leadership position less than two years later (see Chapter 9, Cuban Missile Crisis).

After experiencing firsthand a nuclear near miss in Cuba, both Kennedy and Khrushchev were ready to begin





arms control talks. Although the two superpowers could not agree on a broad test-ban treaty, they did agree to ban nuclear testing in the atmosphere, in outer space, and beneath the ocean surface. The Limited Test-Ban Treaty went into effect on October 11, 1963. This treaty provided an important foundation for future arms control talks.

**U.S. president John F. Kennedy prepares to sign the Limited Test-Ban Treaty in 1963; cabinet officials, senators, and Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson (far right) look on.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

## Latin American challenges

Castro's increasingly pro-Soviet position would lead to further Cold War challenges for the United States in Latin America in the 1960s. Latin America encompasses all of the Western Hemisphere south of the United States. It consists of all nations in Central and South America as well as Mexico and the islands of the West Indies.

During the 1960s, all conflicts in Latin America were thrust into a Cold War framework of communist influence



## Alliance for Progress

Just as preparation for the ill-fated U.S.-supported invasion of communist Cuba was in its last stages, U.S. president John F. Kennedy introduced a new aid program for all other Latin American countries. On March 13, 1961, the president announced the Alliance for Progress. The program was designed to block the spread of communism by improving the overall quality of life for Latin Americans. The Alliance would attempt to reduce disease, increase literacy, and ease poverty throughout the region. Kennedy believed that if these conditions could be improved, radical political movements such as communism would look less attractive to the poor. In August, the United States and twenty-two other countries agreed on a charter, or set of rules. Kennedy pledged \$10 billion of U.S. money over the next ten years to

match \$10 billion contributed by other nations that supported the program.

The Inter-American Committee was established to guide funds from contributing nations to the appropriate Latin American programs and countries. Through the next few years, the highly ambitious program encouraged agricultural reform, health and sanitation improvements, housing projects, reading programs, better wages, and stabler prices of goods. Kennedy expressed hopes that the program would not only block communist expansion, but encourage growth of democracies. At the time, military dictatorships governed most Latin American countries.

Despite grand hopes, the Alliance for Progress was a major failure. High pop-

versus American influence. Americans viewed troubles in Latin American countries as communist-inspired; the Soviets saw U.S. intervention in Latin America as imperialism. Imperialism is the policy of expanding the rule of one nation over foreign countries.

In Panama, a Central American country, nationalists began protesting U.S. control of the Panama Canal Zone located within their country. (Nationalists have a strong loyalty to their own nation and favor independence from other nations.) The canal was built in 1903 by the United States to improve transportation between the east and west coasts of the United States. The United States had retained control over the canal and an area surrounding it known as the Canal Zone. The protests led to anti-American riots in January 1964. Four

ulation growth rates in Latin America prevented the program from making meaningful headway. In fact, during the 1960s, unemployment rose and agricultural production declined. Though some new schools, hospitals, and other facilities were built, the improvements in sanitation, housing, literacy, and health care could not keep up with the population growth, so relatively few people were served. Democracies also lost ground as popularly elected presidents in Argentina, Peru, Guatemala, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, and Honduras were overthrown by their militaries. Wealthy people in Latin America viewed the Alliance for Progress as a greater threat to them than communism. They believed the Alliance would improve the condition of the general population and better enable them to chal-

lenge the influence of the wealthy through such things as land reform. Tensions between Latin America and the United States actually increased.

Combating the potential spread of communism quickly took priority over improving the social, political, and economic conditions in Latin America. U.S. military assistance to Latin American dictators increased steadily during the 1960s, especially under President Lyndon Johnson, who took office after Kennedy was assassinated. The United States found that dictatorships could prevent the spread of communism better than weak democracies. With new priorities and not much progress to show for the program, Johnson and Congress significantly reduced funding for the Alliance for Progress in 1965 and 1966.

U.S. soldiers and twenty-four Panamanians were killed during four days of rioting. The Panamanian government suspended diplomatic relations with the United States. Because of his distrust of Castro, President Johnson suspected that the Cuban leader was somehow behind the unrest. Though order was soon restored, the issue remained unresolved, and agreement over the future control of the Canal Zone would not be reached until 1977, when U.S. president Jimmy Carter (1924–; served 1977–81) signed a treaty giving Panama control over the zone beginning on December 31, 1999.

The United States also became involved in other parts of Latin America. In 1964, President Johnson offered the support of a U.S. naval force to help the Brazilian military overthrow leftist (politically radical or liberal) civilian president



**Anti-American demonstrations take place in Panama City in November 1964. Later riots resulted in thirteen injuries.**  
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João Belchior Marques Goulart (1918–1976), but the Brazilian forces successfully overthrew the government without U.S. military assistance. In Chile, the Johnson administration secretly spent at least \$3 million to help elect an anticommunist president, Eduardo Frei Montalva (1911–1982).

In the Dominican Republic, civil war broke out in early 1965. The country's military had overthrown the elected government in 1963 and promised elections the following year. However, the elections were postponed because the military feared the same leaders would be elected again by the people. A group of military officers who supported the ousted leaders rebelled violently, resulting in a growing civil war. Fearing that Castro may have influenced the rebels, resulting in communist influence, President Johnson sent twenty-two thousand U.S. troops to protect the military leadership in April 1965.

Though U.S. involvement had successfully ended the revolt in the Dominican Republic, demonstrations in protest

of U.S. intervention broke out throughout Latin America. The U.S. military intervention violated the Good Neighbor policy established in the 1930s by President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45). The policy promised that the United States would not militarily intervene in the internal politics of Latin American countries. In addition, Johnson had acted without the approval of Congress or the Organization of American States (OAS), an organization of Western Hemisphere nations established in 1948 to maintain political stability in the region by providing a forum for resolving disputes. To ease the situation in the Dominican Republic, the OAS sent a multinational military force to replace U.S. troops in September 1966. A pro-U.S. civil government, led by Joaquín Balaguer (1907–2002), was elected later that year. The mood of the population had changed enough by then to elect a right-wing pro-U.S. government.

In 1967, arms control talks turned to Latin America. The United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and the People's Republic of China (PRC) signed a treaty prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons in Latin America. All Latin American countries except for Cuba and Guyana later signed the treaty. Despite the widespread disturbances in Latin America during the 1960s, no further communist expansion occurred in the region.

## **Upheaval in communist China**

The Far East is the easternmost part of Asia, including the communist People's Republic of China (PRC), Japan, Korea, and the democratic Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan. Although the PRC had a communist government, it did not have a good relationship with the Soviet Union in the early 1960s. PRC leader Mao Zedong (1893–1976) did not approve when Khrushchev denounced the policies of former Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. Khrushchev's statements against Stalin were part of an effort called de-Stalinization, a plan to introduce reforms to the Soviet Union. These reforms included allowing greater personal freedoms for Soviet citizens, lessening the powers of the secret police, closing concentration and hard-labor camps, and restoring certain legal processes. The PRC leadership thought Khrushchev's policies weakened

the original principles of communism. The PRC also resented the Soviets' lack of support during the Taiwan Strait crisis of 1958, Soviet backing of India in a border dispute with PRC, and withdrawal of Soviet nuclear technical assistance from the PRC in 1959. Furthermore, PRC did not trust the new limited test-ban treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States.

On the other hand, the PRC showed interest during this time in improving relations with the United States and easing trade restrictions. President Kennedy expressed interest as well. Having no formal diplomatic relations, the two countries communicated through the U.S. ambassador in Poland and the PRC's Warsaw representative. But a major hurdle soon arose: The PRC stated that in order to have good relations with the PRC, the United States would have to end its support of the ROC, the democratic Chinese government in Taiwan. In reaction, Congress instead passed resolutions reaffirming U.S. support for the ROC. Further, the United States opposed recognition of the PRC and its admission into the United Nations, an international peacekeeping organization. Kennedy dropped all further discussions. In October 1964, the PRC exploded its first nuclear device. Even more ominously, in June 1967, PRC exploded its first hydrogen bomb.

In an effort to maintain his position of power during the late 1960s, Mao introduced the Cultural Revolution in the PRC. It would last a year and nearly result in civil war. The Cultural Revolution included the purge of tens of thousands of technical experts and government workers who Mao claimed did not loyally support the communist government. Mao wanted to restore a radical edge to the communist movement within China; he felt it was getting too conservative with too many people of influence wanting to improve relations with the United States and the Soviet Union. Perhaps five hundred thousand Chinese people were killed, including many teachers and intellectuals. Mao closed universities and sent students to work in the fields. He also organized the Red Guards—students, peasants, and workers from around the country—to help carry out the purge. The purge consisted of murders and sending thousands of educators and leaders to remote rural regions to perform peasant labor. Red Guard activities significantly heightened anti-American and anti-Soviet sentiments in the PRC; many of



those who favored improved relations with these countries were purged or afraid to speak out any longer.

## The Prague Spring: More communist upheaval

In 1966, the economy in Czechoslovakia was struggling, so the country's communist leaders began to shift control of industry from the central government to local organizations, hoping to improve the situation. However, the reform progressed too slowly, and public unrest, including student riots, increased. In January 1968, Alexander Dubcek (1921–1992) was appointed the new Czechoslovakian Communist Party leader. Dubcek wanted to modernize communism with certain democratic reforms, including greater freedom of the press. Communist leaders in other Eastern European countries and in Moscow feared that the reforms

**Youthful Red Guards cheer for Mao Zedong during a demonstration in Shanghai, China, in January 1967.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

would undermine communist control, first in Czechoslovakia and then in their own countries.

In July 1968, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev demanded that Dubcek back off from these democratic reforms. When Dubcek continued his efforts, Brezhnev sent Warsaw Pact troops and tanks into Czechoslovakia to overthrow him. (The Warsaw Pact was a mutual military alliance between the Soviet Union and the Eastern European nations under Soviet influence.) Dubcek was arrested, taken to Moscow, and eventually ousted from the Communist Party. Hard-line Communist Party leaders took the place of Dubcek and other Czech government officials.

Dubcek's short period of leadership is known as the Prague Spring because it represented a brief thaw in Cold War communist policies. (Prague was the capital of Czechoslovakia.) Western countries protested the heavy-handed Soviet response but did not intervene to save Dubcek. Because the Soviets used force to suppress Dubcek's reforms, their relations with the United States chilled again. The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia subdued political and economic reform movements within the Eastern bloc for over twenty years. The Eastern Bloc was a group of nations composed of the Soviet Union and its allies and satellite governments in Eastern Europe, the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa.

## War in Indochina

In 1968, the United States was experiencing its own violent public unrest. Racial inequalities in the U.S. social system led to race riots in the nation's cities. In addition, outside the Chicago hotel where the Democratic National Convention was being held, police used clubs and tear gas on protesters demonstrating against the Vietnam War (1954–75). Indochina—and Vietnam in particular—proved to be the region that would consume most of America's resources and energies during the 1960s, particularly after 1964. Indochina is a peninsula in Southeast Asia that extends from the southern border of the PRC into the South China Sea. It includes, among other countries, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. These three countries had valuable natural resources, especially rubber and rice, and as a result,



they were colonized by the French in the nineteenth century. However, following World War II, a communist revolutionary named Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969) led the communist Vietminh army in a war against French troops to regain Vietnam’s independence. By 1954, an agreement was reached dividing Vietnam into two regions. North Vietnam would be communist, ruled by Ho Chi Minh; South Vietnam would have a pro-West, anticommunist government. However, communist forces continued waging guerrilla warfare in South Vietnam, and U.S. assistance gradually replaced the French influence.

Immediately after the failure of the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba, Kennedy turned to Indochina, hoping to regain public confidence in his efforts to contain communism. As a senator, Kennedy had opposed U.S. involvement in Vietnam in the early 1950s, but on May 25, 1961, Kennedy went to Congress for additional defense funds to increase military aid to South Vietnam. South Vietnam did not serve any vital interests of the United States. However, Kennedy had become a believer in the “domino effect” theory, which maintained that if one country fell to communist influence, others would follow. If South Vietnam fell to the communists, Laos and Cambodia could be next—and perhaps other countries after that. In addition, Kennedy did not want to be considered soft on communism.

The situation in Vietnam continued to deteriorate despite increased U.S. financial aid. In October 1961, South Vietnam president Ngo Dinh Diem (1901–1963) requested U.S. combat troops. South Vietnamese communist rebels, called the Vietcong, controlled about 80 percent of South Vietnam’s villages. While in control, the Vietcong pursued land reforms, taking land from the wealthy landlords and distributing it among the peasants to farm. President Kennedy was determined to fight the Vietcong’s guerrilla warfare tactics with Green Beret counterinsurgency strategies (antiguerrilla warfare). He also planned to improve the South Vietnamese army: By late 1963, the number of U.S. military advisors in South Vietnam increased from 700 to 16,700. The advisors took an active role in combat and covert operations in North Vietnam as well. Kennedy approved a CIA plan to overthrow Ngo, who was declining in popularity, inhibiting the fight against the communists, and not making meaning-

ful reforms. Ngo was assassinated less than three weeks before President Kennedy's assassination.

In August 1964, North Vietnam staged a small-scale attack on two U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. In response, Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. The resolution gave President Johnson sweeping powers to commit U.S. forces to the region, though he refrained from increasing U.S. military involvement until after the presidential election in November. During his campaign, Johnson portrayed his Republican challenger, U.S. senator Barry Goldwater (1909–1998) of Arizona, as one who was eager to start a nuclear war. Johnson asserted that he would not send U.S. combat troops to Vietnam, and he won the election in a landslide victory. Despite his campaign pledges, President Johnson would soon dramatically escalate U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

On February 7, 1965, the United States began a bombing campaign called Operation Rolling Thunder—authorized by President Johnson—just inside North Vietnam's boundary. The operation began one day after eight American advisors were killed and over one hundred wounded by a Vietcong attack. The following month, Johnson sent in U.S. Marine ground troops to defend newly established U.S. air bases. Still, the Vietcong were gaining momentum, capturing more areas of South Vietnam in skirmishes against the U.S.-backed South Vietnamese army. In July 1965, Johnson approved the use of fifty thousand U.S. ground troops in South Vietnam. By now, Johnson had transformed the U.S. policy on Vietnam: Instead of limited assistance, the South Vietnamese government now had a major military commitment from the United States. Johnson was determined not to have South Vietnam fall to the communists. By December 1965, two hundred thousand U.S. troops were in Vietnam; by 1968, over five hundred thousand U.S. troops were there. The American soldiers found conditions in Vietnam deplorable. They suffered from stifling heat, tropical humidity, biting insects, and tropical diseases and lived with the constant threat of sniper fire and booby traps.

With \$2 billion in military aid and economic assistance from both the Soviets and the PRC between 1965 and 1968, North Vietnam was able to match the continuing escalation of U.S. involvement. The PRC also sent three hundred



**Gun-toting soldiers settle in some tall grass during a Vietnam War skirmish.**

*Courtesy of the U.S.*

*Department of Defense.*

thousand troops into North Vietnam to help operate anti-aircraft and communications facilities. Their presence served to deter a U.S. invasion of North Vietnam. The United States did not want to draw the PRC into a larger combat role as it had in Korea in 1950 (see Chapter 2, Conflict Builds). The U.S. strategy at this point was to try to contain the battle and outlast North Vietnam. U.S. military leaders kept coming to Johnson saying that with a few more planes and troops the war could be won. But with each increase, victory seemed no closer.

By late 1967, 13,500 Americans had been killed in Vietnam combat. Public opinion was turning against Johnson and his steady escalation of U.S. war efforts. In 1967, three hundred thousand war protesters marched in New York City. Thousands of demonstrators surrounded the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. In November 1967, General William C. Westmoreland (1914–) assured Johnson that victory was close at hand. Then, on January 31, 1968, to the surprise of everyone (including U.S. intelligence), the Vietcong and the



**U.S. secretary of defense Robert S. McNamara (right) consults with a fatigued President Lyndon B. Johnson during the Vietnam War.** *Photograph by Yoichi R. Okamoto. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

North Vietnamese launched a massive offensive throughout South Vietnam. They attacked more than one hundred towns and villages. Intense fighting erupted in the streets of Saigon, the capital city, and extended into the U.S. embassy, where several Americans were killed. This attack is known as the Tet Offensive, named for the Vietnamese Lunar New Year celebration called Tet. U.S. forces repelled the North Vietnamese after several weeks, and the Vietcong suffered heavy losses. However, the American public saw this massive attack as evidence that the United States was nowhere near victory. Public protests, first seen on college campuses, spread across the nation. Johnson's domestic agenda came to a standstill as members of Congress became disillusioned with what many were now calling "Johnson's War." As a result, Johnson's Great Society plan became another casualty of Vietnam. Chanting antiwar slogans, protesters constantly encircled the White House, and Johnson could not go anywhere without facing hostile crowds.

Johnson's approval rating dropped to 30 percent in early 1968, meaning only 30 percent of Americans approved of Johnson's performance. American casualties in Vietnam were mounting, and the cost of the war undermined the nation's economy. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara resigned in opposition to continuing the war effort; he was replaced by Clark Clifford (1906–1998). On March 31, 1968, Johnson announced in a television address that he would stop the bombing of North Vietnam in order to get peace talks going. He then stunned the nation by adding that he would not run for reelection in November. Peace talks began in Paris on May 13, but no progress was made. Meanwhile, fighting intensified in South Vietnam and would continue for years.

During the Kennedy-Johnson years of 1961 to 1969, the U.S. goal of containing communism around the globe suffered two major setbacks: Soviet relations with Cuba strengthened, and the Vietnam War proved unwinnable for the United States. The period was marked by dramatic, tense, and often bloody events associated with the Cold War rivalry. Despite these events, arms control discussions between the two superpowers gained momentum, and several treaties were signed. The Republican candidate, former Vice President Richard M. Nixon, defeated the Democratic candidate, Vice President Hubert Humphrey (1911–1978), in the November 1968 presidential election by pledging to end U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Though that war did not end for several more years, Nixon and Brezhnev would adopt a policy known as *détente*, a mutual agreement to relax or ease tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.

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## Home Front Turmoil: The 1960s

12

The 1960s decade was a period of severe Cold War tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. The technological capabilities of both countries dramatically increased. Nuclear weapons stockpiles grew, and spy satellites, or constructed orbiting objects, circled Earth. Both the Soviet and the U.S. government spent vast amounts on defense to keep up with or go ahead of the other. By 1960, military-industrial complexes—the partnership of military, defense, and industry—had brought economic growth to America and a good living to a small population of workers in the Soviet Union. But the new decade would bring turbulent times to the superpowers.

For American citizens and many other people around the world, the United States represented freedom and hope: The U.S. government was democratic and designed to protect the people's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Yet the United States regularly contradicted these principles by its treatment of African Americans. And although freedom of speech was a keystone of the democratic system, the country's reaction to Vietnam War (1954–75) protesters





## Words to Know

**Black Power:** The right of African Americans to define and organize themselves as they saw fit and to protect themselves from racial violence, as defined by civil rights leader Stokely Carmichael.

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Counterculture:** Those people who rejected the dominant values and behavior of U.S. society.

**Cultural Revolution:** Chinese program ordered by leader Mao Zedong (1893–1976) designed to keep all Chinese people loyal to the ideas of communism.

**Democracy:** A system of government that allows multiple political parties. Their members are elected to various government offices by popular vote of the people.

**Military-industrial complex:** The partnership of military, defense, and industry.

**Racism:** Discrimination based on skin color.

**Silent Majority:** Term coined by President Richard Nixon to characterize the public who were not politically vocal to justify the continuation of the Vietnam War.

**Vietcong:** Vietnamese communists engaged in warfare against the government and people of South Vietnam.

suggested that this freedom was not entirely guaranteed. Race riots over the inequalities that African Americans endured broke out in large U.S. cities and throughout the South. White Americans joined with blacks in marches and demonstrations. The Soviets used racism in America as propaganda, information spread to further one's own cause, questioning the U.S. commitment to freedom and justice for all. Many Americans, particularly college students, looked with horror at television footage of the war in Vietnam. They took to the streets, protesting U.S. actions in Vietnam, but police fought them with tear gas, clubs, even gunfire. The So-



viet government continually pointed to the unrest in America as an example to their people that the U.S. system of government had failed.

In the Soviet Union, families who lived and worked in “secret cities” prospered. The secret cities were technological hubs where the latest top secret military equipment and weapons were developed. To keep up with American militarism, the Soviets spent billions on research and industrial facilities. Yet the communist system was not working well for most Soviet citizens. Most of them lived a drab existence. Housing was terribly overcrowded, and food was scarce. Communist rule in Eastern European countries survived only because of ruthless oppression ordered by the communist leaders in Moscow. The communist People’s Republic of China (PRC), by this time more commonly referred to simply as China, was undergoing the Cultural Revolution. Ordered by China’s leader, Mao Zedong (1893–1976), this so-called revolution was designed to keep all Chinese people loyal to the ideas of communism.

## Military-industrial complexes

By 1960, half of all U.S. federal government expenditures, or spending, went to the military and to the development of the latest military technology, including new aircraft, radar, ships, weapons, and electronic and telecommunication systems. The goal was to stay ahead of the Soviet Union in military might. Together, the U.S. military and the Department of Defense employed approximately 2.5 million people. The government contracted with large aerospace technology corporations, including Lockheed in Georgia and the San Francisco, California, area; Ling-Temco-Vaught (LTV) in Dallas–Fort Worth, Texas; Boeing in Seattle, Washington; and McDonnell-Douglas and Hughes in southern California. These corporations employed tens of thousands of Americans. The



### People to Know

**Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973):** Thirty-sixth U.S. president, 1963–69.

**Nikita S. Khrushchev (1894–1971):** Soviet premier, 1958–64.

**Martin Luther King (1929–1968):** African American civil rights leader.

**Mao Zedong (1893–1976):** Chairman of the People’s Republic of China and its Communist Party, 1949–76.

**Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994):** Thirty-seventh U.S. president, 1969–74.

partnership of military, defense, and industry came to be known as the military-industrial complex. This grouping reached out into a multitude of regions, touching a great number of American families. Large and small businesses subcontracted to provide materials needed by the military and aerospace industry. Universities throughout the nation received government contracts for technological research. The salaries people earned by this work allowed them to buy consumer goods, which in turn kept other companies, such as auto manufacturers, growing rapidly. But some Americans were left out of the good living generated by the military-industrial complex. For example, most African Americans lived in poverty, enduring discrimination, low wages, and unemployment.

In Soviet society, the military-industrial complex was hidden in secret cities where industry and research facilities coexisted, often in a setting much like a university campus. The scientists and other employees were well paid, well fed, and well housed. In contrast, the majority of Soviets struggled just to feed their families. Two of the best known secret cities were Arzamas-16, where the Soviet atomic bomb was developed, and Akademgorodok, a flourishing science city of sixty thousand in western Siberia. The Soviet military-industrial complex brought prosperity to only a small number of Soviets.

## Racial strife in the United States

During the 1950s, Americans lived in a segregated society; generally, blacks and whites did not mix. This was especially true in the South, where racism, or discrimination based on skin color, had long been a part of everyday life. Whites and blacks ate at separate restaurants, attended different schools, and could not even drink from the same water fountains. By the mid-1950s, people began to protest against the inequalities that black Americans had to face on a daily basis. In May 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* that schools for black students were inferior to schools for white students. The Court ordered that all states with segregated school systems integrate their schools immediately—that is, allow blacks and whites to attend the same schools together. This decision sparked social unrest



throughout the remainder of the 1950s, and by the 1960s the unrest exploded into widespread demonstrations.

In the 1950s, a young black Baptist minister, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968), began preaching nonviolent civil disobedience, the use of peaceful protests to demonstrate against injustice, to African Americans. King led black Americans and supportive white Americans in boycotts (for example, refusing to use segregated stores or restaurants), sit-ins (occupying tables and counters at restaurants and refusing to leave), and peaceful marches. The peaceful demonstrations frequently were met by police who used their clubs to beat the protesters. Police also used police dogs, cattle prods, and fire hoses on marchers, resulting in a number of serious injuries. King was arrested numerous times for participating in such events as sit-ins and demonstrations.

In August 1963, King led 250,000 people in the March on Washington. There, as noted in *Turbulent Years: The 60s*, he delivered his famous “I Have a Dream” speech, call-

**Demonstrators hold hands to build force against water being sprayed by riot police in Birmingham, Alabama, during a protest of segregation practices.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



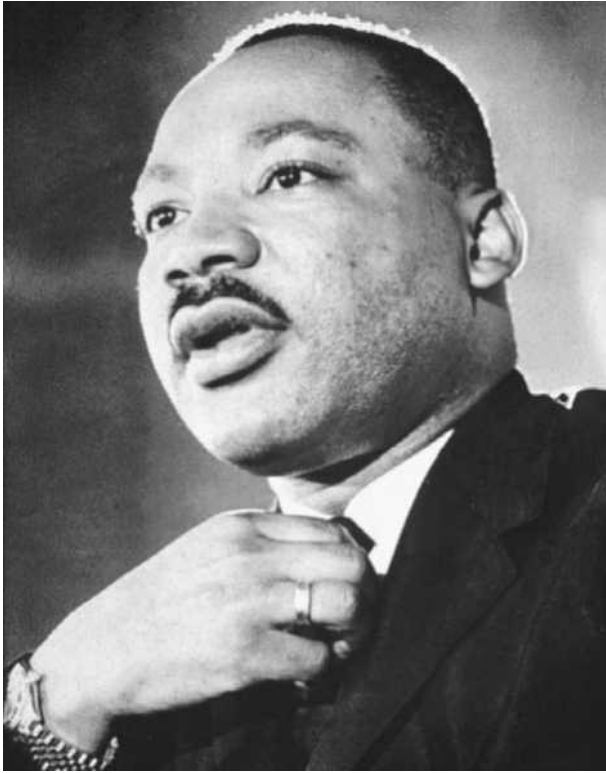
**An aerial shot of the March on Washington, a civil rights demonstration in the nation's capital.** *Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.*

ing for equal opportunities for black Americans: “I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will be judged not by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.” In 1965, King led a march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, to protest the fact that very few blacks had been able to register to vote. Hundreds of marchers were attacked and beaten by whites and by state and local law officials along the way until the

National Guard, the military reserve unit for each state, was called in to protect them.

Just as in the South, blacks in large northern cities lived in poverty. After a white policeman shot and killed a black teen in New York City in July 1964, five days of rioting broke out in Harlem and Brooklyn, two neighborhoods with large black populations. Despite King's call for nonviolent protests, tension ran high in the cities, and violence erupted. Rioting in the Watts section of Los Angeles, California, in the summer of 1965 lasted six days and left thirty-four dead. The riots, sometimes referred to as black rage, spread to cities throughout the United States in the summers of 1966 and 1967, including in Detroit, Michigan, where, in 1967, forty-three people lost their lives and property losses cost millions. Between 1964 and 1968, two hundred people died during riots, and several hundred million dollars' worth of property was destroyed.

Many northern blacks gave up on nonviolent methods of solving America's discrimination problems. They preferred the message of Malcolm X (1925–1965), a member of the Black Muslims, a group that promoted separation of the races. This separatist movement differed from the anti-segregation movement. Separatism, endorsed by Malcolm X, wanted to create a separate black society from mainstream white society; on the other hand, civil rights leaders such as King wanted to end separation of the races and merge blacks into mainstream white society. Malcolm X rejected nonviolence and stressed that black men must defend themselves from what he called the “white devil” any way they thought necessary. Malcolm X was assassinated in 1965, but he left behind his *Autobiography*, which became like a Bible for young blacks searching for their identity. In 1966, another black leader, Stokely Carmichael (1941–1998), advocated separation from whites and Black Power, which he defined as the right of African Americans to define and organize themselves as they saw fit and to protect themselves from racial violence. He hoped to instill racial pride in black Americans. Huey Newton (1942–1989) and Bobby Seale (1936–) formed the Black Panther Party in 1967 in Oakland, California. Eldridge Cleaver (1935–1998) became a famous Panther leader. The Panthers never appeared in public without their guns. Although they organized free meals for hungry black children, they also were



**Civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr.** *Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

involved in violent shootouts with police. The Black Power movement brought some black Americans greater pride in their identity. However, the majority of black Americans still favored King's nonviolent approach as the best way to expand opportunities for blacks in the United States.

King was a strong supporter of the Great Society social reform programs of President Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973; served 1963–69). These programs included Job Corps (to train unemployed workers), Head Start (to aid in early education of poor children), and Medicare (to provide health care for seniors). Construction of respectable low-rent housing for the poor was another part of the Great Society plan. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed all discrimination on the basis of race, religion, or ethnic origin, covering employment, education, housing, and

public accommodations, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which ensured full political voting rights for all adults. But by 1968, Johnson's efforts had been slowed by the cost of the Vietnam War. King became a critic of the war because he thought the vast sums being spent on it should be used to help fund Johnson's domestic programs, which were designed to end poverty and hunger in America. On April 4, 1968, as King stood on the balcony of his motel room in Memphis, Tennessee, he was assassinated by white ex-convict James Earl Ray (1928–1998), though evidence that more than one gunman was involved remained.

Soviet leaders decried the racism and violence in America. How, they asked, could America be devoted to democracy and justice and at the same time condone racism? This was a legitimate question, but it was also part of the Soviets' Cold War strategy: Like the United States, Soviet leaders wanted to win the arms race, but perhaps even more, they wanted to win over the minds of their citizens. Their strong

criticism of racism was an effective propaganda tool, encouraging Soviet citizens to see the flaws in Western society. Outside the Cold War framework, even nations friendly to the United States were beginning to doubt America's devotion to liberty and justice for all.

## **The Vietnam War and antiwar protests**

Vietnam is a country in Southeast Asia. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, a communist revolutionary named Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969) led a Vietnamese army in battles against French troops who were trying to maintain French colonial rule in Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh and his army beat the French, but not everyone in Vietnam wanted Ho Chi Minh as their ruler, especially those in the southern part of the country. So in 1954, President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61) sent U.S. military advisors to support the anticommunist army in southern Vietnam. In May, a peace settlement officially divided Vietnam into North Vietnam, where Ho Chi Minh became president, and South Vietnam, where Ngo Dinh Diem (1901–1963) became president. But soon fighting resumed, this time between the South Vietnamese army and the Vietcong, a group of communist-trained rebels within South Vietnam. U.S. president John F. Kennedy (1917–1963; served 1961–63) sent troops to South Vietnam during his time in office; his successor, Johnson, was reluctant to send any more troops, but the communists were rapidly gaining the upper hand. Johnson feared that if the United States abandoned Vietnam, the international community would no longer believe U.S. promises to defend against communism. The United States would potentially lose credibility and prestige. Therefore, Johnson decided to commit more troops. About 200,000 U.S. troops were fighting in Vietnam by the end of 1965. Ultimately, 540,000 troops would be in Vietnam by 1967. By 1968, the United States had dropped more bombs on Vietnam than it dropped during the time it was involved in World War II (1939–45).

The United States also dropped tons of chemicals on Vietnam. One was Agent Orange, used to kill jungle foliage where enemy troops hid. Another chemical, napalm, was a fiery gasoline-like gel substance that not only burned plants



**A Vietnamese mother carries her severely burned child after being caught in a napalm attack during the Vietnam War in 1972.**

*Photograph by Nick Ut.  
Reproduced by permission of  
AP/Wide World Photos.*

but stuck to and burned human flesh. U.S. soldiers were ordered to “search and destroy” villages where Vietcong might hide. Civilians—men, women, and children—were also killed by U.S. and South Vietnamese forces who were in a difficult situation to determine who were Vietcong sympathizers and who were not.

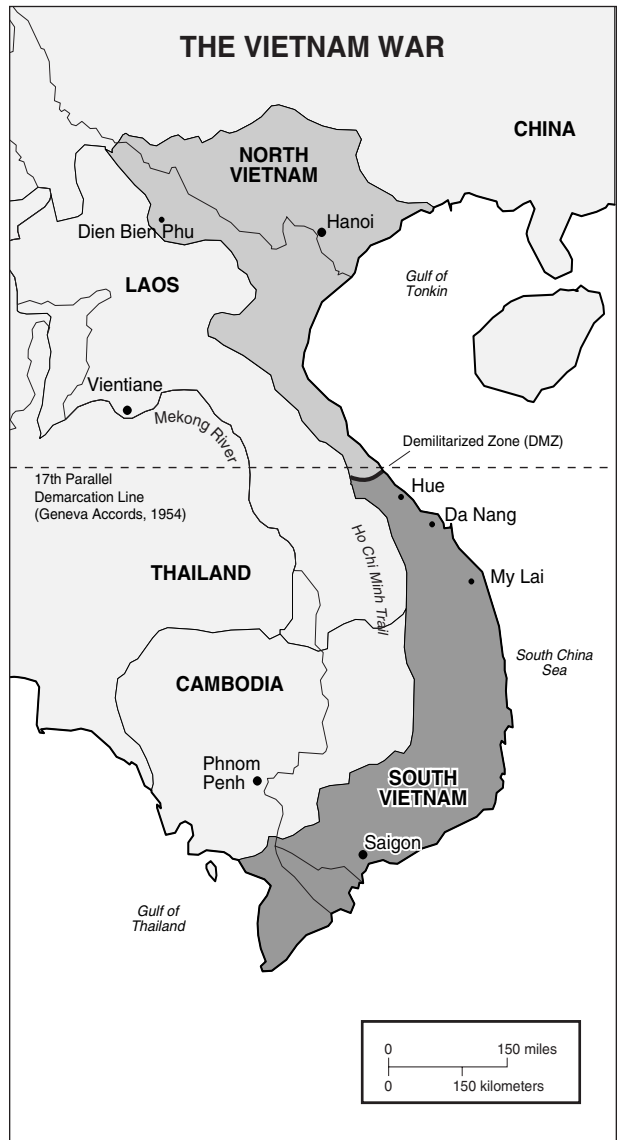
The Vietnam War became the first prime-time television war. The daily tragedies of Vietnam were shown every night on network news broadcasts. A daily death toll was generally announced. These televised war reports changed many Americans’ views toward the war. By 1965, university students and faculty were leading “teach-ins” about the war. Teach-ins were marathon lecture and debate meetings that were meant to educate people about the Vietnam War. Critics of the war said the old “domino theory” had little meaning in Vietnam. The domino theory maintained that if one country fell to communism, other countries in the region would similarly fall, like dominoes. Critics asserted that Vietnam was fighting a civil war, in which citizens of the same country fight against each other. Therefore, critics said, the United States had no business interfering. They objected to the loss of lives, the financial cost of the war, and the destruction of property and land in the Vietnam countryside. Nevertheless, the U.S. presence in Vietnam continued to expand.

In order to commit such large numbers of troops, the United States had to increase its draft call, in which all eighteen-year-old U.S. men had to register to enter the military. During the Vietnam War, if they were not in high school or college, they would be drafted and quickly enrolled in the



U.S. military. This meant the draft took a disproportionate number of young black men as well as young men from other minority groups because these groups tended to include large numbers of poorer Americans who could not afford college tuition. Twenty-five percent of the U.S. troops in action were drafted, as opposed to those who willingly signed up to be in the military, but these draftees made up 50 to 70 percent of those killed in action. This was because many of the enlisted men had become officers while draftees served as combat infantry. To avoid the draft, some young men stayed in school as long as they could or joined the National Guard. Some illegally evaded the draft by packing up and moving to Canada, where they stayed for many years.

Students watched in horror as nightly news broadcasts showed the misery and death of Vietnamese villagers and soldiers from both Vietnam and the United States. On university campuses, more and more students attended the teach-ins. Soon the gatherings evolved into organized groups that stormed university buildings and demanded that schools cut ties with the U.S. Defense Department, which funded many university research projects. Students also organized demonstrations against companies that manufactured war materials. In addition, they organized demonstrations against military recruitment on campus. Buildings housing the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC), a student-oriented military training corps, were trashed; some of them were burned. Over the next few years, protests spread out from the universities across the nation and onto the streets of cities and small towns. In 1967, thousands marched in New York City



**A map of the regions of the Vietnam War.** Map by Christine O'Bryan. Reproduced by permission of the Gale Group.



**Thousands of antiwar protesters demonstrate against the Vietnam War at the United Nations Plaza in New York City in 1967.**

*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

and on the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia. In 1968 and 1969, huge marches were held nationwide so people all across the country would be marching on the same day. Protesters burned their draft cards and the American flag, declaring that the war was immoral and had no purpose except making money for the military-industrial complex.

## The counterculture

Many of the war protesters were part of the baby boom generation. Following World War II, as soldiers returned home, young couples started families. Between 1946 and 1964, the U.S. birthrate increased significantly, causing a “baby boom.” The first baby boomers were college age in the mid-1960s, and if they were not fighting in Vietnam, they could be found protesting the war on campuses and in the streets. During the 1960s and early 1970s, baby boomers between eighteen and twenty-four years of age made up roughly 20 percent of the

U.S. population. They distrusted “old” Americans—anyone over thirty—who seemed intent on sending them to a war with no clear purpose and no end. Although some parents joined with their children to protest the war in Vietnam, many did not. The “generation gap” developed between parents and their children: Young people rejected the beliefs and values of the older generations, and older people found the lifestyle of the young disrespectful and amoral. The young questioned the materialism they had been surrounded by in the 1950s and 1960s. Their parents had fought patriotically in World War II, then came home to earn a good living and acquire the latest consumer items. Young people, seeing the horrors of war on television each night, questioned the values of the older generation and searched for deeper meanings to life. In their youthful exuberance, they turned to rock music, “free love,” or sexual freedoms, and psychedelic art; some experimented with marijuana and the psychedelic drug LSD. In some families, the deep rifts of the “generation gap” never healed.

Both young men and women wore their hair long; tie-dyed T-shirts, bell-bottom jeans, and sandals were popular. A new name for these young people, “hippies,” was coined. Their youthful counterculture, or those people who rejected the dominant values and behavior of U.S. society, centered on music of popular rock groups. The Beatles, the Rolling Stones, the Grateful Dead, the Who, the Jefferson Airplane, the Doors, Jimi Hendrix (1942–1970), Janis Joplin (1943–1970), Bob Dylan (1941–), Arlo Guthrie (1947–), and Joni Mitchell (1943–) were just a few of the rock musicians who made vinyl record albums full of songs enjoyed by the counterculture youth.

San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury district became a central location for the counterculture. In the summer of 1967, thousands gathered there for what became known as the “summer of love.” Young people handed out flowers to strangers as a symbol of peace and love. They hoped free love and drugs such as marijuana and LSD would expand their consciousness. The popular musical *Hair* combined all the major themes and conflicts of the day: love, sex, drugs, strong antiwar sentiments, and hair—long hair.

In August 1969, approximately five hundred thousand people descended on Max Yasgur’s 600-acre dairy farm near Bethel in upstate New York for a rock music festival



## Counterculture Protest Song

Country Joe McDonald wrote the song “I-Feel-Like-I’m-Fixin’-to-Die Rag” for his band, Country Joe and the Fish, as a protest to the Vietnam War effort. It was widely played across the United States. The band also performed the song at the Woodstock music festival in August 1969. The following lyrics are Verse 2 and the refrain.

*Well, come on generals, let's move fast;  
Your big chance has come at last.  
Gotta go out and get these reds—  
The only good commie is the one who's dead  
And you know that peace can only be won  
When we've blown 'em all to kingdom come.*

*[Refrain]*

*And it's one, two, three,  
What are we fighting for?  
Don't ask me, I don't give a damn,  
Next stop is Vietnam,  
And it's five, six, seven,  
Open up the pearly gates,  
Well there ain't no time to wonder why,  
Whoopee! We're all gonna die.*



**Country Joe McDonald, of the popular psychedelic rock band Country Joe and the Fish.** Photograph by Roger Ressmeyer. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.

called Woodstock. In three rain-soaked days, the crowd heard Joan Baez (1941–), Hendrix, Joplin, Guthrie, the Who, the Grateful Dead, the Jefferson Airplane, and other popular musicians. The three-day love-in, a public gathering held to profess mutual love and protest inhumane government policies, amid the music caught the attention of the nation. Older Americans had little understanding of the event and looked on it with contempt.

## Backlash

Although many young people protested the war and participated in the counterculture, they were part of a minority in America. The “Silent Majority,” as coined by President



Nixon, characterized the public who were not politically vocal to justify the continuation of the Vietnam War. These Middle Americans, that segment of U.S. society with average income and education and conventional values and conservative attitudes, were dismayed by the antiwar demonstrations and the hippies. Many Middle Americans, labor union members, and minorities had lost their sons in the Vietnam War and were proud of their sons' service to the country. They were outraged by the antiwar protests. Furthermore, they considered the rock music and sexual permissiveness of the counterculture excessive and an insult to the American way of life—allegiance to the national government and its economic system.

Although the Silent Majority supported the military in Vietnam and continued to hope for victory, the U.S. government overestimated citizens' support of the war effort and consistently underestimated the communists' will to continue fighting. The seemingly endless war led to President John-

**Three young ladies protest the war in Vietnam in Boston, Massachusetts, on April 15, 1970.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

son's decision not to run for reelection in 1968. The victor in the election, former Republican vice president Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994), began withdrawing troops from Vietnam in 1969 but increased bombing in Cambodia to destroy enemy supply camps. (More protests followed; on May 4, 1970, four students at Kent State University in Kent, Ohio, were shot and killed by National Guardsmen during a war protest. Eleven more were injured.) After more rounds of bombing over North Vietnam in 1971 and 1972, the communists still hung on. The United States had military might to spare, but U.S. leaders did not want to escalate the war to such a point that a nuclear confrontation with China or the Soviet Union might result. Both China and the Soviet Union had remained involved by supplying the communists of North Vietnam with military materials.

In March 1973, the last U.S. troops left Vietnam. Approximately fifty-eight thousand U.S. soldiers had lost their lives. Huge areas of Vietnam's jungle and farmland were ruined for decades, poisoned by the chemicals U.S. planes had dropped. The war cost the United States roughly \$150 billion. In the end, which did not come until April 30, 1975, South Vietnam surrendered to the communist North. Only the countries of Laos and Cambodia fulfilled the predictions of the domino theory by falling to the communists. Thailand, Burma (later renamed Myanmar), Malaysia, and other Asian nations did not.

## **Soviet citizens' struggles**

While the United States struggled with racial tensions and the Vietnam War, the Soviet Union faced problems at home as well. Some Soviet families benefited from the military-industrial complex, but for most Soviet citizens, life in the 1960s was a dull sequence of low-skilled jobs and the daily task of endlessly waiting in lines everywhere for food and clothing. Housing was cheap because the government paid part of the cost, but overcrowding was common. One communal apartment might house several families and single people, all in the same space. The occupants made the best of the situation by celebrating holidays and special occasions together and playing games in the evening. The Soviet government provided free education, health care, and full



## Kent State and Jackson State Universities

Elected in 1968, President Richard M. Nixon promised to begin to decrease the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War. In 1969, he began U.S. troop withdrawal but suddenly escalated the war in May 1970 by ordering the invasion of Cambodia, a country neighboring Vietnam. He argued that U.S. withdrawal could be speeded up if enemy supply bases in Cambodia were destroyed. Reaction on college campuses was swift; protests broke out across the country. As noted in *Cold War: An Illustrated History, 1945–1991*, Nixon further incited people when he called the antiwar protesters “bums.”

Nixon sent National Guard troops to control the rioting of students. At Kent State University in Kent, Ohio, the troops opened fire, killing four students and injuring eleven. At Jackson State University in Jackson, Mississippi, police shot and killed two students. Several governors declared states of emergency on their university campuses. Throughout the nation, approximately five hundred campuses temporarily shut down. Many Americans still supported the war effort, and they clashed



**A wounded African American man is escorted away from a riot area after demonstrations at Jackson State College in Jackson, Mississippi, turned violent on May 12, 1967. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.**

with and demonstrated against the antiwar protesters. Some Americans supported Nixon's actions, but others demanded his impeachment, a legislative proceeding charging a public official with misconduct. The country had not been so divided since the American Civil War (1861–65).

employment. But productivity was very low because there was little incentive to work hard. Highly skilled individuals often held unskilled jobs; jobs were guaranteed but there was little chance for promotion; and more money would not be as useful because there was nothing to buy but the few necessities due to a lack of consumer culture like in the West. People could not earn enough to buy the luxuries that appeared from time to time in state-owned department stores. As part

of the communist way, the people had no freedom of speech or press, and all religious activities were banned.

The Soviet economy was run by the Central Government in Moscow. Five-year plans were drawn up, and middle managers in local areas assigned workers their tasks. The workers were encouraged to keep up with the United States, especially in agricultural production. But the Soviet system was inefficient and inflexible and could not respond to local needs; it was highly centralized and possessed very rigid decision-making. Its output, therefore, lagged far behind America's robust economy.

Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) was constantly urging collective farms, which would provide more local control, to set higher output goals. During Khrushchev's "meat campaign," the collectives, which strongly supported the idea of increased local control, eagerly set goals that they could never reach. They then set about butchering animals throughout the countryside to meet the one-year goal. The livestock herds were destroyed, and it took years to recover. Likewise, plans for huge grain harvests were unrealistic: About 90 million acres were plowed up and planted in wheat. For the first few years, the harvests were good, but overuse of the land soon decreased its production severely. The Soviets then had to buy grain from the United States—an embarrassment, but necessary to keep people from starving.

Khrushchev, who had denounced former Soviet premier Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) as a brutal leader, loosened some of the restrictions in Soviet society. Art galleries opened; Soviets began enjoying a variety of musical performances; and hundreds, even thousands, gathered for poetry readings. Poets were especially popular with the Soviet public. One of the most famous was Yevgeny Yevtushenko (1933–), who read with energy and passion, delighting his audiences. Young Soviets also began to pick up snatches of Western culture. Western clothing fashions such as blue jeans were prized, and radios brought Western rock and roll. Although Western music was forbidden, vinyl records were occasionally smuggled in and reproduced. Soviet teens idolized Elvis Presley (1935–1977) and the Beatles as much as Western teens did.

Conservative Soviet communists became concerned about the young people's craving for Western culture and





## Yevgeny Yevtushenko

Born on July 18, 1933, in Zima, Siberia, Russia, poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko became a leader of Soviet youths who were daring to question communist authority in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Yevtushenko traveled widely in the West until 1963; his travel was curtailed after he published in English *A Precocious Autobiography*, an uncensored, frank discussion of what he perceived to be flaws in Soviet society. Yevtushenko demanded artistic freedom and was politically outspoken. He attacked the policies of the late Soviet leader Joseph Stalin with his poem “The Heirs of Stalinism” (1961) and criticized the Soviet government’s anti-Jewish policies with “Babiy Yar” (1961).

In the 1970s, Yevtushenko continued to write. He was also involved in acting, directing films, and photography. He supported the Nobel Prize–winning Soviet author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (1918–) when Solzhenitsyn was exiled for his writings. In



Russian poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

the late 1980s, when Soviet communist policies had relaxed somewhat, Yevtushenko published the journal *Ogonek*, which introduced Soviets to poets whom they had not been allowed to hear or study before.

goods. They also feared the creativity and freethinking of the fledgling Soviet art community. They urged Khrushchev to again crack down. Khrushchev agreed and began to caution young people to conform to communist doctrine, to reject all things Western, or find themselves in trouble with Soviet authorities. Protests in the Soviet Union and Soviet satellite countries led only to tighter control and repression of the people.

## China’s Cultural Revolution

Appalled at Khrushchev’s tentative move away from the strict communist doctrine of the Stalin years, Mao Ze-

dong, leader of the People's Republic of China, or more simply, China, instituted his Cultural Revolution in 1966. Mao's objective was to ensure that all Chinese people remained loyal to the philosophy of communism. He believed the only way to accomplish this goal was to purge, or eliminate, from Chinese society any trace of traditional Chinese culture and Western (that is, noncommunist) ideas or influence.

To carry out this massive purge, Mao enlisted a million young people from universities and militant youth groups in China. In every town and city, young men and women were organized as the Red Guards. Each Red Guard wore a red arm band and carried a little red book of Mao's "thoughts." Devoutly loyal to Mao, the Red Guards fanned out over China; their first targets were teachers and intellectuals, whom they accused of having deviant, dangerous ideas and opinions. Everyone in a place of authority—in government, factories, businesses, and local Communist Party committees—was subjected to the abuses of the Red Guards. Verbal abuse turned to physical violence as the Red Guards tortured and murdered thousands. Millions of Chinese people were arrested and sent to labor camps, accused of favoring improved relations with the United States and the Soviet Union and tending toward aspects of a market economy. Others committed suicide before the Red Guards could reach them.

Mao called the purge a fight against the "four olds": "old cultures," "old customs," "old habits," and "old thoughts." The "olds" extended to old paintings, old books, antiques, and museum exhibits, many of which were destroyed. Anyone or anything that might take attention or reverence away from Mao and communist doctrine was eliminated. Nearly four hundred thousand people were killed.

The Cultural Revolution severely damaged the framework of Chinese society. Most universities closed between 1966 and 1970. Industrial manufacturing capabilities decreased dramatically after management leaders were purged. Charging that local Communist Party leaders had moved away from pure communism, the Red Guards took over provincial and city governments and shredded the party's leadership structure. The Communist Party officials who lived through the purge remained apprehensive and barely functioned. A few brave moderates called for an end to the purge

in 1967. Mao gave his answer by organizing a frenzied rally of a million Red Guards in Tiananmen Square in the center of the capital city of Beijing.

By the late 1960s, Mao was apparently satisfied that the Red Guards had successfully purged anyone not totally loyal to him. Mao ordered the Red Guards to take the purge to the countryside. Cities slowly began to regain some order, but farmers experienced the Red Guards' wrath. Accusing each other of not being idealistic enough, Red Guard members began to fight among themselves, forcing Mao to call out China's regular army later in 1967 to restore order. By 1969 and 1970, China's schools, government, and industries slowly began to function again. Any dissidents who happened to be left were silent, not daring to speak out again for decades.

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**Thousands of Red Guards celebrate China's Cultural Revolution in Tiananmen Square on May 1, 1969.**

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## Détente: A Lessening of Tensions

13

**F**rom 1969 through 1975, the United States and the Soviet Union, the world's two superpowers, established policies promoting détente between them. Détente, French for "lessening of tensions," marked a relaxing of tensions between the rival nations, exemplified by increased diplomatic, commercial, and cultural contact. Western and Eastern European countries also experienced a détente and better cooperation during this period. The Cold War entered a new phase during détente. Consistent contact and communication between the United States and the Soviet Union was perhaps the greatest single achievement of détente. The détente period is also significant because it marked the beginning of improved relations between the United States and China. Recognizing that China and the United States could become allies pushed the Soviets toward détente. These positive changes were bright spots in U.S. foreign affairs at a time when the United States seemed all but consumed by the challenge of extricating itself from the Vietnam War (1954–75).

The first treaty of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I), signed by the United States and the Soviet Union in





## Words to Know

**Brezhnev Doctrine:** A Soviet act that proclaimed the right of the Soviet Union to intervene in the internal affairs of other communist states and to impose its particular communist principles on them.

**Capitalism:** An economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention.

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and govern-

ment directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Democracy:** A system of government in which several political parties compete.

**Détente:** A relaxing of tensions between rival nations, marked by increased diplomatic, commercial, and cultural contact.

**Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT):** Discussions between the United States and the Soviet Union aimed at lessening the threat of nuclear war by bringing the arms race under control.

**Watergate scandal:** A scandal that began on June 17, 1972, when five men were caught burglarizing the offices of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C. This led to a cover-up, criminal convictions, and, eventually, the resignation of President Richard Nixon.

May 1972, lessened the threat of nuclear war by bringing the arms race under control. The treaty represented the core of détente. The negotiations that led up to SALT I continued after it was signed and established a direct line of communication between the two superpowers.

Even with all the talk of cooperation, the United States and the Soviet Union continued their competitive Cold War struggle. Neither gave up a single offensive weapon already in development or production. Likewise, as governmental troubles occurred in nations around the world, nei-

ther country gave up opportunities to further its global influence, political philosophy, and economic goals in those afflicted areas. The Soviet Union promoted communism as the best system of government. In a communist government, a single political party controls almost all aspects of society. Communist economic theory includes a ban on private ownership of property and businesses so that goods produced and wealth accumulated can be shared equally by all. The United States supported democracy, a completely different political system, as the best choice for people around the globe. In a democracy, several political parties select candidates to run for election to various government offices; the people vote to elect one candidate for each office. In the United States, democracy is paired with capitalism, an economic system that allows property and businesses to be privately owned. Competition determines prices, and individuals who compete successfully in business can accumulate private wealth. The government is only minimally involved in controlling goods and production.

The European *détente* began through the efforts of Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970), the president of France, and Willy Brandt (1913–1992), the West German chancellor who came to power in 1969. Both sought to open communications with the East, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union, and they achieved major improvements in East-West relations.

In August 1974, America's Watergate scandal, which stemmed from the burglarizing of the offices of the Democratic National Committee and the cover-up that followed, and the subsequent resignation of U.S. president Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994; served 1969–74) interrupted *détente*. *Détente* activities culminated in the Helsinki Accords, signed in



## People to Know

**Willy Brandt (1913–1992):** West German chancellor, 1969–74.

**Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982):** Leader of the Soviet Union Communist Party, 1964–82.

**Jimmy Carter (1924–):** Thirty-ninth U.S. president, 1977–81.

**Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970):** French president, 1958–69.

**Gerald R. Ford (1913–):** Thirty-eighth U.S. president, 1974–77.

**Henry Kissinger (1923–):** U.S. national security advisor, 1969–75; secretary of state, 1973–77.

**Mao Zedong (1893–1976):** Chairman of the People's Republic of China and its Communist Party, 1949–76.

**Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994):** Thirty-seventh U.S. president, 1969–74.

the summer of 1975 by thirty-five nations, including the United States, now under the leadership of Gerald R. Ford (1913–; served 1974–77). However, by the spring of 1976, détente had stalled; superpower relations would go into a freeze by the spring of 1977.

## **China opens to the United States**

By early 1969, tensions between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Soviet Union were at an all-time high. The PRC was by this time simply called China. China's leaders, Mao Zedong (1893–1976) and Premier Zhou Enlai (1898–1976), had cast a wary eye toward Czechoslovakia, where the Soviets had stopped a revolt in 1968. The Brezhnev Doctrine (1968), named after Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982), proclaimed the right of the Soviet Union to intervene in the internal affairs of other communist states and to impose its particular communist principles on them. Although the doctrine largely applied to the Soviet satellite nations of Eastern Europe, China's leaders feared that Soviet aggression would someday focus on China. They were also not happy that the Soviets treated them arrogantly when the Chinese tried to share industrial and military technology with the Soviets. China had managed to develop its own nuclear weapons during the 1960s but had done so without Soviet help. By 1969, the border between China and the Soviet Union, over 3,000 miles (4,827 kilometers), was guarded by an ever-expanding military buildup on both sides. Sporadic fighting broke out between Soviet and Chinese troops.

U.S. president Richard Nixon and his national security advisor, Henry Kissinger (1923–), decided to take advantage of the Soviet-Chinese rift. In early 1970, Kissinger began secretly traveling to Warsaw, Poland, where he met with Chinese officials. This secret type of negotiation is referred to as a back channel. China had long isolated itself from the rest of the world, and the small amount of information that leaked out about its brutal 1960s Cultural Revolution (see Chapter 12, Home Front Turmoil: The 1960s) convinced other nations that they wanted nothing to do with China anyway. But now the United States and China saw that the opening of relations between them could be advantageous, for a number of reasons. China could be an effective block to

further Soviet aggression eastward. Fearful of Soviet aggression, China was eager to respond to the United States, a powerful potential ally. President Nixon was also trying to wind down the war in Vietnam. He believed China was supplying weapons to communist North Vietnam, the U.S. enemy in this conflict. He hoped that opening talks might halt this activity, thereby helping him pull U.S. troops out of Vietnam more quickly. Lastly, Nixon and Kissinger believed that if the Soviets thought the United States and China were becoming allies, the Soviets would push for better relations with the United States. The Soviets feared that China and the United States might form a partnership against the Soviet Union.

Secret back-channel talks with Kissinger progressed, and before long the United States eased trade and travel restrictions to China. In spring 1971, China invited the U.S. Ping-Pong team to play a tournament in Beijing, the capital city. The team traveled to China in April 1971, was warmly received, and set a positive tone for future exchanges. In July, Kissinger became the first U.S. government representative to visit China since the communist revolution in 1949. The talks between Kissinger, Mao, and Zhou were still secret and still cordial, and they paved the way for a visit by President Nixon. Nixon's plane touched down in China on February 21, 1972, beginning a very public visit. Live television covered Nixon and his wife, Pat, as they walked with Chinese officials along the Great Wall, a 1,500-mile (2,400 kilometers) wall that runs across northern China. A beaming Nixon toasted Mao and Zhou in the Great Hall of the People. Nixon agreed to begin withdrawing U.S. troops from Taiwan, a nation the United States had long supported and China had opposed. Nixon's only disappointment came when the Chinese did not agree to halt support for the North Vietnamese. Nevertheless, tensions were lessened over both Taiwan and Vietnam. Nixon's historic trip to China was a Cold War turning point. It paved the way for full diplomatic relations with China seven years later in 1979 during the administration of Jimmy Carter (1924–; served 1977–81). It greatly strengthened America's position in the world. Overall, the trip served to put a great deal of pressure on the Soviet Union. A U.S.-China alignment was the Soviet Union's worst nightmare: The Soviets and Chinese already had strained relations; improved U.S.-Chinese relations would result in major rivals to





## Ping-Pong Diplomacy

The U.S. table tennis team was one of the first groups of Westerners to travel to China after the Cultural Revolution ended (see Chapter 12, Home Front Turmoil: The 1960s). The team's opportunity to visit China originated by chance: The U.S. team was in Japan for the world Ping-Pong championships early in 1971, and a young American player stumbled onto the wrong team bus. He sat down and soon discovered he was surrounded by Chinese team players, none of whom would speak to him. It was forbidden for the young Chinese to talk to foreigners. Feeling the snub was uncalled for, the Chinese team captain spoke to the American. The next day, the American team leader approached the Chinese team captain. With youthful eagerness and in the spirit of international competition, he asked if the U.S. team might be allowed to visit Beijing for a tournament.

Although no Americans had been in China for years, the time was right, po-

litically speaking, to allow such a visit. The request went all the way to Chinese leader Mao Zedong, because no one else in China could make such an important decision. Mao, who was in the midst of improving relations with the United States, saw Ping-Pong as a great opportunity for exchange between the two countries.

In April 1971, in packed arenas, the American players competed against the Chinese players, who were known to be some of the best in the world. The Chinese defeated the Americans easily, but the warm hospitality the young Americans received seemed genuine and very enthusiastic. Although the U.S. team lost its matches, it scored big points for foreign diplomacy: Shortly after the U.S. team visit, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger traveled secretly to China to speak directly with Mao and President Richard Nixon was invited to China for a summit in February 1972.

the east and west, which, the Soviets feared, could develop a growing anti-Soviet coalition.

## Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I)

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I)—negotiations for limitation of offensive and defensive nuclear weapons in the Soviet Union and the United States—had begun in 1969. Fearing that China and the United States might form a partnership against the Soviet Union, Soviet leaders were eager to improve relations with the United States. After Nixon's trip to China, Kissinger quietly visited Moscow and paved the way for



**Chinese leader Mao Zedong (left) shakes hands with U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger on November 12, 1973.**

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the completion of SALT I. The negotiations revolved around offensive intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs), and antiballistic missile (ABM) systems. ICBMs carried single nuclear warheads to a target thousands of miles away. MIRVs were offensive multiple warheads, each guided to a different target but installed atop a single missile. ABM systems were proposed defense systems to intercept incoming missiles. There was no assurance ABMs could really defend against all incoming missiles. But if one country had a working ABM, it could go on the offensive against the other and then protect against retaliation. Therefore, if the United States tried to develop an ABM, the Soviet Union would feel compelled to also develop an ABM, and vice versa. The cost of attempting to develop an ABM was billions of dollars. The United States was not eager to spend this money, and the Soviet Union, its economy struggling, was desperate not to spend that much.

Ultimately, SALT I capped the number of ICBMs for a five-year period; only ICBMs already manufactured or in the

construction process would be allowed. No cap was put on MIRVs, so the race to build MIRVs continued. The only real progress came on the question of ABMs. Each country was allowed two ABM systems: one to protect its capital city and one to defend a field of offensive missiles. This ruling would significantly slow any ABM development, to the great relief of both countries.

President Nixon arrived in Moscow on May 22, 1972, for the signing of the treaty. He was the first American president to go to the Kremlin, the seat of the Soviet government in Moscow. Although the Soviets would have been much happier if Nixon had gone to Moscow before Beijing, SALT I was signed, and Brezhnev offered toasts all around. A few days later, Nixon and Brezhnev signed the Basic Principles of Relations between the United States and Soviet Union. The Soviets had proposed and prepared the Basic Principles, and they considered the document a major achievement in détente. It stated that neither superpower would take advantage of a situation at the expense of the other. It was a kind of charter, or set of rules and guiding principles, for détente. It spoke of peaceful coexistence, long a Soviet catchphrase. Each superpower was to strive to lessen the chance of military conflicts and nuclear war. Kissinger and Nixon did not consider the document as important as the Soviets did. As noted in *Cold War: An Illustrated History, 1945–1991*, it is likely Nixon had not even read the document when he signed it.

The meeting in Moscow established a working relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. New lines of communication had been established and would eventually lead to discussions on trade and allow U.S. tourists to travel to the Soviet Union. While in Moscow, Nixon had offered to sell U.S. surplus wheat to the Soviets. Soon after Nixon's return to the United States, the Soviets agreed to buy four hundred million bushels of wheat for roughly \$700 million and obtained U.S. loans to do so. Some U.S. officials chuckled that the Soviets were quite good at capitalist negotiations. Conservatives believed the United States had been outsmarted in the deal. Nevertheless, the Soviets would continue to buy U.S. grain for many years.

Despite all the arms control talk and the signing of the Basic Principles, both countries knew that détente rested on



the principle of strategic weapons parity, or equality, and mutual deterrence. Each side had the capability to destroy the other even if the other side struck first. Nixon and Kissinger knew this; Brezhnev knew it as well. Kissinger considered this relationship necessary for long-term coexistence between the two superpowers. Enforcing détente was merely a way to establish less tense relations and lessen the risk of anyone launching a nuclear war. As for arms control, the Soviet Union went right on with its buildup, uninterrupted, because they were behind the United States in the ICBM race. This was allowed because they had room to expand under their caps, whereas the United States did not; this was a major issue with some critics of the agreement. Soon, the Soviets had exceeded U.S. ICBM launchers by 50 percent. Both countries continued developing new MIRVs and new nuclear submarines.

## ***Ostpolitik***

*Ostpolitik* was a new policy instituted by West German chancellor Willy Brandt. Brandt took over leadership of

**U.S. president Richard Nixon (left) exchanges documents with Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev following the signing of the SALT treaty.** *Photograph by Wally McNamee. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



**West German chancellor Willy Brandt.** *Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

West Germany in October 1969. He replaced Konrad Adenauer (1876–1967), who had been adamant in his refusal to recognize East Germany as an independent nation. *Ostpolitik* recognized East Germany and territorial changes that occurred at the conclusion of World War II (1939–45), including the new boundaries of Poland. This new policy was a major force in the so-called European *détente*. Another major force was Charles de Gaulle, the president of France, who refused to let the United States position its nuclear weapons in France. De Gaulle also pulled out of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which was formed for the mutual protection of the United States and Western European nations. Both Brandt and de Gaulle were hoping for a more cooperative relationship with Eastern Europe, even

though Eastern European countries were under the strong influence of the Soviet Union.

In December 1972, East and West Germany signed a mutual recognition treaty. Also, for the first time since Berlin was divided into four sectors (Soviet, British, American, and French; after World War II), West Germany officially recognized East Berlin as part of East Germany. In turn, East Germany recognized the role of the United States, Britain, and France in West Berlin and guaranteed access to West Berlin from West Germany (see Chapter 3, Germany and Berlin). This *détente*-influenced mutual political recognition marked a new beginning in East-West European cooperation. The U.S.-Soviet *détente* would ultimately collapse by 1976, but the European *détente* continued to flourish.

## **Influence of Cold War worldwide**

The lines of communication established between the superpowers were pressed into active negotiations at the end



of 1972. A new round of talks began on extending the agreements of SALT I. In the summer of 1973, Brezhnev traveled to the United States for a summit. At this summit, a document called the Prevention of Nuclear War was signed. The document bound both countries to do everything possible to prevent nuclear war.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union proved that despite talks and treaties, neither country would stop trying to extend its influence in the world. The situation in Europe had stabilized, so there was little Cold War competition left there, but many countries in the Third World were very unstable. (The term *Third World* refers to poor underdeveloped or developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Most Third World countries have economies primarily based on agriculture, with few other industries.) The Soviets supported revolutionary liberation movements within these countries whenever they erupted. They expected the revolutionaries to adopt communism and ally themselves

**A large crane removes equipment from a Titan II missile silo, as part of the SALT agreements.**

*Photograph by Roger Ressmeyer. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

with the Soviet Union. The United States supported extremely conservative governments that were strongly anticommunist—but often run by brutal dictators. The Cold War would therefore continue, on a global scale.

## **Chile**

In 1970, the communist-leaning Salvador Allende Gossens (1908–1973) was elected as Chile’s new president. Many Chileans questioned his policies, and he might have lost power before long. Nevertheless, through the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Nixon and Kissinger engineered a military coup (short for coup d’état; an illegal or forceful change of government) in which Allende was killed. General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte (1915–1999) took control. Although he was a ruthless dictator, the United States was willing to officially recognize him as president of Chile because he was noncommunist.

## **Iran**

Between 1972 and 1979, to combat a growing Soviet presence in the Middle East, the United States allowed Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919–1980), the shah, or ruler, of Iran, to buy approximately \$20 billion worth of U.S. weapons. (The shah had been returned to power by a CIA coup in the 1950s. See Chapter 14, A Freeze in Relations.) The shah allowed no political freethinking and brutally punished anyone speaking out. Nevertheless, his pro-American stance kept Nixon pleased and communism at bay.

## **Angola**

Long under Portuguese rule, the African country of Angola was given its independence in 1975. Civil war among various factions ensued. The United States, China, and South Africa supported one side of the guerrilla warfare, or irregular and independent attacks; the Soviets supported the other. Taking it a step higher, the United States engaged the CIA in covert, or secret, activities to support the guerrillas whose sentiments leaned toward America. In response, the Soviets sent ten thousand Cuban soldiers into Angola to help support the government for over a decade.



## The October War—The Yom Kippur War

On October 6, 1973, the Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur, Egypt and Syria launched a surprise attack on Israel. Unprepared, Israel suffered territorial losses and pleaded for quick help from the United States. While Egypt and Syria were backed with Soviet materials, Israel received war planes and other supplies from the United States. Within ten days Israel was on the offensive, trapping Egypt's Third Army on the Sinai Peninsula. The Soviets threatened to intervene to save the Third Army; the Soviets did not want to see Egypt, a pro-Soviet country (though not solid) suffer another embarrassing defeat to Israel as in 1967. The United States put all its nuclear armed forces on alert but at the same time called on Israel to stop advancing. Israel complied, and both the United States and the Soviet Union backed off. The October War proved that the two superpowers had no intention of putting the new rules or guidelines of détente into practice. Through intelligence, the Soviets probably knew of

Israeli artillerymen hold their ears as they shoot their weapons on the Syrian border during the October War in 1973.

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Egypt's plan to attack Israel but did not warn the United States ahead of time. The crisis eventually took the superpowers closer to nuclear war than they had been since the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962 (see Chapter 9, Cuban Missile Crisis).

### **Cuba, again**

The only détente-era direct confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union occurred in 1970. The Soviets began building a submarine base at the Bay of Cienfuegos in Cuba. The base would supply Soviet nuclear submarines. After a U-2 spy aircraft flying over Cuba took a photograph of the construction, the United States confronted the Soviets, arguing that agreements made at the end of the Cuban Missile Crisis prohibited such construction. The Soviets quickly backed away, and the crisis blew over.

### **Watergate**

The beginning of the end of détente actually occurred only a few months after Nixon's triumphant trip to China in February 1972. On June 17, 1972, a security guard at the Watergate building complex in Washington, D.C., caught five men breaking into the Democratic National Committee Headquarters office. One of the men, James W. McCord Jr. (1918–), worked for the Committee to Reelect the President (CREEP). The break-in eventually led directly to the White House—and to Nixon himself—and to presidential impeachment proceedings, a legislative process charging a public official with misconduct. With the problems of Watergate at the forefront, détente became entangled in a web of domestic American politics. Détente had always depended on the personalities of Kissinger, Nixon, and Brezhnev. But weakened by the Watergate scandal, Nixon could do little.

On August 9, 1974, Nixon became the first American president in history to resign. He was replaced by Vice President Gerald Ford—who himself had replaced Spiro Agnew (1918–1996) a year earlier after Agnew was forced to resign due to an income tax evasion scandal—making him the first U.S. president who had never been popularly elected to ei-



ther the office of president or vice president. Ford would continue pursuing the policies of détente.

When Nixon left Washington, D.C., he left behind more than the break-in scandal. His legacy includes an improvement in U.S.-Chinese relations and many other notable foreign relations achievements. He, Kissinger, and Brezhnev had established détente essentially by themselves, and it had worked to lessen Cold War tensions between the two superpowers. By withdrawing from Vietnam, Nixon recognized that America had limits to its power. But he also showed communist-fearing Americans that the communist world outside the Soviet Union was not a monster ready to devour the United States. Instead it had many centers that were rarely even loosely joined to one another. Because Nixon understood this, he defined his Nixon Doctrine, announced in July 1969, as a shift in American foreign commitments. It was a shift away from immediately sending American troops wherever a communist rebel group threatened to gain control in a country.

**Richard Nixon gives his farewell speech on August 9, the day he resigned from the U.S. presidency. His daughter, Tricia Cox, and son-in-law, Edward Cox, are behind him.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*



## End of the Vietnam War

When Richard Nixon campaigned for the U.S. presidency in 1968, he claimed he would bring an honorable end to the Vietnam War if he was elected. Nixon won the election over his Democratic opponent, Vice President Hubert Humphrey (1911–1978), and entered the White House in January 1969. By March, Nixon unveiled a new policy for the war; the policy was called Vietnamization. It called for the South Vietnamese army, which the United States had been supporting, to take over responsibility for fighting the war. Meanwhile, American troops, numbering over five hundred thousand at the time, would be phased out. As this policy was put into action, Nixon's national security advisor, Henry Kissinger, entered secret negotiations with the communist North Vietnamese to bring an end to the war. However, the talks were not productive. The United States hoped that in the spirit of *détente* cooperation, the Soviet Union and China could help bring an end to the war by talking with their fellow communists in North Vietnam. But this did not occur. In reality, neither country had much influence over the North Vietnamese.

To give the South Vietnamese army a fighting chance after U.S. ground troops were to be withdrawn from the war as part of Vietnamization, Nixon decided to attack North Vietnamese base camps in neighboring countries to destroy their war supplies and their sanctuaries, or safe places normally protected from attack. Because of continued public protests against the war and an unsupportive Congress, Nixon ordered secret bombing of Cambodian targets and support of South Vietnamese raids into Laos, another neighbor of Vietnam.

Finally, the secret peace talks became more productive in October 1972. Both countries had a reason to talk: Nixon needed to show progress in ending the war to the American public to gain reelection, and North Vietnam was not making satisfactory progress in gaining control of South Vietnam. On October 26, days before the presidential election, Kissinger made a public announcement: "Peace is at hand." Nixon won easily, boosted by the good news. However, the South Vietnamese, who had been left out of the ne-

The United States would no longer act as the global police; it would rely more on other Western nations to take more responsibility with U.S. backing. Government leaders and the American public alike hoped this policy would help them avoid all future entanglements that resembled the one in Vietnam. Indeed, China took the Nixon Doctrine as a positive sign and opened the door for renewed relations.



**President Richard Nixon is surrounded by U.S. soldiers during his visit to Saigon during the Vietnam War.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

gotiations, rejected the settlement, believing it placed them in an impossible situation. They believed they were being sold out and would be left without outside assistance against a superior North Vietnamese army. Further talks broke down.

To bring North Vietnam back to the negotiating table, Nixon ordered

eleven days of intensive bombing in North Vietnam through late December; this was known as the “Christmas bombing.” Public protests again erupted around the United States. Though highly unpopular, the bombings soon led to a cease-fire settlement, which went into effect on January 27, 1973. Two months later, Nixon proclaimed “peace with honor” as the last American soldiers left Vietnam on March 29. However, fighting in South Vietnam would continue for two more years. Finally in early 1975, a North Vietnamese offensive took control of South Vietnam and captured its capital, Saigon. The last Americans and some pro-American Vietnamese evacuated in overloaded helicopters from the U.S. embassy’s rooftop.

The war had finally ended. For the first time, the United States was on the losing side of a war, and the costs were dramatic. The United States spent \$155 billion fighting the Vietnam War, and approximately fifty-eight thousand U.S. soldiers and over two million Vietnamese soldiers and civilians were killed.

## Helsinki Accords

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, more commonly known as the Helsinki Accords, was signed on August 1, 1975, in Helsinki, Finland. Signers included thirty-five nations, which included Canada, the United States, and the Soviet Union. Historians view this

signing as the mountaintop of détente. The accords consisted of three parts or “baskets,” as they were called. The first basket recognized all existing borders of European nations and called for cooperation and peaceful settlement of disputes with neighbors. The second basket called for cooperation of all the nations in trade, cultural exchanges, and scientific and industrial advances. The third basket involved human rights, calling for the free movement of people and free circulation of information and ideas. Human rights refers to certain economic and political freedoms that all people, simply by being human, deserve. Examples of human rights include freedom from oppression, freedom from unlawful imprisonment and execution, and freedom from torture, persecution, and exploitation.

The third basket caused Soviet leaders to pause. Its terms were not compatible with communism. However, in the spirit of détente, Brezhnev was able to persuade these leaders to overcome their doubts about basket three. He went to Helsinki to sign the accords. President Ford also went, to sign for the United States. At the same time, symbolizing a new era of cooperation, the American space program and the Soviet space program joined together—literally, by the linkage of each country’s spacecraft—high above Earth and carried out joint experiments.

## **Détente stalled**

In addition to the Helsinki Accords, President Ford reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to détente in a November 1974 summit meeting with Brezhnev in Vladivostok, located in the far eastern reaches of the Soviet Union. Ford also kept Henry Kissinger in his cabinet, or group of top advisors, as secretary of state. Despite all these efforts, détente had been partially derailed when Nixon left office. The Soviets could not understand why he was forced from office for what seemed in their view an insignificant act. With the key détente figure of Nixon now gone, the Soviets doubted that détente could go on without him.

Meanwhile, the 1976 U.S. presidential election loomed. One Democratic hopeful, U.S. senator Henry “Scoop” Jackson (1912–1983) of Washington, had already

criticized the U.S. policy of détente. He saw no reason why the United States should cap its number of missiles. He opposed further trade with the Soviet Union unless the Soviets allowed Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel. Russian Jews were persecuted for their religious beliefs in the Soviet Union; Soviet authorities began applying a tax on Jews emigrating out of the Soviet Union, which made it much more difficult for many. This was a pet issue with Jackson, who wanted the Soviets to ease up on their emigration policies toward the Jews.

Meanwhile, a Republican candidate, Ronald Reagan (1911–), the governor of California, was also forcefully opposed to détente. Neither Jackson nor Reagan had wanted the United States to sign the Helsinki Accords in 1975, and both used the accords as a campaign issue. Reagan believed that the Soviets gained a lot more than the United States with formal recognition of communist rule in Eastern Europe and that trade agreements supported the continuation of the communist system. Jackson believed the human rights issues were basically ignored on both sides. By the spring of 1976, President Ford and Kissinger knew public opinion was turning against détente, and Ford quit using the term in his run for the presidential election. Further SALT negotiations stalled.

Democrat Jimmy Carter, the governor of Georgia, was the ultimate victor in the presidential race. President Carter vowed to eliminate nuclear arms from the world, but he had no foreign policy expertise. Quickly, he sent to Moscow a plan to radically reduce arms; the plan went far beyond anything ever discussed before. Soviet leaders thought it was outrageous and did not take it seriously. They flatly rejected it. Carter also immediately set out on his campaign for human rights around the world, citing the third part of the Helsinki Accords, the human rights “basket” that had riled the Soviets before they signed the agreement. (At the signing in 1975, Kissinger did not press the human rights section of the accords, aware it was a Soviet sticking point.) Carter’s human rights effort was also based on the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948), whose principal author was Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962), widow of the late U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45). Included in Carter’s early actions was a letter of support to Andrey Sakharov (1921–1989), noted Soviet nuclear physicist and father of the Soviet hydrogen bomb. Sakharov had fallen

out of favor with the Soviets because of his outspokenness and went into exile in early 1980. Human rights advocate Carter admired Sakharov and believed he had been persecuted for his antinuclear arms race views.

Dissidents, or protesters, in several Eastern European countries demanded compliance with the human rights initiatives that the Soviets flatly rejected. Many dissidents were jailed. With the signing of the Helsinki Accords, many groups worldwide (even within the Soviet Union) more aggressively pressed the communist bloc regarding the lack of personal freedoms within their countries; it put the spotlight much brighter on the nature of communist rule. Brezhnev charged the Carter administration with meddling in internal Soviet affairs. Soviet-U.S. relations sank very low, and détente came to a close.

Ultimately, détente was not an alternative to the Cold War but a less belligerent way to wage it. A competitive relationship still existed between the United States and the Soviet Union. Both countries pursued a strategy of regular communication, which lessened tensions; both enjoyed claiming credit for the apparent progress in relations. However, both countries continued to build up their military strength, and each country remained vigilant about the activities of the other side. Despite official policies and treaties, neither country could bring itself to fully trust the other.

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## A Freeze in Relations

14

**“T**he reality is that we must find peace through strength. A freeze [on nuclear weapon development] would reward the Soviet Union for its enormous and unparalleled military buildup. I urge you to [not] ... ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire ... and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.” U.S. president Ronald Reagan (1911–; served 1981–89) spoke these words on March 8, 1983, in Orlando, Florida, at the National Association of Evangelicals Convention. His statement reflected a return to the tough Cold War talk of the 1950s and increasing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Cold War was primarily a battle of social/political theories and goals: communism versus democracy and capitalism. The Soviet Union adopted communism as its system of government in 1917. In a communist society, a single political party, the Communist Party, controls nearly all aspects of people’s lives. In a communist economy, private ownership of property and business is not allowed; instead the government controls business and production so that





## Words to Know

**Capitalism:** An economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention.

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership

of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Democracy:** A system of government in which several political parties compete.

**Détente:** A relaxing of tensions between rival nations, marked by increased diplomatic, commercial, and cultural contact.

**Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT):** Discussions between the United States and the Soviet Union aimed at lessening the threat of nuclear war by bringing the arms race under control.

goods produced and wealth accumulated can be shared relatively equally by all. The United States has a democratic system of government; this means the people govern themselves, through elected representatives. Multiple political parties represent differing points of view and different political and economic goals. Candidates from these various parties are voted into office by the people. In the United States, democracy is paired with capitalism, an economic system that allows property and businesses to be privately owned. Production, distribution, and prices of goods are determined by competition in the marketplace, and there is relatively little government intervention. Those who compete successfully can accumulate individual wealth.

The Cold War rivalry between the two superpowers steadily heated up through the administration of President Jimmy Carter (1924–; served 1977–81). Then in the early 1980s, President Reagan further escalated the rivalry through

a heightened arms race. Military budgets for both nations would dramatically rise, significantly affecting the economies of both countries.

## A Carter perspective

Jimmy Carter was inaugurated as the thirty-ninth U.S. president in January 1977. Like Cold War presidents Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53), John F. Kennedy (1917–1963; served 1961–63), and Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973; served 1963–69) before him, Carter arrived at the White House with little experience in foreign affairs. His main exposure to foreign issues came through a committee named the Trilateral Commission, which he had served on since 1973. Its role was to direct U.S. foreign policy more toward Western Europe and Japan and less toward combating communism. Zbigniew Brzezinski (1928–) was director of the commission. Harold Brown (1927–) and Cyrus Vance (1917–2001) were other members along with Carter. They would all serve in important positions in Carter's administration: Brzezinski as national security advisor, Vance as secretary of state, and Brown as secretary of defense.

Although they all served on the same commission, these members of the Carter cabinet, or group of top advisors, had differences that would become a key factor in Carter's presidency. Brzezinski and Vance in particular held opposing views over how to deal with the Soviets. This difference would lead President Carter to change course in foreign policy strategies during his single term of office. Vance heavily promoted diplomacy, whereas Brzezinski favored military responses to Soviet actions, such as the Soviet Union's attempts to expand its influence in Third World nations. (The term *Third World* refers to poor underdeveloped or economi-



## People to Know

**Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982):** Leader of the Soviet Union Communist Party, 1964–82.

**Zbigniew Brzezinski (1928–):** U.S. national security advisor, 1977–81.

**Jimmy Carter (1924–):** Thirty-ninth U.S. president, 1977–81.

**Deng Xiaoping (1905–1997):** Leader of communist China, 1976–90.

**Andrey Gromyko (1909–1989):** Soviet foreign minister, 1957–85.

**Mao Zedong (1893–1976):** Chairman of the People's Republic of China and its Communist Party, 1949–76.

**Ronald Reagan (1911–):** Fortieth U.S. president, 1981–89.

**Cyrus Vance (1917–2001):** U.S. secretary of state, 1977–80.



**U.S. president Jimmy Carter (third from left) meets with members of his cabinet: (from left) Cecil Andrus, secretary of the interior; Cyrus Vance, secretary of state; and Harold Brown, secretary of defense.**

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cally developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Many of these nations were seeking independence from the political control of Western European nations.)

Détente (lessened international tensions) characterized U.S.-Soviet relations through the early 1970s. Therefore, Carter at first favored Vance's approach of diplomacy for resolving problems. Carter wanted the United States to serve as a model for the world by promoting human rights, freedom, democracy, and peaceful coexistence. (*Human rights* refers to certain economic and political freedoms that all people, simply by being human, deserve. Examples of human rights include freedom from oppression, freedom from unlawful imprisonment and execution, and freedom from torture, persecution, and exploitation.) Unlike his predecessors in office, Carter did not care for covert, or secret, operations carried out by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and he did not want to support oppressive military dictatorships. Instead, he wanted to build a cooperative relationship with

the Soviets by establishing nuclear arms control agreements and jointly fighting world poverty and hunger.

Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982) was ready to work with Carter on the new Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, called SALT II. Brezhnev had led the Soviets in a major arms buildup, and now he felt the Soviets could bargain from a position of strength. However, U.S. senator Henry Jackson (1912–1983), a powerful Democrat from the state of Washington, led an effective effort to block arms control talks. He demanded that the Soviets make deep cuts in their arsenal, or collection, of ballistic missiles before talks could begin. Because the Soviets had more missiles, Jackson believed that the United States would become vulnerable to a Soviet first strike if both countries began reducing their arsenals from their existing levels. Not surprisingly, Brezhnev and Soviet foreign minister Andrey Gromyko (1909–1989) were not pleased with Jackson's demands. As a result, arms control talks under Carter did not progress well and led to no formal agreements. The two countries sat in a stalemate on arms control talks until May 1977, when Secretary of State Vance met with Gromyko in Geneva, Switzerland. They made significant progress on how to approach several key arms issues. Progress on nuclear arms limitations, however, would not come for another two years.

## **Carter's human rights campaign**

A devout Christian, President Carter strongly believed in promoting human rights on a global scale. Human rights issues played a significant role in his administration, and this became a prime factor in the deterioration of U.S.-Soviet relations. At first, Brezhnev did not realize how sincere Carter was about promoting human rights. However, in March 1977, shortly after taking office, Carter increased funding and support for Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and Voice of America. These U.S.-supported radio organizations beamed broadly into Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and served to educate listeners in communist countries about basic human freedoms. When the Soviets realized the seriousness of Carter's intent, they considered it a real threat. The Soviets charged that the United States was

interfering in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union and Eastern European nations. In an attempt to punish the United States and deter Carter's efforts, Brezhnev increased the oppression of Russian Jews, who were critical of Soviet communist rule. Andrey Sakharov (1921–1989), a Soviet nuclear physicist who had become a dissident, or an individual who disagrees with the ideas of those in power, encouraged Carter to stick with his human rights campaign. Pushing harder in November 1977 at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the United States openly accused the Soviets and Eastern European nations of human rights abuses.

Carter also focused on Latin American countries and South Korea during his human rights campaign. Latin America includes the entire Western Hemisphere south of the United States. It consists of all nations in Central and South America as well as Mexico and the islands of the West Indies. Carter believed that Latin America was safe from communist expansion, and he wanted to end the U.S. policy of supporting anticommunist dictatorships there. Carter decided to apply pressure to the military dictatorships of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile; they each had very bad human rights records. Carter blocked existing loans, stopped arms deals, and reduced other economic assistance to these countries. Unfortunately, Carter's strategy brought antagonism from the Latin American dictators.

The government of South Korea was a very oppressive regime. However, because South Korea was a noncommunist nation, the U.S. military had supported it since the end of the Korean War in 1953 (see Chapter 2, Conflict Builds). On January 26, 1977, shortly after entering office, Carter announced that he would begin withdrawing U.S. troops from South Korea. Government leaders worldwide and many regular citizens were alarmed. They feared that a reduction in U.S. forces would encourage an invasion of South Korea by communist North Korea, like the invasion in 1950 that started the Korean War. Facing strong congressional opposition, Carter decided to back off and soften his criticism of South Korea. Even when new government leadership put South Korea under martial law (military rule over civilians) in 1980 and violently suppressed student rioters, Carter and his administration said little.

Carter's human rights campaign had a very chilling effect on U.S. relations with the Soviet Union and many pro-U.S. Third World countries. They did not want the United States interfering in their internal affairs and encouraging uprisings within their populations against the ruling governments. However, his efforts essentially legitimized human rights as an international political issue. Human rights would gain increased attention through the following decades.

## Containing communism in Africa

While U.S.-Soviet relations cooled over human rights issues, the Third World continued to be a key stage where the Cold War rivalry would play out militarily. Unlike his predecessor, Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971), Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev saw Africa as a key region where communist influence could expand.

In September 1974, communist factions seized control of Ethiopia from Emperor Haile Selassie (1892–1975). Somalia, Ethiopia's neighbor to the east, was aligned with the United States. Somalia and Ethiopia are strategically located in the Horn of Africa, a region bordering the Red Sea, the key access route for shipping Middle East oil to the West. In May 1977, Somalian soldiers invaded Ethiopia while the country was experiencing severe civil unrest and gained control of a disputed province. In November 1977, the Soviets began airlifting arms and Cuban troops into Ethiopia to help repel the Somalian attack and stabilize the pro-Soviet government. Somalia asked for U.S. assistance in responding to the Soviet-supported Ethiopian counteroffensive. Seeking to contain the spread of Soviet influence, U.S. national security advisor Brzezinski proposed sending a U.S. aircraft carrier into the region. He argued that if the United States did not respond in such a forceful way, it would encourage Soviet expansion elsewhere. Secretary of State Vance wanted to treat the situation as a local border conflict and recommended using a diplomatic solution. Carter opted for diplomacy; he got Somalia to promise not to attack Ethiopia again or else risk jeopardizing U.S. assistance. It worked: By March 1978, the Somalis withdrew from Ethiopia. With the Somalian forces out, the Ethiopians turned to domestic issues and, contrary to the pre-



**Western Somalia Liberation Front guerrillas unite in Ethiopia in April 1981.**

*Photograph by Alain Nogues.  
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the Corbis Corporation.*

dictions of some U.S. government leaders, did not try to attack Somalia, so there was no spread of Soviet influence.

The next incident in Africa would show that Carter's patience with Soviet activity on the continent was running thin. In Angola, communist revolutionaries had ousted Portuguese rulers in 1975 and established a communist government. The Soviets provided the new leadership with arms and thousands of Cuban troops to stabilize the government. Then in the spring of 1978, procommunist soldiers from Zaire (now known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo) who had been exiled in Angola invaded the Zaire province of Katanga. They wanted independence for the province. Carter confronted Soviet foreign minister Gromyko, asking whether the Soviets had supported the invasion of Katanga. Though Gromyko denied any support, Carter decided to help the pro-West Zaire government, which was led by Colonel Joseph Mobutu (1930–1997). U.S. transport planes flew in French, Belgian, Moroccan, and other African troops. Carter had U.S.



soldiers poised as well, but the international troops were able to send the refugees back into Angola from Zaire without the assistance of the American force. At this point, Carter began emphasizing containment of Soviet influence (restricting the territorial growth of communist rule) in Africa, making it a priority over the promotion of human rights and democracy on the continent.

## **Improving relations with communist China**

While U.S.-Soviet relations were cooling, the Communist People's Republic of China (PRC) expressed an interest in improving relations with the United States. In the 1930s and 1940s, Mao Zedong (1893–1976) had led communist forces in a long civil war against the government of China. Mao finally won in 1949 and established the PRC. The overthrown government leaders fled to the island of Taiwan and established the Republic of China (ROC). The United States immediately recognized the ROC as the only legitimate government of China. For years, the United States blocked the PRC's entry into the United Nations (UN), an international peacekeeping organization.

Following Mao's death in 1976, Deng Xiaoping (1905–1997) emerged as the new leader of communist China. By the spring of 1978, Deng was ready to take a major step in improving relations with the United States. The PRC had a difficult relationship with the Soviet Union, especially at the time. PRC leaders feared that the Soviets would become increasingly involved in Southeast Asia. The Soviets were already supporting Vietnam in a border dispute with Cambodia. The PRC supported Cambodia, not wanting a stronger Vietnam on China's southern border. The United States also backed Cambodia. With these tensions mounting, PRC and Soviet troops clashed in combat to the north along the border between the Soviet Union and China.

U.S. presidents normally send the secretary of state to pursue discussions with a foreign nation. However, instead of sending his secretary of state, Cyrus Vance, to talk with Deng, Carter sent national security advisor Brzezinski, an anti-Soviet hard-liner. Arriving in Beijing, the PRC's capital, in May 1978,

Brzezinski reached a major agreement with Deng. The United States would recognize PRC as the sole government of China but would continue to sell defensive military arms and maintain trade relations with the ROC. On December 15, 1978, the PRC and the United States publicly announced that formal relations between the two would begin January 1, 1979. Deng followed this normalization of relations with a trip to the United States to personally meet with Carter.

In angry reaction to the agreement between the United States and China, the Soviets backed out of strategic nuclear arms control talks with the United States. They also signed a more formal treaty with Vietnam. Vietnam launched a major attack on Cambodia on December 25, 1978, overrunning the country and establishing a new communist government. In response, the PRC decided to flex its muscles in Vietnam. PRC troops moved across Vietnam's border on February 17, 1979, and fought for sixteen days before withdrawing. While U.S. relations with communist China had improved, U.S.-Soviet relations continued downward.

## Camp David Accords

With the creation in 1948 of the state of Israel in the Palestinian homelands, a region on the east coast of the Mediterranean inhabited by Arab peoples who had been under British colonial rule, an intense conflict between the Jewish and Arab populations erupted. Jews are believers of Judaism who trace their descent from Hebrews of the ancient biblical kingdom of Israel. Arabs are the inhabitants who occupy Southwest Asia and Northern Africa, including Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, and Egypt. President Carter became the first U.S. president to publicly suggest the creation of a Palestinian state as part of the long-term solution. Carter also invited a broad range of nations to help negotiate a resolution. Former secretary of state Henry Kissinger (1923–) had included only Egypt, Syria, and Israel in talks. Carter brought in other Arab nations, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), as well as the Soviet Union.

The Israeli government and the American Jewish community strongly protested the inclusion of the PLO because of its strong anti-Israel position, which favored the entire removal of Jews from the Middle East region. Israel decid-



ed to negotiate a peace settlement separately with Egypt. Israel offered to return the Sinai Peninsula region to Egypt if Egypt would formally recognize Israel. The Israelis had seized the very large Sinai area in a 1967 war with Egypt. Egyptian president Anwar Sadat (1918–1981) was very interested in this deal and traveled to Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, in November 1977 to discuss it. He was the first Arab leader to travel to Israel. Carter supported the negotiations, but the Soviets and other Arab countries were greatly disappointed because the Israelis had managed to divert the possibility of a broader resolution, one that would include the Palestinians. Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin (1913–1992) and Egyptian president Sadat met with Carter in the United States at Camp David, the presidential retreat in nearby Maryland, in September 1978 to complete the peace treaty, known as the Camp David Accords. The accords ended a state of war that had lasted almost thirty years. However, Egypt and its president, Sadat, lost favor with the rest of the Arab world.

**Egyptian president Anwar Sadat (left), U.S. president Jimmy Carter, and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin stand for their nations' national anthems during ceremonies associated with the Camp David Accords in March 1979. Photograph by Wally McNamee. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.**

Though it was a historic achievement, the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel essentially furthered Cold War politics by splitting the Middle East into pro-West and pro-Soviet countries. The pro-West bloc, or group, included Israel and Egypt as well as Iran and Saudi Arabia. The United States now felt more secure, knowing that the critical Middle East oil fields were being defended by friendly countries in the region.

## **More arms control talks**

In early 1979, the Soviets decided they were ready to conclude strategic arms limitation talks, two years after U.S. senator Henry Jackson had derailed arms control discussions. On June 18 in a meeting in Vienna, Austria, Carter and Brezhnev agreed on strategic nuclear weapons restrictions. This agreement, called SALT II, placed limits on the numbers and types of missiles and missile launchers each country could develop. This included intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and aircraft-launched cruise missiles. The two leaders also agreed on a method to inspect how well both sides were following the restrictions. They even discussed a future SALT III agreement that would actually reduce the number of existing stockpiled nuclear weapons, though this never happened.

Returning to the United States, Carter spoke to a joint session of Congress, made up of both the House of Representatives and the Senate, seeking approval of SALT II. In an effort to win the support of anti-Soviet hard-liners in Congress, Carter approved production and deployment of two hundred mobile MX ICBMs. Because these were part of a defensive missile system, they were not limited by the agreement. Congress debated approval of the arms control treaty.

## **Support for the contras**

Amidst the SALT II activities, in July 1979, the Sandinista National Liberation Front, a largely communist organization, overthrew Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza (1925–1980). Despite Somoza's very poor human rights record, Carter had requested that the Organization of Ameri-



can States (OAS) provide support for the dictator against the Sandinistas. (The OAS is a Cold War–inspired organization of Western Hemisphere nations. Established in 1951 to maintain political stability in the region, it provides a forum for resolving disputes.) For the first time, the OAS refused to support a U.S. proposal.

The Sandinistas soon gained control of the Nicaraguan government. Carter tried to establish friendly relations by offering over \$300 million in loans and other forms of economic assistance. However, the Sandinistas turned to the Soviets instead and signed a trade agreement. They also suspended future general elections in Nicaragua. When the Sandinistas began supporting a revolutionary army in El Salvador that was attempting to overthrow a military dictatorship, Carter began to take action against the Sandinistas. He provided funds to an anti-Sandinista group in Nicaragua; this group was known as the *contras* (short for the Spanish word *contrarevolucionarios*, or in English, counterrevolutionaries).

**U.S. president Jimmy Carter (left) shakes hands with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev at the SALT II talks in Geneva on June 18, 1979.**  
*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*



## Operation Rescue

Throughout his presidency, Ronald Reagan had a particularly keen interest in political developments in the Latin American country of Nicaragua. In 1981, not long after taking office, Reagan cut off U.S. and international aid to the increasingly pro-Soviet Sandinista government led by Daniel Ortega (1945–). Reagan then provided \$19 million to a small force known as the *contras*, five hundred soldiers who were attempting to overthrow Ortega. The money was to be used to disrupt the Nicaraguan economy by causing civil disorder as a show of opposition to Ortega’s policies.

Ortega went to the World Court, an international organization that addresses grievances of one nation against another, to protest U.S. intervention in Nicaraguan internal affairs. The Court condemned the U.S. activities in Nicaragua. Though President Reagan ignored the finding, Congress did not. Congress moved to limit U.S. involvement through legislation known as the Boland Amendments. The first amendment

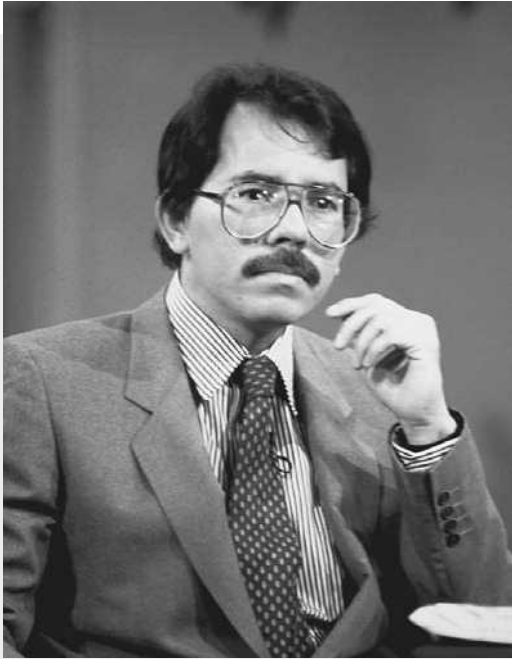
was passed by a House of Representatives vote of 411 to none. It limited CIA aid to the *contras* to \$24 million and prohibited the overthrow of the Nicaraguan government by the CIA. In response, Reagan switched to more covert operations.

In April 1984, it was discovered that the CIA had secretly mined the harbors of Nicaragua in order to cripple its economy by cutting off trade. This led to the second Boland Amendment, an even stricter congressional limitation on U.S. involvement in Nicaragua. Reagan nevertheless pressed on with “Operation Rescue,” a covert operation to funnel funds to the *contras* in the spring and summer of 1986. The funds came from a secret sale of weapons to Iran. Several members of Reagan’s National Security Council (NSC) led the operation, including Marine Corps Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North (1943–), NSC director Robert McFarlane (1937–), and Admiral John Poindexter (1936–), McFarlane’s successor. The arms Iran received in the deal were to be used in free-

Support of the *contras* would become a major endeavor of President Ronald Reagan (1911–; served 1981–89) and a source of much controversy through the 1980s (see box).

## Americans held hostage

On January 16, 1979, Shiite Islamic fundamentalists, those in the Muslim religious faith of Islam who believe in strict adherence to the strictures, or guidelines, of the Koran, overthrew the pro-U.S. Iranian leader, Shah Mohammad Reza



**Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega.**

*Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

ing seven American hostages seized by terrorists in Lebanon. The secret operation was exposed when a U.S. transport plane was shot down by Sandinistas on October 5, 1986.

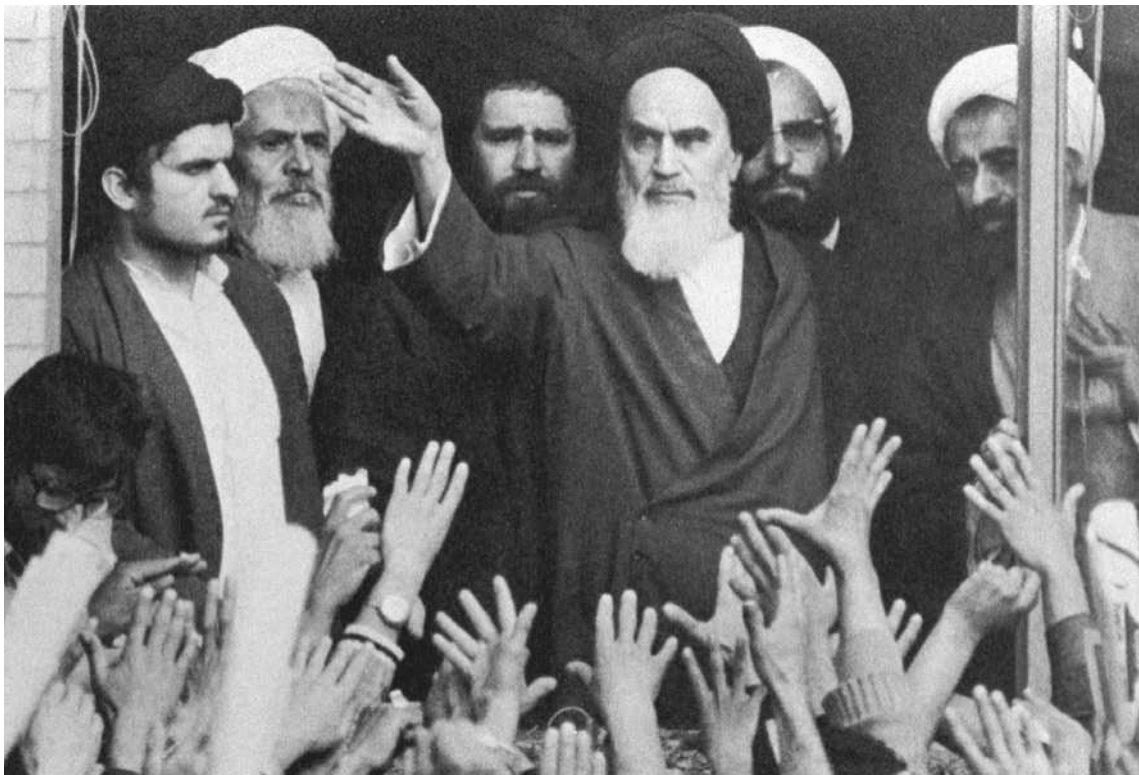
Iran paid the United States approximately \$48 million for the weapons it re-

ceived. Some \$16 million of that sum went to the contras, and the rest went to other covert activities. Congressional hearings led to grand jury indictments against McFarlane, Poindexter, and North. (Grand jury indictments are formal accusations of a crime by a jury gathered to determine if sufficient evidence exists to justify a trial.)

In 1992, reports from later investigations revealed that President Reagan, Vice President George Bush (1924–), Secretary of State George Shultz (1920–), Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger (1917–), and CIA director William Casey (1913–1987) had also been directly involved in the illegal covert operation. Casey suffered a severe stroke and died before he could testify at congressional hearings. Vice President Bush became president in 1989, but he was defeated in his reelection bid in 1992. However, Congress had no desire to pursue further legal action against Bush, Reagan, or the others.

Pahlavi (1919–1980). Reza had been the king of Iran since assuming the throne in 1941 from his father. A power struggle developed in 1951 with a nationalist seeking to take control of businesses and oil companies from outside influences such as the British. Reza was forced out of the country in 1953 but soon was reinstated, apparently with CIA assistance. Reza was pro-Western and pushed for modern economic development in Iran.

Shiite religious leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (c. 1900–1989) became the new Iranian leader on February 9. The



Iranian leader Ayatollah  
Ruhollah Khomeini.

Shiites were opposed to the shah's oppressive tactics toward political opposition, his efforts at Western modernization of Iran, and his close ties to the United States. The United States had a definite interest in keeping Iran friendly: Iran was a major source of oil for the West and strategically located along the southern Soviet border. It essentially blocked potential Soviet expansion southward toward the Persian Gulf. The United States had supported the shah (monarch) with billions of dollars, and as a result, Iran's military was the most powerful in the region. Carter had maintained this relationship with the shah despite Iran's miserable human rights record.

After being overthrown, the shah went into exile. Months later, he requested entry into the United States so he could undergo cancer treatments. Carter consented. In reaction, on November 4, Shiite Iranian militants stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran, the capital of Iran, and took sixty-six Americans hostage, fourteen of whom were soon released. For the release of the six remaining hostages, the militants de-



mandated that Carter return the shah to be tried for actions under his harsh rule. Carter refused. Instead, he froze Iranian assets, which meant Iranians could not withdraw their money from U.S. banks, and restricted U.S. trade with Iran. After several months, Carter approved a secret military operation to rescue the hostages. However, in April 1980, the operation failed when the rescue helicopters were caught in a sudden sandstorm. Eight U.S. soldiers died. Secretary of State Vance, who had opposed the risky operation, resigned in protest. The hostage crisis essentially doomed Carter's chances at reelection in November 1980. Iran did not release the hostages until January 20, 1981, the very day Ronald Reagan was inaugurated as president. Losing Iran as an ally was one of the major setbacks in the Cold War for the United States.

## **Afghanistan and the Carter Doctrine**

In early July 1979, while the Senate was debating approval of the arms control treaty with the Soviet Union, U.S. intelligence discovered Soviet combat troops in Cuba. Though they were supposedly there only to train Cuban troops, Congress was incensed and less willing to approve the arms treaty. Then in December 1979, six weeks after Shiite Islamic militants seized the U.S. embassy in Iran and took American hostages, the Soviets invaded Afghanistan. Following a bloody coup (short for coup d'état; an illegal or forceful change of government) in April 1978, an unpopular pro-Soviet government was put in place. An Afghan Islamic militant group, the Mujahedeen, started an antigovernment resistance movement. The Soviets feared that the Islamic unrest in Iran and Afghanistan could spread to the numerous Islamic populations within the Soviet Union. To support the Afghan government and put down the Islamic rebellion before it could spread, the Soviets invaded Afghanistan on Christmas Day 1979.

Many scholars consider the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as the ultimate end to détente, which had been sharply declining for the previous two years. U.S. national security advisor Brzezinski claimed the Soviets were trying to fill a power void in the region, created by the overthrow of the Iranian shah. Perhaps, he added, the Soviets intended to eventually capture the Persian Gulf oil fields. Reacting to these fears, Carter took swift action. He immediately restrict-

ed any further sale of U.S. high technology to the Soviets. He also stopped a major grain sale and announced that the United States would boycott the upcoming Olympics in Moscow. Carter also withdrew the SALT II agreement from further Senate consideration; it was never approved.

Next, in his State of the Union address on January 23, 1980, Carter announced the Carter Doctrine. The doctrine declared that it was in the vital interests of the United States to protect the Persian Gulf region from outside forces with whatever force was necessary. He asked Congress to boost military spending and resurrected the requirement that all American men between ages eighteen and twenty-six register for the military draft, meaning they would be eligible to serve in the military if required. President Richard Nixon (1913–1994; served 1969–74) had ended draft registration in 1973 near the end of the Vietnam War (1954–75).

Carter then turned to the PRC and Pakistan to further improve the U.S. position. He sold to the PRC the high technology he denied to the Soviets and granted the PRC most-favored-nation trade status, which the Soviets had been seeking. Most-favored-nation trade status lowers taxes on goods exported to the United States, making it much easier for a foreign country to sell goods to American consumers and U.S. businesses. Carter offered economic aid to Pakistan, a country that borders Afghanistan. Carter was willing to overlook that Pakistan's military leader had overthrown the democratically elected government and executed its leader in 1978. Pakistan would become the staging area for funneling U.S. weapons to the Mujahedeen, who were fighting the pro-Soviet government in Afghanistan. It was the first time during the Cold War that the United States would supply arms to directly fight Soviet forces. In reaction, the Soviets signed a new arms agreement with India in December 1979.

## **A costly arms race takes off**

December 1979 marked the start of a spiraling escalation of the nuclear arms race. Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982) announced he would place new SS-20 intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Eastern Europe. In response, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which was formed for the mutual protection of the United States and

Western European nations, decided to deploy the new U.S. intermediate-range tactical nuclear weapons: the Pershing 2 ballistic missile and the Tomahawk ground-launched cruise missiles. The Soviets threatened to target their new missiles on any Western European nations that accepted the new U.S. missiles. The threats were ignored as NATO countries received over five hundred Pershing 2 and Tomahawk nuclear missiles. In July 1980, Carter announced a renewed period of nuclear arms development, including continued development of the MX mobile missile system in the western United States. The Soviets responded by threatening to further increase their nuclear arms production as well.

The new U.S. missiles were welcomed by some in Western Europe but despised by many others. In general, the Western European nations were not pleased with Carter's new hard-line approach to the Soviets. They wanted to continue détente, which had brought peace and stability to Europe. Instead of reducing their trade with the Soviets as the United States had, Western European nations actually increased trade, but many feared war was now imminent. To ease Europe's fears of an impending war by further deterring any possible future aggression by Soviet bloc countries, Carter sent an additional thirty-five thousand U.S. troops to Europe.

The renewed arms race had grave economic implications for the Soviet Union. During the late 1970s, the Soviet economy was already struggling. Costs had mounted from the Soviets' involvement in Angola, Ethiopia, Indochina, and finally Afghanistan. In addition, Brezhnev's earlier disinterest in arms talks led to continued heavy military spending; domestic economic needs were going unaddressed. To make matters worse, Carter had withdrawn critically needed U.S. assistance because of the Soviets' invasion of Afghanistan.

## **Reagan escalates the arms race**

Republican candidate Ronald Reagan defeated Carter in the November 1980 presidential election. The Iranian hostage crisis, the struggling U.S. economy, and a severe energy crisis all contributed to Carter's unsuccessful bid for reelection. Relations with the Soviet Union were at a new low. All these issues resulted in Carter receiving a record low pres-

idential popularity. Like most of the Cold War presidents before him, Reagan entered office with little foreign affairs experience. The former actor and ex-governor of California did bring a very strong anticommunist perspective, however, reaching back to the late 1940s and 1950s. As president of the Screen Actors Guild from 1947 to 1951 and again in 1959, he had fought supposed communist infiltration of the U.S. movie industry (see Chapter 5, Homeland Insecurities). As U.S. president, Reagan wanted to restore America's international prestige by rebuilding the military to wartime levels.

Reagan had no desire to improve relations with the Soviets. He opposed reviving détente and the unapproved SALT II agreement. Instead, he chose to challenge the Soviets with an even greater arms buildup. Many of his key advisors had previously been members of the Committee on the Present Danger, a conservative group opposed to strategic nuclear arms talks. Rather than maintaining the policy of parity, or equality, in regard to nuclear weapons, they sought U.S. superiority in nuclear weapons. As a result, Reagan oversaw the largest peacetime military buildup in U.S. history. The defense budget increased from \$171 billion in 1981 to \$376 billion in 1986. Major strategic nuclear weapons systems were promoted, including the MX mobile missile system, the Advanced Technology Bomber (ATB) known as the Stealth, the B-1 bomber, antisatellite weapons, new ballistic missile systems, and the nuclear Trident submarine. Conventional forces were also boosted. For example, the number of naval ships increased from 454 to 600. To the Soviets it was clear the new U.S. administration preferred intimidation to negotiation. The United States appeared to be arming for war.

Reagan intended to use the increased arms buildup to further stress the Soviet economy. While the Soviets developed new weapons systems to keep up, they continued to suffer from former president Carter's ban on high-technology exports and from other trade restrictions that Reagan maintained. As a result, the Soviet economy would come under increasing strain. In addition, Soviet youths were increasingly learning about Western popular culture, and they were challenging Communist Party control of information and communist restrictions that affected their daily lives. The social and economic strains were mounting. However, the U.S. economy also suffered from the arms race. With de-

fense spending increased 40 percent, tremendous budget deficits built up. The U.S. national debt tripled from \$1 trillion in 1980 to \$3 trillion in 1989, and fears of nuclear war had once again been heightened by the government's hard-line approach.

## **Reagan Doctrine, dictatorships, and foreign policy**

Not interested in Carter's human rights campaign, the Reagan administration adopted a new approach. Jeane Kirkpatrick (1926–), a former member of the Committee on the Present Danger and one of Reagan's appointed ambassadors to the United Nations, developed it. She argued that the human rights initiative was harmful to otherwise friendly anticommunist military dictatorships. She proclaimed that these governments had potential for democratic reform, whereas communist-controlled countries did not. Therefore, she stated, it was appropriate for U.S. aid to go to these dictators; U.S. aid would not only combat communist expansion but potentially encourage the growth of democracy. This policy, called the Reagan Doctrine, legitimized U.S. aid for military dictatorships in El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, Haiti, the Philippines, and Pakistan, despite rampant human rights abuses in those countries. For example, Reagan sought congressional approval for U.S. aid to the pro-U.S. government of El Salvador led by José Napoleón Duarte (1925–1990). Despite El Salvador government paramilitary death squads murdering perhaps sixty thousand civilians, including a Roman Catholic bishop, between 1979 and 1986, the Reagan administration downplayed the violence and emphasized social reforms promoted by Duarte. As part of the Reagan Doctrine, Reagan supported establishment of the National Endowment for Democracy in 1983. Its purpose was to promote free elections in Latin America and the growth of democracy in the region.

Little democratic change would actually occur in Latin America, where military dictatorships continued to thrive. Like many other Cold War presidential administrations, Reagan and his advisors interpreted almost all nationalist movements in Third World countries as communist-inspired. They failed to consider that these movements might

Two U.S. soldiers stand in front of an American tank as they guard three Grenadian prisoners in October 1983.

*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*



be inspired by local poverty and local political corruption. Instead of providing economic assistance to relieve poverty, Reagan's administration provided military aid to anticommunist dictatorships so the dictators could maintain tight control and combat revolts.

Reagan wanted to go beyond containing communism and actually support anticommunist forces attempting to overthrow pro-Soviet governments. However, after painful experiences in Korea and Vietnam, the American public was in no mood for new military involvements (see Chapter 2, Conflict Builds, and Chapter 11, An Unsettled World). Reagan therefore focused on covert operations. For example, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) provided \$2 billion in weapons and economic assistance to the Mujahadeen guerrillas to help them fight the pro-Soviet government in Afghanistan.

One very visible military action did occur during Reagan's presidency. In October 1983, the U.S. military invaded

the island nation of Grenada, located in the Caribbean. Fighting had been going on there between two communist groups. One group overthrew and executed Grenada's communist leader, Maurice Bishop (1944–1983), who had gained power in 1979. President Reagan took the occasion to send nineteen hundred U.S. troops to liberate the country from fighting between communist factions. U.S. forces quickly took control and installed a pro-U.S. democratic government. Though the United States claimed victory over communist expansion in the Western Hemisphere, much criticism came from other countries, including Britain. The British charged that the United States had acted without United Nations (UN) approval. The invasion amounted to armed aggression against a sovereign (fully independent) nation. However, Reagan and Kirkpatrick had become very critical of the UN because it did not support U.S. actions as much as it had in the past. Therefore, Reagan saw no need to first obtain UN approval, and he would ultimately withhold U.S. funding support for the UN. He also withdrew the United States from its involvement in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

## War in the Middle East

The Reagan administration interpreted Islamic nationalist movements in the Middle East in the same way it viewed nationalist movements elsewhere: Reagan and his advisors believed these movements were driven by outside communist influences rather than local issues such as poverty. Therefore, the United States was quick to get involved in Middle East conflicts. In the Middle East, Islamic opposition was building against lingering foreign influence such as ownership of companies, particularly oil companies, and there was constant unrest over the unresolved Israel-Palestine controversy.

Then in September 1980, Iraq attacked Iran, beginning a ten-year war. Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein (1937–), wanted to acquire a rich oil-producing region in western Iran; he also wanted to weaken the new Shiite Islamic government in Iran so it would not have a chance to incite an Islamic rebellion in his country. The Soviets could not afford to help Iraq, because their war in Afghanistan was not going well. For this reason, and with instability in the region in-

creasing, the Soviets approached Reagan shortly after he took office in early 1981, asking whether the Soviet Union and the United States could work together to ease tensions in the region. However, because the area was so important to U.S. interests, Reagan did not want to share the responsibility—or the benefits—of negotiating a Middle East solution. He declined to work cooperatively with the Soviets and instead began providing pro-Soviet Iraq with economic assistance as well as intelligence information on Iranian troop placements. Through this assistance, Reagan hoped to break the relationship between Iraq and the Soviets. However, the Soviets responded with increasing assistance to Iraq as well.

## Star Wars

The nuclear arms buildup by the Reagan administration caused increasing public protests in Europe as well as the United States. In June 1982, over a half million protesters jammed New York City's Central Park, demanding an end to the Cold War arms race. The Roman Catholic bishops in the United States wrote a pastoral letter in 1983 calling for a nuclear freeze. The changing public attitudes began having an influence on Congress. Congress considered proposals to restrict testing and deployment of new nuclear weapons. Pressure from Congress, the public, and NATO allies finally pushed Reagan into arms control talks with the Soviets. However, negotiations did not go far.

A key reason for the stalled arms talks was a proposed new U.S. missile system. In March 1983, Reagan announced a five-year, \$26 billion program to research and develop a ballistic missile defense system called the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). The system was more commonly called "Star Wars," after a popular science fiction movie (*Star Wars*, 1977), because it included a protective shield of laser-aimed satellites in space. Together, missiles, rockets, and laser beams would destroy enemy missiles fired toward U.S. targets. Critics claimed that the system was prohibitively costly and complex and would likely be ineffective in destroying all missiles fired toward the United States. Potentially, enough missiles to cause devastation could still penetrate. Reagan responded that the SDI approach was more humane than the earlier U.S. strategy of mutual assured destruction—that is, the guar-





## The KAL Tragedy

On the night of August 31, 1983, Korean Air Lines (KAL) Flight 007, a 747 passenger plane carrying 269 people, wandered far off course—as much as 365 miles (587 kilometers). It was flying from Anchorage, Alaska, to Seoul, South Korea. During its flight, the commercial airliner began straying over Soviet territory, approaching a secret Soviet missile test site on the Kamchatka Peninsula of eastern Siberia. A Soviet fighter plane intercepted the wayward passenger plane. The Soviet pilot followed international procedures in trying to catch the attention of the airliner, but no response ever came back. After shooting tracers (ammunition with a visible trail) across the front of the airliner as a final warning and receiving no response, the Soviet pilot shot the plane down.

For several days, the Soviets denied any knowledge of the incident. Reagan charged the Soviets with barbarism, or cruelty, and condemned the Soviet Union for the incident. He used the episode to argue before Congress for a greater U.S. military buildup. As later investigations revealed, Soviet air defense tracking the



**The wreckage of Korean Air Lines (KAL) Flight 007 sits in a field after being shot down by a Soviet pilot in August 1983.** *Photograph by Allan Barnes. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

plane believed it was a U.S. spy plane that had earlier been flying near Soviet airspace. To many, the incident dramatized the poor relations between the two superpowers and the Soviets' heightened state of alert during President Reagan's massive military buildup.

anted destruction of both superpowers in the event of a nuclear war (see Chapter 10, Mutual Assured Destruction).

In keeping with the general tradition of the arms race, a key U.S. goal in developing SDI was to force the Soviets to develop a similar system in order to keep up. This would severely strain the already weak Soviet economy. However, critics said that the Soviets could make the U.S. SDI system ineffective without a great deal of expense. Firing nu-

merous unarmed missiles among many nuclear-armed missiles would overwhelm the SDI system; it would be difficult to detect which missiles had real warheads. The Soviets charged that Reagan's SDI proposal would decrease world stability by ending nuclear parity, equality in the number of nuclear weapons each country held. New Soviet leader Yuri Andropov (1914–1984), who took charge when Leonid Brezhnev died in October 1982, charged that the space-based part of the system violated several arms control treaties signed since 1963, including the Outer Space Treaty of 1967. He exclaimed that the arms race would now have no bounds.

By late 1983, U.S. military leaders were increasingly talking of winning a limited nuclear war, which would limit a nuclear weapons conflict to a specific geographic area as opposed to a massive exchange of nuclear weapons with global implications. Soviet fears naturally heightened; it seemed that the United States might actually consider launching a first strike. In November 1983, the United States conducted a nuclear war training exercise that truly scared the Soviets. The United States put missile facilities on heightened readiness and deployed nuclear submarines. It was during a time of particular tension, as the United States had just invaded Grenada and Reagan was talking tough about the Soviets. Reagan forged ahead and would spend \$17 billion on SDI research between 1983 and 1989. However, development proved difficult because of the system's technological complexity.

The SDI program and other arms developments gave Reagan a feeling of security. He could now be more accommodating toward the Soviets, because the United States appeared to have nuclear superiority. The presidential election was approaching in November 1984, and he needed to broaden his appeal by reaching out to Americans who had been clamoring for arms control. Secretary of State George Shultz (1920–) took the lead in pushing the Reagan administration away from its hard-line anti-Soviet position. The earliest outward signs of softening came in January 1984, when Reagan offered a plan for arms control talks. However, Andropov, the Soviet leader, died on February 9, 1984. Konstantin Chernenko (1911–1985), another aging leader in the Soviet Communist Party, assumed power. Chernenko was not eager to accept Reagan's plan, for various reasons. For one, he wanted to wait and see if Reagan was going to win reelection that fall.

As the election approached, the Democratic presidential candidate, former Vice President Walter Mondale (1928–), pressed the arms control issue, charging that Reagan had made no progress during his presidential term. Public pressure was mounting, and Reagan realized that to win reelection and ensure continued congressional funding for his massive arms development program, he would have to show increased commitment to arms control talks. On September 24, 1984, Reagan spoke before the United Nations General Assembly and outlined a new plan for arms negotiation. Called the Nuclear and Space Arms Talks (NST), the plan included a range of nuclear weapons. Reagan won reelection, and shortly afterward, Chernenko agreed to the newly proposed talks. But in early 1985, a sweeping change in Soviet leadership would dramatically alter U.S.-Soviet relations.

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## End of the Cold War

15

**O**n December 25, 1991, U.S. president George Bush (1924–; served 1989–1993) proclaimed the end of the Cold War, calling the occasion a “victory for democracy and freedom.” Bush credited Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–) for his “intellect, vision, and courage” in ending the rivalry and seeking much-needed economic and political reforms as the Soviet Union’s empire dwindled. Gorbachev had attempted to reform the Communist Party and create a limited democracy in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, but his efforts caused a much more dramatic change: the collapse of communism. Communism is a system of government in which a single party, the Communist Party, controls almost all aspects of society. In a communist economy, private ownership of property and businesses is not allowed. Instead, the government controls business and production so that goods produced and wealth accumulated can be shared equally by all.

### **The struggling Soviet economy**

U.S. president Ronald Reagan (1911–; served 1981–89) was inaugurated for his second term of office in January





## Words to Know

**Capitalism:** An economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention.

**Cold War:** A prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

**Communism:** A system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned.

**Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE):** Alliance of the thirty-five member nations of the former NATO and Warsaw Pact countries.

**Glasnost:** A plan for greater freedom of expression put into place by Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev in the mid-1980s.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO):** A peacetime alliance of the United States and eleven other nations, and a key factor in the attempt to contain communism; the pact meant that the United States became the undisputed global military leader.

**Perestroika:** A plan for economic and governmental reform put into place by Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev in the mid-1980s.

**Warsaw Pact:** A mutual military alliance between the Soviet Union and the Eastern European nations under Soviet influence, including East Germany.

1985. Soon after, on March 10, Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko (1911–1985) died. The Soviet leadership had changed hands a number of times during the previous three years. A series of aging leaders—Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982), Yuri Andropov (1914–1984), and Chernenko—had all died in office. These leaders all represented old-guard, or conservative, communism. The Communist Party had grown out of touch with Soviet society. Under old-style communism, the Soviet Union was sliding into economic stagnation. Industries were in desperate need of modernization.

Brezhnev suffered from increasing senility, a loss of mental faculties due to old age, the last few years of his rule. The next two leaders, Andropov and Chernenko, were both in ill health and only held the Soviet leadership position for about one year each. Without dynamic leadership, major Soviet social problems—such as increasing worker absenteeism, alcoholism, and infant mortality rates—went unaddressed and led to low public morale and rising discontent. Unsympathetic in regard to these issues, the Communist Party continued to silence critics within Soviet society, even as their numbers grew. For example, award-winning novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (1918–) was deported, or legally expelled from the country, and nuclear physicist Andrey Sakharov (1921–1989) was placed in exile in an isolated region of the Soviet Union, each for criticizing the government.

The aging Soviet leaders continued to emphasize expansion of Soviet influence in far-flung areas of the world. Maintaining the Soviet empire, which consisted of Eastern Europe and many Third World countries, was expensive; many of these countries heavily relied on the Soviets for economic aid. (The term *Third World* refers to poor underdeveloped or developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Economies in Third World countries are primarily based on agriculture, with few other industries.) Besides their large foreign economic assistance budget, the Soviets had a very large budget for nuclear weapons development because they wanted to keep up with the United States in the arms race. These major expenses, combined with little economic growth, caused a rapid decline in the Soviet economy. Continual shortages of raw materials and supplies, caused by wasteful manufacturing processes, led to very low industrial productivity.

With the decline in so many areas, public acceptance of communist rule among Soviet and Eastern European citizens was at a new low. One result was increased ethnic ten-



## People to Know

**George Bush (1924–):** Forty-first U.S. president, 1989–93.

**Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–):** Soviet president, 1985–91.

**Ronald Reagan (1911–):** Fortieth U.S. president, 1981–89.

**Eduard Shevardnadze (1928–):** Soviet foreign minister, 1985–90.

**Boris Yeltsin (1931–):** Russian president, 1989–99.



**The Soviet Union in 1985.** The Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Russian, Turkmen, Ukrainian, and Uzbek socialist republics are identified on the map; the nine smaller ones correspond with numbers in the key. Map by XNR Productions, Inc. Reproduced by permission of the Gale Group.

sions within the ethnically diverse Soviet Union, which had included one hundred nationalities when it was formed.

A major obstacle to economic growth was the Soviets' inability to keep pace with the Western world in developing computer technology. High technology was proving to be the basis for substantial economic expansion in other advanced industrial countries, such as the United States, West Germany, and Japan. Such technological innovation could not flourish under communist rule. The Eastern European nations and the Soviet Union were becoming more detached from the newly forming global economy. They continued to rely on arms sales and exports of oil and natural gas to sustain their economies.

## A new Soviet vision

Following Chernenko's death in March 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev assumed Soviet leadership. At fifty-four years of age,

Gorbachev was much younger than the previous three leaders, and unlike the others, he was college-educated and personally dynamic. Outgoing, intelligent, and articulate, Gorbachev presented a new kind of Soviet leadership. However, he faced a difficult task, because the Soviet Union needed extensive reforms, or widespread changes. In May 1985, Gorbachev appointed Eduard Shevardnadze (1928–) as foreign minister. Shevardnadze replaced Andrey Gromyko (1909–1989), another aging member of the Soviet Communist Party. Gromyko had been Soviet foreign minister since 1957, when Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) was the Soviet leader. Shevardnadze would play a crucial role in promoting Soviet reform by improving international relations and reducing military competition—in other words, by ending the Cold War. His goal was to reduce Soviet military spending so Gorbachev could direct more funds to critical domestic needs.



**Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.** *Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

Gorbachev adopted a plan for economic reform, called perestroika, and a plan for greater freedom of expression, called glasnost. Because it allowed people to speak up in favor of his reforms, glasnost would help Gorbachev overcome hard-line communist opposition to perestroika. However, the new policy allowing freer speech also extended to Gorbachev's opponents. Glasnost also pardoned past offenses against the old-style communist regime. For example, Andrey Sakharov, an exiled scientist, was allowed to return from exile. As part of perestroika, Gorbachev reduced military spending and cut back economic aid to Third World countries, including Nicaragua, Cambodia, Angola, and Ethiopia. He also began withdrawing Soviet forces from Afghanistan, where the Soviet Union had already suffered over thirty thousand casualties. Gorbachev even proposed to end the arms race and renew talks with the United States, with the hope of receiving much-needed technological assistance.



Gorbachev accepted that communism was the basic cause for falling Soviet productivity and lack of economic growth. But he did not want to end communist rule; instead he wanted to redefine communism. This meant pushing the Soviet economy toward capitalism. (Capitalism is an economic system in which property is privately owned. Production, distribution, and prices of goods are determined by competition in an open market that operates with relatively little government intervention.) Shifting to capitalism meant selling state-owned properties and businesses, eliminating some government control of prices, and becoming more active in the world market with a new currency, or money.

## Making peace

In trying to end the Cold War, Gorbachev began to distance himself from previous Soviet leaders by denouncing their communist policies. However, British prime minister Margaret Thatcher (1925–) was the only Western leader who was initially receptive. President Reagan was at first suspicious of Gorbachev's intentions. But with strong encouragement from Secretary of State George Shultz (1920–), Reagan began to listen more to Gorbachev's offers of arms reduction and trade. While pursuing a hard-line anticommunist approach in his first four-year term of office (1981–85), Reagan did not meet with any Soviet leader. However, Reagan and Gorbachev would meet on at least four occasions between 1985 and 1988 to resolve differences between the two superpowers.

The first meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev took place in Geneva, Switzerland, in November 1985. It primarily served to build a personal relationship between the two leaders, and they agreed to continue talks. The next meeting was in October 1986 in Reykjavík, Iceland. To the Americans' surprise, Gorbachev brought a sweeping, detailed plan for arms reductions, a Soviet response to the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) proposed by President Reagan in the early 1980s. Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) program, however, continued to be a major obstacle to these early talks. The SDI was a system of missiles, rockets, and a protective shield of laser-aimed satellites in space that would destroy enemy missiles fired toward U.S. targets. Reagan cre-



U.S. president Ronald Reagan (center) celebrates five years of his Strategic Defense Initiative program with physicist Edward Teller (left) and Lt. Gen. James A. Abrahamson, director of the program, on March 14, 1988. Photograph by Charles Tasnadi. Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.

ated another obstacle in 1986, when he decided to quit conforming to the informal Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) and begin arming B-52 bombers with cruise missiles. Nonetheless, Reagan and Gorbachev discovered some common goals at Reykjavík. These goals included a desire to eliminate all intermediate-range missiles from Europe, eliminate all ballistic missiles in a ten-year period, and make other major reductions involving bombers and tactical weapons.



**U.S. president Ronald Reagan meets with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at their December 1987 summit in the Oval Office of the White House.**

*Photograph by Wally McNamee. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

When the two leaders left Iceland, they each went home to figure out how to achieve these goals.

Four months later, in February 1987, Gorbachev dropped his demands for Reagan to abandon SDI. That cleared the way for eliminating all intermediate-range nuclear force (INF) missiles in Europe. These included the controversial Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe and the Soviets' SS-20s in Eastern Europe. Reagan and Gorbachev signed the INF treaty on December 8, 1987, in Washington, D.C., at their third meeting.

The INF treaty was truly historic. For the first time, the two rivals not only agreed to reduce the number of nuclear weapons in existence but to eliminate certain types altogether. Under INF, the United States would destroy approximately 850 missiles and the Soviet Union almost 1,800 missiles. In total, the United States would dismantle almost one thousand warheads and the Soviet Union over three thousand. The U.S. Senate approved the treaty on May 29,

1988. In another startling development, Soviet foreign minister Shevardnadze declared on July 25, 1988, that both the arms race with the United States and the invasion of Afghanistan were mistakes.

For the fourth meeting, Reagan traveled to Moscow in June 1988, after Senate approval of the INF treaty, to show support for Gorbachev's reforms. He was the first U.S. president to visit Moscow since Richard Nixon (1913–1994; served 1969–74) went there in 1972. While visiting, Reagan gave a speech in front of the tomb of Communist Party founder Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924), a striking image that indicated the Cold War was at an end. The two leaders discussed many topics, from religious freedom in the Soviet Union to civil strife in Latin America.

Gorbachev proposed that the next step in arms reduction was to decrease conventional forces deployed, or strategically spread, in Europe. The negotiations to achieve this reduction, called the Conventional Forces (CFE) in Europe, included twenty-three North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Warsaw Pact countries. Established in 1949, NATO is a military defense alliance of Western European nations and the United States and Canada. The Warsaw Pact was an alliance of Eastern European nations under Soviet influence, including East Germany. It was created in 1955 for the mutual defense of its members.

In December 1988, Gorbachev traveled to New York City to meet with Reagan and President-elect George Bush and to speak before the United Nations (UN) General Assembly. Gorbachev gave a dramatic speech to the UN, promoting democracy and individual liberty. To get momentum going on CFE, on December 7, 1988, Gorbachev announced that the Soviet Union on its own would reduce 10 percent of the Soviet forces in general, or about five hundred thousand troops and ten thousand tanks, including those in East Germany, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Reagan pressured Gorbachev to do more: While visiting West Berlin earlier in the year, Reagan had challenged Gorbachev to tear down the Berlin Wall, withdraw all Soviet forces from Eastern Europe, withdraw all remaining support for the largely communist Sandinista government in Nicaragua, and complete the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. In his UN speech,

Gorbachev responded by announcing that all Soviet troops would be completely withdrawn from Afghanistan by February 1989.

In July 1986, while seeking to improve relations with the West, Gorbachev had also begun efforts to improve relations elsewhere. He had proposed talks to settle a longstanding border dispute with the People's Republic of China (PRC) and reduce Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia along the lengthy border between the PRC and the Soviet Union. In May 1989, Gorbachev visited the PRC, the first Soviet leader to do so since Nikita Khrushchev. Gorbachev also restored diplomatic relations with Israel and Egypt.

## **A cautious new president**

George Bush, Reagan's vice president from 1981 to 1989, was inaugurated as president on January 20, 1989. Though the Cold War was clearly winding down, Bush had taken a hard-line stance against Gorbachev during the 1988 U.S. presidential campaign. Bush was reluctant to bargain with the Soviets; he believed Reagan had gone too far too fast in his discussions with the Soviet leader. Bush's secretary of defense, Richard Cheney (1941–), predicted in April 1989 that Gorbachev's reforms would fail and the Soviet Union would revert to hard-line communist policies. Meanwhile, former secretary of state Henry Kissinger (1923–) and former president Reagan worried that the Bush administration was missing key opportunities to create major world change. George Kennan (1904–), a longtime U.S. Cold War advisor, testified before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the Soviets were no longer a military threat. In Western Europe, French president François Mitterrand (1916–1996) and West German chancellor Helmut Kohl (1930–) also pressured Bush to be more supportive of Gorbachev.

To follow up on the progress he had made with Reagan, Gorbachev asked Bush to discuss further nuclear arms control measures. Gorbachev wanted to tackle the issue of short-range nuclear force (SNF) weapons still stationed in Europe. Bush rejected the proposal to remove them because it would leave NATO without any nuclear deterrents. Gorbachev responded by making cuts in Soviet SNFs without

U.S. participation. This brought Bush under increasing pressure from Western allies to do the same. By late May 1989, Bush responded with a plan that focused on reductions in conventional forces stationed in both the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. Though his plan did not address SNFs, the European countries eagerly accepted it.

Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) resumed in mid-1989, and in early December 1989 Bush and Gorbachev traveled to the European nation of Malta for a summit meeting. On his way to the meeting, Gorbachev stopped in the Vatican City and made a historic visit to the leader of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope John Paul II (1920–), a major foe of communism, and promised religious freedoms for Soviet citizens. The Malta meetings covered a wide range of topics, from nuclear arms control to trade relations to Third World conflicts. Many historians consider the Malta meetings as marking the end of the Cold War. Both Gorbachev and Bush came away from the meetings with an understanding that they were no longer enemies.

## **The fall of communism in Eastern Europe**

President Bush began more actively supporting Gorbachev's reform efforts when fears arose that stalled reform might create impatience, turn into rapid revolt in the Soviet empire, and lead to severe political instability in Europe and elsewhere. Nonetheless, change did come quickly in Eastern Europe, in a sort of reverse "domino effect," as reforms rippled from one country to the next. By the end of 1989, communism was out in Eastern Europe. Gorbachev and people all around the world were stunned by the rapidity of these major events.

Change first came in Poland. In early 1989, as part of perestroika, Polish leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski (1923–) invited Solidarity, the popular workers' union, to become part of a coalition, or combination, government still to be led by the Communist Party. Solidarity accepted the offer. General elections for the Polish parliament were set for June. The communists were stunned when Solidarity's candidates won 160 of the 161 seats up for election in the lower house of the Polish parliament and 99 out of 100 in the upper house.

Given the overwhelming victory, Solidarity leader Lech Waleśa (1943–) excluded communists from the new government and named Tadeusz Mazowiecki (1927–) as the new Polish prime minister. Mazowiecki became the first noncommunist government leader in Eastern Europe since the Czech democratic government was overthrown in 1948 (see Chapter 2, Conflict Builds). Waleśa himself was elected the new president of Poland in 1990. Rather than sending in Soviet forces to restore the Communist Party to power as past Soviet leaders would have done, Gorbachev encouraged the Polish Communist Party to support the new government. Gorbachev realized that the use of force would likely trigger riots and jeopardize the Soviet Union's chances of getting much-needed economic aid from the West. The Brezhnev Doctrine, which declared the Soviet Union's right to intervene in the affairs of other nations in order to support communism, had lost its force. Eastern European nations were now free to pursue their own course of reform.

Poland was a model quickly followed by other Eastern European countries, at a far faster pace than Gorbachev ever envisioned. Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania would all undergo rapid governmental changes. Gorbachev and other communist leaders greatly underestimated the popular disdain for communist rule. Rather than reforming communism, perestroika was leading to a complete communist collapse.

In February 1989, the Hungarian parliament dropped prohibitions against noncommunist political organizations. In March, Hungary became the first Eastern-bloc country to open its borders to Western Europe by opening border crossings to Austria. Sixty thousand East Germans flooded into Hungary, most intending to cross into Austria and continue on to West Germany. In April, János Kádár (1912–1989), who had gained power in a bloody communist revolution in 1956, was removed by the Communist Party. Communist leaders more supportive of perestroika were installed. Free elections in Hungary were held in 1990. The Communist Party, renamed the Socialist Party, received less than 10 percent of the vote. A noncommunist government took over.

On October 7, 1989, Gorbachev visited East German leader Erich Honecker (1912–1994) to promote reform in East



Germany. East Germans cheered for Gorbachev as they demonstrated against their strict communist government. On October 18, the East German Communist Party replaced Honecker and opened East German borders to West Germany. Thousands poured into West Germany. The most dramatic moment came on November 9, when the East German government opened the Berlin Wall. Hundreds of thousands of East Germans jubilantly streamed into West Berlin (see Chapter 3, Germany and Berlin). On that same day, Bulgarian Communist Party leader Todor Zhivkov (1911–1998), who had led Bulgaria since 1961, was removed. Demonstrations in East Germany steadily increased; the people were demanding free elections. The communist leaders finally promised elections for March 1990. Like the communist candidates in Poland and Hungary, the East German communists suffered an overwhelming defeat, and a noncommunist coalition government was installed.

Similar events unfolded in Czechoslovakia. On November 17, 1989, a massive demonstration took place in

**Hundreds of thousands of Czechs gather in Prague, Czechoslovakia, to demand free elections and greater freedoms.** *Photograph by Peter Turnley. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



Prague, the capital city; Czechoslovakians gathered in the city's main square and demanded greater freedoms. Two days later, two hundred thousand protesters demanded free elections and the resignation of hard-line communist leaders. Milos Jakes (1922–) resigned from his leadership position five days later. After millions of Czech workers went on strike on November 28, the Czech government gave in and legalized noncommunist political parties. A new cabinet, or group of top advisors, led by noncommunists, was formed on December 10 as part of an interim government; a noncommunist president was installed on December 29, 1989. Free elections held in June 1990 brought victory by large margins for the noncommunists. Noted author and human rights activist Václav Havel (1936–) became the new Czech president and would serve in that role until early 2003. As in Poland, communists were not elected to any government positions.

Communism came to a violent end in Romania. In December 1989, Romanian communist authorities sought to evict from his church a priest who was a dissident, an individual who disagrees with the ideas of those in power. Thousands of demonstrators protested the government's decision. In response, Romanian security forces killed hundreds of the protesters, triggering even larger demonstrations. The highly unpopular Romanian president Nicolae Ceausescu (1918–1989) began losing control of the military; the soldiers were starting to support the demonstrators instead of defending the government. On December 22, Ceausescu and his wife attempted to flee but were captured and executed on December 25.

## **Communism challenged in the Soviet Union**

Shortly before the cascade of events in Eastern Europe, Gorbachev pressed for political reform in the Soviet Union. He revised the Soviet constitution in early 1989. The revisions established a new parliament called the Congress of People's Deputies. Elections were held in March 1989 to elect representatives from the various Soviet republics. As in Eastern Europe, old-guard communist candidates lost badly. Among the newly elected officials was Boris Yeltsin (1931–), who represented the Moscow district of the republic of Russia.

Though a communist, Yeltsin was not a supporter of the old-guard, ultra-conservative Communist Party establishment. The elections immediately decreased the influence of the Communist Party, something Gorbachev had not anticipated.

The new Congress of People's Deputies now took precedence over the Communist Party. By February 1990, demonstrations against Communist Party domination were growing; hundreds of thousands of Russians in Moscow gathered to protest communist rule. Like some Soviet leaders before him, Gorbachev was both leader of the Communist Party and leader of the Soviet Union's government. This dual role put him in a very difficult position: Therefore, Gorbachev created a Soviet presidency that was separate from the Communist Party. Gorbachev moved into the president position which gave him more distance from his Communist Party association. He also legalized noncommunist political parties.

By mid-1990, it was clear Gorbachev's perestroika had failed to preserve communist control; neither had it revived the Soviet economy. Still, Gorbachev tried to keep the economic change somewhat in control. He feared too rapid of a shift to a free market economy, or economic conditions dictated by open competition, would cause a rapid rise in prices and in unemployment; this could cause even greater public unrest. He left many government price supports in place to keep prices from going up further. Nonetheless, with the collapse of the old communist-controlled economic system and no new system in place, the Soviet economy was headed for crisis. Productivity was declining, prices were escalating, and shortages were occurring more frequently. Meanwhile, Gorbachev was enjoying great popularity abroad; in 1990, he received the Nobel Peace Prize for his reform efforts and *Time* magazine's "Man of the Year" award. Moscow was chosen as the location for a human rights conference for the following year. However, Gorbachev's popularity at home was plummeting.

Through 1989, Gorbachev had witnessed the loss of the Soviet empire—all the communist-controlled countries in Eastern Europe had ultimately rejected communism. And tensions were rising within the borders of the Soviet Union itself. In the Soviet republic of Estonia, citizens had attempted to declare independence in 1988. Though Gorbachev was willing to let Eastern European countries break free from So-

viet control, he felt differently about the Soviet republics. An early indication of this came in April 1989 when Soviet troops killed nineteen demonstrators, including sixteen women, in the republic of Georgia. Gorbachev's resolve to keep the Soviet Union together was tested again in early 1990. On March 11, the parliament of the republic of Lithuania declared independence from the Soviet Union. Gorbachev sent Soviet troops, established an economic blockade, and threatened to disband the government.

By mid-1990, President Bush and his advisors were still debating how hard they should try to keep Gorbachev in power and maintain the Soviet system. A primary concern was the stockpile of nuclear weapons scattered about the Soviet Union. The various ethnic factions within the Soviet Union could start a civil war in their quest for independence, and the security of the weapons could be jeopardized. (The Baltic States—the Soviet republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—had been the most active in opposition to Soviet rule. These former independent nations had been forcibly brought into the Soviet Union by Joseph Stalin [1879–1953] in the 1940s.) However, as nationalist independence movements within the Soviet Union began to grow, Bush found it harder to justify helping Gorbachev maintain the Soviet Union. In response to Gorbachev's military actions against Lithuania, Bush placed economic trade restrictions on the Soviet Union and warned Gorbachev against further use of force. Still seeking a most-favored-nation trade status with the United States, Gorbachev responded by lifting economic restrictions on Lithuania. (Most-favored-nation trade status lowers taxes on goods exported to the United States, making it much easier for a foreign country to sell goods to American consumers and businesses.) However, Bush still denied Gorbachev improved trade conditions, yet he granted the privilege to the PRC, even though PRC forces had massacred more than two hundred pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square in Beijing on June 4, 1989. Gorbachev was angered by Bush's decision to limit economic aid to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, but Bush had little choice in the matter: The United States was suffering an economic recession, or reduced economic activity, and the public was unlikely to support sending substantial aid to an inept Soviet government. The Soviet Union did not receive most-favored-nation trade status until 1992.



## German reunification

Gorbachev traveled to Washington, D.C., for a summit meeting with Bush on May 31, 1990. A key topic was the reunification of Germany. Gorbachev was not pleased with the trend toward reunification since the fall of the Berlin Wall the previous November. Like Stalin and other former Soviet leaders, Gorbachev feared having a strong, unified Germany near the Soviet western border. Gorbachev proposed reunifying Europe instead—that is, dissolving the NATO and Warsaw Pact divisions—and keeping Germany divided into two nations. However, the major election defeat of communist candidates in East Germany in March 1990 made eventual reunification with the noncommunist West Germany a certainty. The new, noncommunist East German government immediately pressed for reunification with West Germany.

Conceding that reunification was inevitable, Gorbachev wanted guarantees that a reunified Germany would not become a member of NATO. However, Bush insisted that

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev extends his hand to U.S. president George Bush at the Washington, D.C., summit on June 1, 1990. Photograph by Peter Turnley. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.

only Germany, reunified, could make that decision. At the Washington summit meeting, Bush did provide Gorbachev several other key assurances. He promised that (1) NATO forces would not be placed in the former East Germany; (2) Germany's borders would not be moved back to pre-World War II (1939–45) locations; (3) the former West Germany would not be allowed to possess nuclear weapons; (4) Germany would provide economic assistance to the Soviets; and (5) arms control talks concerning European conventional and nuclear forces would proceed.

The NATO member nations held a meeting in July 1990 to make additional assurances to Gorbachev. They offered formal relations with Warsaw Pact countries and pledged not to attack the Soviet Union or Eastern European countries. In response to Gorbachev's proposals to limit short-range nuclear force weapons (SNFs), NATO offered to eliminate nuclear artillery shells if the Soviets would agree to do the same. NATO also agreed to further reduce conventional forces. Given the various assurances from Bush and NATO, on July 14, 1990, Gorbachev agreed to accept a reunified Germany and accept its membership in NATO. In return, German chancellor Helmut Kohl promised substantial economic aid to Gorbachev. Gorbachev set a timetable of four years for withdrawal of all Soviet forces from the former East Germany. Also in July, the two German governments agreed to an economic merger. In August, the East German parliament voted to merge East Germany and West Germany on October 3, 1990.

## **A new Europe**

The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe paved the way for major changes in the region. In yet another momentous event, the four allied powers of World War II (the United States, the Soviet Union, France, and Great Britain) and the two German governments signed a peace treaty on September 12, 1990, bringing an official end to World War II. The emerging Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union in the late 1940s had blocked final negotiations at that time (see Chapter 1, Origins of the Cold War). The new treaty was called the Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany.



## New Allies

On the heels of the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe in 1989 and while the Soviet Union was struggling for survival, the first major post-Cold War military conflict erupted. On August 2, 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait and gained control of that nation. Fearing Iraqi control of larger amounts of Middle East oil, President George Bush condemned the invasion and vowed to push the Iraqis out of Kuwait. In the new post-Cold War world, the United States looked to the Soviets for assistance in responding to Iraq. Eager to receive U.S. aid, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev readily agreed to help. However, remaining Communist Party hard-liners sharply criticized Gorbachev for siding with the United States against Iraq, a longtime ally of the Soviets. In response to his critics, Gorbachev provided support through the United Nations (UN) rather than directly to the United States. The UN established embargoes, or trade restrictions, against Iraq. Soviet military leaders refused to provide the United States military assistance.

On August 6, Bush launched Operation Desert Shield, sending two hundred thousand U.S. troops to protect Saudi Arabia from any further Iraqi aggression. The American soldiers were stationed only seven hundred miles (1,126 kilometers) from the Soviet border, which caused uneasiness among the Soviet military. Unable to convince Iraq's ruler, Saddam Hussein (1937–), to withdraw from Kuwait, Gorbachev supported a November 29 UN resolution to use force to free Kuwait from Iraq occupation. Supported by the UN, the United States launched an air attack on January 17, 1991. That was followed by a ground invasion on February 23 known as Operation Desert Storm. In less than seventy-two hours, U.S. soldiers forced Iraqi troops out of Kuwait and southern Iraq. Iraq lost thousands of troops and tanks. Bush refrained from completely destroying Iraqi forces and capturing Iraq because he did not want to bring stronger Soviet criticism on Gorbachev or make Iraq vulnerable to a takeover by Iran.

A new European organization was formed and began taking quick action on several issues. The thirty-five member nations of NATO and the Warsaw Pact joined in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The CSCE signed a Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty on November 21, 1990, reducing conventional forces of both NATO and Warsaw Pact nations. However, the agreement allowed NATO nations to maintain larger military forces than the Warsaw Pact nations. The military rivalry of the Cold War was clearly over. The CFE Treaty reduced a broad range of weapons, including tanks, armored combat vehicles, ar-



**A regional map of the Middle East, including Iraq, with whom the United States went to war in 1991.**  
*Map by Maryland Cartographics. Reproduced by permission of the Gale Group.*

tillery, combat aircraft, and combat helicopters. The CSCE also signed the Charter of Paris, which declared an end to the old Cold War split and proclaimed a new Europe. The charter declared support for democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms, social justice, and economic liberty. These common values would give the nations of Europe a sense of shared security.

In another major change, the Warsaw Pact began dissolving during 1990. In June, Hungary became the first country to announce it would pull out by the end of 1991. Other

countries soon followed, leading the Warsaw Pact to suddenly decide on February 25, 1991, that it would disband, effective in one month.

## Gorbachev under fire

By late 1990, following the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and growing tensions in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev was struggling to maintain his leadership position. On the one hand, he was trying to please the reformers led by Boris Yeltsin; they were pushing hard for a free market economy. On the other hand, he was also trying not to alarm the old-guard communists who were becoming very upset with the direction Gorbachev's reform efforts were going. Yeltsin kept pushing. He introduced a plan calling for the Soviet republics to become more independent and individually control their own economies, including taxation, natural resources, currencies, and trade.

Gorbachev could not support Yeltsin's plan because if he did, there would be no further need for a centralized economic structure—the very thing the Communist Party had always provided. Deciding to reassure his communist critics, Gorbachev backed off from his reforms and appointed communist hard-liners to several key government positions. In protest, Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze resigned on December 20, 1990. In January 1991, Gorbachev approved a plan to overthrow the new Lithuanian pro-independence government. While reeling back glasnost, he also reestablished restrictions on Soviet television and radio news programs. Gorbachev even attempted to remove Yeltsin as president of Russia. However, mass public demonstrations blocked Yeltsin's removal. The large size and angry mood of the demonstrations convinced Gorbachev that there was no way to turn back from reform.



**Russian leader Boris Yeltsin.**

*Photograph by Greg Gibson.  
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AP/Wide World Photos.*



Borrowing from Yeltsin's idea, Gorbachev now decided to salvage the Soviet Union by redefining it as a federation of republics. He proposed a new national cabinet elected by the republics and a more democratic Soviet Communist Party. However, Yeltsin continued to press for full democracy and capitalism. Gorbachev finally gave in to Yeltsin's pressure: In early July 1991, Gorbachev promoted privatizing (selling to private owners) most of the Soviet-owned industries. The nine Soviet Slavic and Muslim republics were allowed to develop their own economic reform plans.

## **An attempted Soviet coup**

On July 17, 1991, at a London meeting of world leaders, Bush and Gorbachev finally came to an agreement on arms control. Bush traveled to Moscow two weeks later to sign the treaty with Gorbachev. The treaty required a reduction in the nuclear warheads already deployed by each country; each country was limited to six thousand.

Noting Gorbachev's renewed push for sweeping reforms and his participation in a substantial arms control agreement in July 1991, Soviet communist hard-liners decided to take action against Gorbachev. In late August, Gorbachev left for Crimea, on the Black Sea, for an annual vacation. While he was away, the hard-liners attempted a coup (short for coup d'état; an illegal or forceful change of government). On August 19, they placed Gorbachev under house arrest (confinement in one's home rather than prison) in his vacation home and publicly announced that he was being removed for health reasons. They then declared a six-month state of emergency to "restore law and order." However, the highly popular Yeltsin came to Gorbachev's rescue. On August 21, Yeltsin denounced the emergency government as illegal. Despite orders from the coup leaders, Soviet troops refused to arrest Yeltsin or the Russian parliament. Deciding their efforts were futile, the coup leaders gave up and were placed under arrest, except for one who committed suicide.

Ironically, the coup by the communist hard-liners led to the end of Communist Party rule in the Soviet Union. A rapid sequence of events followed the failed coup: On August 22, a weary Gorbachev returned to Moscow and reasserted

control over the government to continue his reforms. However, the last credibility of the Communist Party had vanished with the failed coup. On August 23, Yeltsin suspended Communist Party activities in the Russian republic and seized its property. He also dismissed Russian ministers appointed by Gorbachev and appointed new ones. Other Soviet republics followed, banning the Communist Party in their regions. Seeing the dramatic change, Gorbachev resigned from the Communist Party and suspended further party participation in the Soviet government. Communism in the Soviet Union had essentially come to an end. On August 24, Yeltsin extended formal recognition of independence to the Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The Ukraine declared independence on the same day. In September, Gorbachev extended Soviet recognition of independence to the three Baltic nations also; these were the first nations to leave the Soviet Union.

Throughout the coup attempt, President Bush was slow to respond. He did not condemn the attempted coup until Yeltsin begged him to. Then he chose not to join Yeltsin in recognizing the independence of the Baltic States, waiting for more nations, and Gorbachev in particular, to do so first. Bush expressed preference for the more cautious Gorbachev to Yeltsin. This led to criticism that he was supporting a communist leader over the leading Russian advocate for democratic reform.

## **Collapse of the Soviet Union**

Through the fall of 1991, political developments in the Soviet Union were getting increasingly beyond Gorbachev's control. In reaction, Bush began making bolder moves by late September. With the ongoing decline of the Soviet Union, Bush feared that nuclear weapons could end up in the hands of terrorists or a remaining out-of-control hard-line communist. He announced that the United States would remove or destroy all tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Europe and Asia and on U.S. warships. He also suspended deployment of the MX missile system and ended the twenty-four-hour alert status of the Strategic Air Command, a unit established by the U.S. military with the goal of identifying targets in the Soviet Union and being ready to deliver nuclear weapons to those targets. Bush also proposed a plan

to reduce ICBMs and other nuclear weapons. Gorbachev responded to Bush's actions with similar reductions of tactical nuclear weapons. The Baltic States and the twelve remaining Soviet republics formed an alliance for defense and control of the Soviet nuclear arsenal. By October, they had also formed a new economic union. In November, the U.S. Congress provided up to \$400 million to assist the union in destroying its nuclear weapons.

In a last effort to salvage a political union, Gorbachev went to work creating a new transitional government, with himself and the presidents of the various republics as its leaders. However, acceptance of the new union depended on the approval of the Ukraine, the most populous former Soviet republic aside from Russia. In a public vote on December 1, the Ukraine voted for full independence rather than joining the new proposed government. The other former republics followed suit, voting for independence instead of Gorbachev's union. The Ukraine and Belarus (and later Kazakhstan) transferred their nuclear missiles to Russia, which took on a new official name, the Russian Federation.

After Gorbachev's failed attempt to create a new union of countries, Yeltsin moved to create a new alliance, called the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Unlike the Soviet Union, it would not act as a formal government. Eleven of the former Soviet republics joined the CIS. Yeltsin also requested that NATO accept Russia as a new member, but he was turned down. On December 25, Gorbachev resigned as president of the Soviet Union and transferred the Soviet nuclear arsenal over to Yeltsin, president of Russia. The Soviet Union ceased existence on December 31, 1991. All Soviet embassies around the world became Russian embassies, and Russia took over the Soviet seat in the United Nations. Even with the breakup of the Soviet Union, Russia still had the largest conventional military force in the world.

The swift collapse of the Soviet empire stunned everyone worldwide, even foreign policy experts. The Cold War and the Soviet Union had lasted for so long that everyone had believed it would last at least decades more. Now it was replaced with a loose alliance of countries that had large conventional and nuclear forces and critical economic and political problems.



A regional map of post-Cold War Europe, with Russia inset. Map by Maryland Cartographics. Reproduced by permission of the Gale Group.



## Expensive Weapons

During the Cold War, nuclear military systems came with no clear price tag. However, estimates in 1998 revealed that the United States spent \$2 trillion (in 1996 dollars) for nuclear technology during the Cold War years, from 1945 to 1991. Nuclear submarines took a good part of that total, costing over \$320 billion.

Almost single-handedly, Gorbachev had peacefully ended the Cold War. He had made major cuts in the size of the Soviet military, renounced past foreign policies of expanding Soviet influence, and encouraged basic economic reform. He pressured U.S. presidents Reagan and Bush into two arms control treaties, the INF Treaty and START. However, he had certainly not intended to end Communist Party rule in the Soviet Union or dismantle the Soviet Union itself.

## Cold War costs

U.S. leaders claimed victory in the Cold War. However, the United States paid a heavy price in the long, four-decade struggle. First and foremost, tens of thousands of American troops were killed in Cold War–related conflicts, particularly in Korea and Vietnam. Careers were ruined from suspicion of communist involvement. Many U.S. citizens lived in continual fear and suspicion of communist infiltration or nuclear war. The country went to the brink of nuclear war at least once, during the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, and had threatened nuclear war on several other occasions.

Financial costs were also large. By the late 1980s, the United States had become a debtor nation. During the Cold War, the U.S. government was restructured with an emphasis on national security rather than domestic needs. The arms race and economic aid to friendly countries were expensive priorities, creating a debt of \$4 trillion. The U.S. infrastructure of roads, bridges, and public buildings suffered from too little funding. Inner cities began to decay, slums spread, and unemployment and crime increased. With much of its budget dedicated to Cold War costs, the United States lost some of its lead in new technology development; Germany and Japan, countries that were unable to spend on their militaries because of the conditions of their surrender in World War II, made major technical gains. Considering both the human and financial costs the United States incurred, Gorbachev commented that

the Soviet Union and the United States had both lost the Cold War.

Russian citizens suffered severe economic hardships, especially following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Yeltsin moved to sell state-owned businesses and remove market and trade restrictions. However, the change to a free market economic system proved much more difficult than expected. The highly inefficient Russian businesses proved noncompetitive in world markets. With the economy suffering, the Russian parliament rebelled against Yeltsin's economic policies in 1993, but Yeltsin maintained control. He disbanded the parliament and created a new Russian constitution that gave him expanded powers.

Widespread economic hardships and frustrations with capitalism continued in Russia. Political support for the Communist Party increased as the Russian parliamentary elections approached in December 1995. The communists received the largest percentage of seats—22 percent—among the competing political parties. Despite disappointment with his economic programs, Yeltsin managed to win reelection in 1996 as Russian president over the challenge of Gorbachev. Continued financial problems led to increased bankruptcies among Russian businesses, and the country defaulted on, or was unable to pay back, foreign loans in 1998. Yeltsin's popularity finally began to decline, and on December 31, 1999, he resigned. Vladimir Putin (1953–), a former KGB (secret police) intelligence officer, replaced him as interim president and then secured the office in a public election in 2000. The country began experiencing some economic growth, but concerns rose over Putin's increased exercise of control in some troublesome regions and his new restrictions on media outlets.



### Where Are They in 2003?

Nuclear weapons development and buildup was a major feature of the Cold War. Though the Cold War ended, nuclear weapons had come to stay. By early 2003, seven nations were known to have nuclear weapons: the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, Pakistan, India, and the People's Republic of China. Israel was on the verge of having nuclear weapons. South Africa had nuclear weapons but claimed to have destroyed them. Three former republics of the Soviet Union—the Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan—had nuclear weapons but had either destroyed them or turned them over to Russia. Three nations either had or were still developing nuclear weapons: Iraq, Iran, and North Korea. Some nations in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) did not have nuclear weapons programs of their own but had U.S. nuclear weapons deployed in their countries. These nations included Belgium, Germany, Greece, Holland, Italy, and Turkey.

**Crowds gather outside the Kremlin on October 7, 1998, to rally for the removal of Russian president Boris Yeltsin.**

*Photograph by Mikhail Metzel.  
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## **Ethnic conflicts and world terrorism**

Ironically, with the end of the Cold War and the demise of the Soviet Union, global politics became less stable. Historians even began referring to the Cold War as the “Long Peace.” During the Cold War, the balance of power between the Soviet Union and the United States, including their mutual fear of nuclear war, ensured a certain stability. By the late 1980s, ethnic rivalries kept in check by the Soviet



rule burst forward. In Yugoslavia, the four republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia declared their independence, leading to a bloody war between ethnic groups through the 1990s.

Ethnic conflicts also occurred elsewhere, such as in Azerbaijan, Chechnya, and Armenia. Chechnya, a member of the Russian Federation, declared independence in 1991. Unwilling to recognize Chechnya's independence, Russia sent troops into Chechnya in late 1994 to reclaim control. The Russians captured Chechnya's capital, Grozny, in 1995. However, in 1996, Chechen forces pushed the Russians out of Grozny, and a cease-fire resulted. After several bombings in Russia were attributed to Chechen rebels, Russia reasserted control over Chechnya and sent forces in once again. Guerilla warfare followed.

Left as the lone superpower, the United States began serving as a peacekeeper in various violent internal conflicts around the world—in the African nation of Somalia, for ex-

**A Russian soldier looks down at huddled Chechen prisoners in February 1995.**

*Photograph by Nikolay Galiayev. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



ample, in Haiti (part of the West Indies), and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. International terrorism also escalated through the 1980s, marked by the sabotage of a Pan Am 747 airliner in flight over Scotland in December 1988, which killed 270 people. Terrorists supported by Iran, Libya, and Syria had carried out the bombing in response to a U.S. ship mistakenly shooting down an Iranian airliner carrying more than one hundred civilians. The threat of terrorism became a major global concern in the 1990s. With the terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001, the United States assumed a leading role in fighting terrorism globally.

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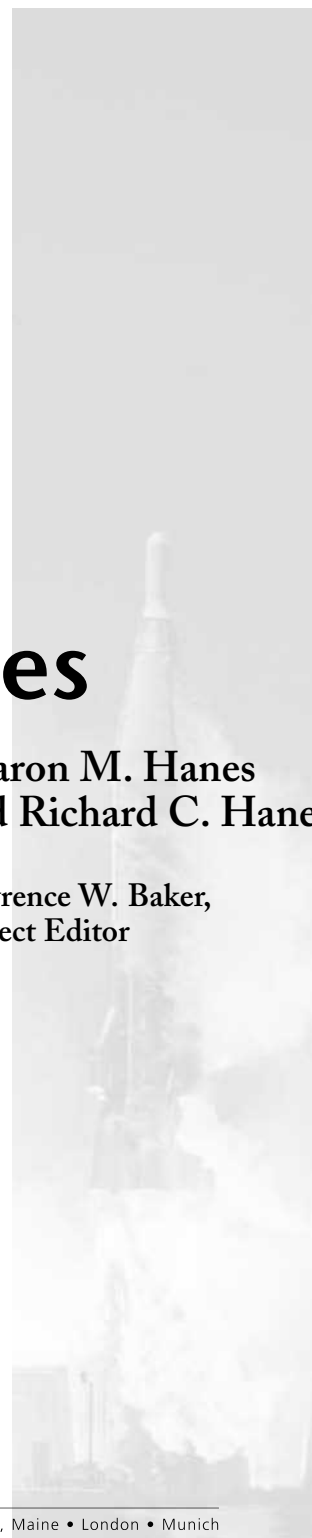
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# Introduction

Sometimes single events alter the course of history; other times, a chain reaction of seemingly lesser occurrences changes the path of nations. The intense rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that emerged immediately after World War II (1939–45) followed the second pattern. Known as the Cold War, the rivalry grew out of mutual distrust between two starkly different societies: communist Soviet Union and the democratic West, which was led by the United States and included Western Europe. Communism is a political and economic system in which the Communist Party controls all aspects of citizens' lives and private ownership of property is banned. It is not compatible with America's democratic way of life. Democracy is a political system consisting of several political parties whose members are elected to various government offices by vote of the people. The rapidly growing rivalry between the two emerging post-World War II superpowers in 1945 would dominate world politics until 1991. Throughout much of the time, the Cold War was more a war of ideas than one of battlefield combat. Yet for generations, the Cold War affected almost every aspect of American life and those who lived in numerous other countries around the world.



The global rivalry was characterized by many things. Perhaps the most dramatic was the cost in lives and public funds. Millions of military personnel and civilians were killed in conflicts often set in Third World countries. This toll includes tens of thousands of American soldiers in the Korean War (1950–53) and Vietnam War (1954–75) and thousands of Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. National budgets were stretched to support the nuclear arms races, military buildups, localized wars, and aid to friendly nations. On the international front, the United States often supported oppressive but strongly anticommunist military dictatorships. On the other hand, the Soviets frequently supported revolutionary movements seeking to overthrow established governments. Internal political developments within nations around the world were interpreted by the two superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States—in terms of the Cold War rivalry. In many nations, including the Soviet-dominated Eastern European countries, basic human freedoms were lost. New international military and peacekeeping alliances were also formed, such as the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization of American States (OAS), and the Warsaw Pact.

Effects of the Cold War were extensive on the home front, too. The U.S. government became more responsive to national security needs, including the sharpened efforts of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Created were the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the National Security Council (NSC), and the Department of Defense. Suspicion of communist influences within the United States built some individual careers and destroyed others. The national education priorities of public schools were changed to emphasize science and engineering after the Soviets launched the satellite *Sputnik*, which itself launched the space race.

What would cause such a situation to develop and last for so long? One major factor was mistrust for each other. The communists were generally shunned by other nations, including the United States, since they gained power in Russia in 1917 then organized that country into the Soviet Union. The Soviets' insecurities loomed large. They feared another invasion from the West through Poland, as had happened through the centuries. On the other hand, the West was highly suspicious of the harsh closed society of Soviet

communism. As a result, a move by one nation would bring a response by the other. Hard-liners on both sides believed long-term coexistence was not feasible.

A second major factor was that the U.S. and Soviet ideologies were dramatically at odds. The political, social, and economic systems of democratic United States and communist Soviet Union were essentially incompatible. Before the communist (or Bolshevik) revolution in 1917, the United States and Russia competed as they both sought to expand into the Pacific Northwest. In addition, Americans had a strong disdain for Russian oppression under their monarchy of the tsars. Otherwise, contact between the two growing powers was almost nonexistent until thrown together as allies in a common cause to defeat Germany and Japan in World War II.

It was during the meetings of the allied leaders in Yalta and Potsdam in 1945 when peaceful postwar cooperation was being sought that the collision course of the two new superpowers started becoming more evident. The end of World War II had brought the U.S. and Soviet armies face-to-face in central Europe in victory over the Germans. Yet the old mistrusts between communists and capitalists quickly dominated diplomatic relations. Capitalism is an economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention. A peace treaty ending World War II in Europe was blocked as the Soviets and the U.S.-led West carved out spheres of influence. Western Europe and Great Britain aligned with the United States and collectively was referred to as the "West"; Eastern Europe would be controlled by the Soviet Communist Party. The Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellite countries were collectively referred to as the "East." The two powers tested the resolve of each other in Germany, Iran, Turkey, and Greece in the late 1940s.

In 1949, the Soviets successfully tested an atomic bomb and Chinese communist forces overthrew the National Chinese government, and U.S. officials and American citizens feared a sweeping massive communist movement was overtaking the world. A "red scare" spread through America. The term "red" referred to communists, especially the Soviets. The public began to suspect that communists or communist sympathizers lurked in every corner of the nation.

Meanwhile, the superpower confrontations spread from Europe to other global areas: Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. Most dramatic were the Korean and Vietnam wars, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the military standoffs in Berlin, Germany. However, bloody conflicts erupted in many other areas as the United States and Soviet Union sought to expand their influence by supporting or opposing various movements.

In addition, a costly arms race lasted decades despite sporadic efforts at arms control agreements. The score card for the Cold War was kept in terms of how many nuclear weapons one country had aimed at the other. Finally, in the 1970s and 1980s, the Soviet Union could no longer keep up with the changing world economic trends. Its tightly controlled and highly inefficient industrial and agricultural systems could not compete in world markets while the government was still focusing its wealth on Cold War confrontations and the arms race. Developments in telecommunications also made it more difficult to maintain a closed society. Ideas were increasingly being exchanged despite longstanding political barriers. The door was finally cracked open in the communist European nations to more freedoms in the late 1980s through efforts at economic and social reform. Seizing the moment, the long suppressed populations of communist Eastern European nations and fifteen Soviet republics demanded political and economic freedom.

Through 1989, the various Eastern European nations replaced long-time communist leaders with noncommunist officials. By the end of 1991, the Soviet Communist Party had been banned from various Soviet republics, and the Soviet Union itself ceased to exist. After a decades-long rivalry, the end to the Cold War came swiftly and unexpectedly.

A new world order dawned in 1992 with a single superpower, the United States, and a vastly changed political landscape around much of the globe. Communism remained in China and Cuba, but Cold War legacies remained elsewhere. In the early 1990s, the United States was economically burdened with a massive national debt, the former Soviet republics were attempting a very difficult economic transition to a more capitalistic open market system, and Europe, starkly divided by the Cold War, was reunited once again and sought to establish a new union including both Eastern and Western European nations.

## Reader's Guide

**C***old War: Biographies* presents biographies of fifty men and women who participated in or were affected by the Cold War, the period in history from 1945 until 1991 that was dominated by the rivalry between the world's superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. These two volumes profile a diverse mix of personalities from the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Great Britain, and other regions touched by the Cold War. Detailed biographies of major Cold War figures (such as Fidel Castro, Winston Churchill, Mikhail Gorbachev, John F. Kennedy, Nikita Khrushchev, and Joseph R. McCarthy) are included. But *Cold War: Biographies* also provides biographical information on lesser-known but nonetheless important and fascinating men and women of that era. Examples include nuclear physicist Igor Kurchatov, the developer of the Soviet atomic bomb; U.S. secretary of state George C. Marshall, a former Army general who unveiled the Marshall Plan, a major U.S. economic aid program for the war-torn countries of Western Europe; Kim Il Sung, the communist dictator of North Korea throughout the Cold War; and Condoleezza Rice, the top U.S. advisor on the Soviet Union when the Cold War ended in November 1990.





*Cold War: Biographies* also features sidebars containing interesting facts about people and events related to the Cold War. Within each full-length biography, boldfaced cross-references direct readers to other individuals profiled in the two-volume set. Finally, each volume includes photographs and illustrations, a “Cold War Timeline” that lists significant dates and events of the Cold War era, and a cumulative subject index.

## **U•X•L Cold War Reference Library**

*Cold War: Biographies* is only one component of the three-part U•X•L Cold War Reference Library. The other two titles in this set are:

- *Cold War: Almanac* (two volumes) presents a comprehensive overview of the period in American history from the end of World War II until the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and the actual dissolution of the Soviet Union itself. Its fifteen chapters are arranged chronologically and explore such topics as the origins of the Cold War, the beginning of the nuclear age, the arms race, espionage, anticommunist campaigns and political purges on the home fronts, détente, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Berlin Airlift and the Berlin Wall, the Korean and Vietnam wars, and the ending of the Cold War. The *Almanac* also contains more than 140 black-and-white photographs and maps, “Words to Know” and “People to Know” boxes, a timeline, and an index.
- *Cold War: Primary Sources* (one volume) tells the story of the Cold War in the words of the people who lived and shaped it. Thirty-one excerpted documents provide a wide range of perspectives on this period of history. Included are excerpts from presidential press conferences; addresses to U.S. Congress and Soviet Communist Party meetings; public speeches; telegrams; magazine articles; radio and television addresses; and later reflections by key government leaders.
- A cumulative index of all three titles in the U•X•L Cold War Reference Library is also available.

## **Acknowledgments**

Kelly Rudd and Meghan O’Meara contributed importantly to *Cold War: Biographies*. Special thanks to Catherine

Filip, who typed much of the manuscript. Much appreciation also goes to copyeditors Christine Alexanian, Taryn Benbow-Pfalzgraf, and Jane Woychick; proofreader Wyn Hilty; indexer Dan Brannen; and typesetter Marco Di Vita of the Graphix Group for their fine work.

## **Dedication**

To Aaron and Kara Hanes, that their children may learn about the events and ideas that shaped the world through the latter half of the twentieth century.

## **Comments and suggestions**

We welcome your comments on *Cold War: Biographies* and suggestions for other topics to consider. Please write: Editors, *Cold War: Biographies*, U•X•L, 27500 Drake Rd., Farmington Hills, Michigan 48331-3535; call toll free: 1-800-877-4253; fax to 248-699-8097; or send e-mail via <http://www.gale.com>.

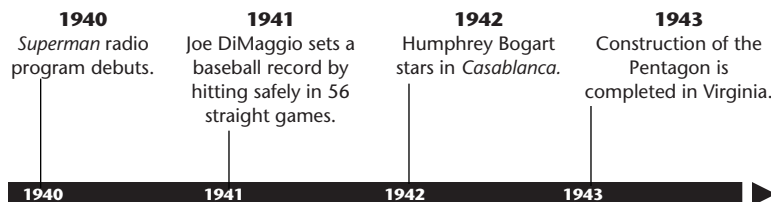
# Cold War Timeline

**September 1, 1939** Germany invades Poland, beginning World War II.

**June 30, 1941** Germany invades the Soviet Union, drawing the Soviets into World War II.

**December 7, 1941** Japan launches a surprise air attack on U.S. military installations at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, drawing the United States into World War II.

**November 1943** The three key allied leaders—U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister **Winston Churchill**, and Soviet premier **Joseph Stalin**—meet in Tehran, Iran, to discuss war strategies against Germany and Italy.



**August-October 1944** An international conference held at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., creates the beginning of the United Nations.

**February 1945** The Yalta Conference is held in the Crimean region of the Soviet Union among the three key allied leaders, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin to discuss German surrender terms, a Soviet attack against Japanese forces, and the future of Eastern Europe.

**April-June 1945** Fifty nations meet in San Francisco to write the UN charter.

**April 12, 1945** U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt dies suddenly from a brain hemorrhage, leaving Vice President **Harry S. Truman** as the next U.S. president.

**April 23, 1945** U.S. president Harry S. Truman personally criticizes Soviet foreign minister **Vyacheslav Molotov** for growing Soviet influence in Eastern Europe, setting the tone for escalating Cold War tensions.

**May 7, 1945** Germany surrenders to allied forces, leaving Germany and its capital of Berlin divided into four military occupation zones with American, British, French, and Soviet forces.

**July 16, 1945** The United States, through its top-secret Manhattan Project, successfully detonates the world's first atomic bomb under the leadership of nuclear physicist **J. Robert Oppenheimer**.

**July-August 1945** The Big Three—U.S. president Harry S. Truman, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin meet in Potsdam, Ger-

**1944**

Franklin D. Roosevelt is elected to an unprecedented fourth term as U.S. president.

1944

**1945**

The United States drops two atomic bombs on Japan.

1945

**1945**

George Orwell's *Animal Farm* is published.

1945

many, to discuss postwar conditions. On August 2, newly elected **Clement R. Attlee** replaces Churchill.

**August 14, 1945** Japan surrenders, ending World War II, after the United States drops two atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

**November 29, 1945** **Josip Broz Tito** assumes leadership of the new communist government in Yugoslavia.

**December 1945** U.S. secretary of state **James F. Byrnes** travels to Moscow to make a major effort to establish friendly relations with the Soviets, making agreements regarding international control of atomic energy and the postwar governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Japan; the agreements proved highly unpopular in the United States.

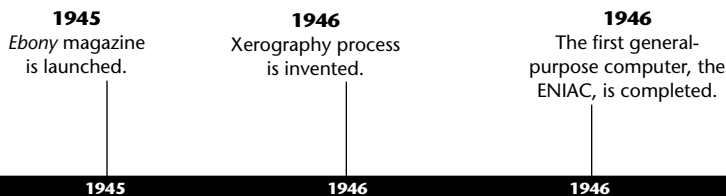
**January 12, 1946** Nuclear physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer is awarded the “United States of America Medal of Merit” for his leadership on the Manhattan Project.

**February 9, 1946** Soviet leader Joseph Stalin delivers the “Two Camps” speech, declaring the incompatibility of communist Soviet Union with the West.

**February 22, 1946** U.S. diplomat **George F. Kennan** sends the “Long Telegram” from Moscow to Washington, D.C., warning of the Soviet threat.

**March 5, 1946** Former British prime minister Winston Churchill delivers the “Iron Curtain Speech” at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri.

**September 1946** **Clark M. Clifford**, special counsel to U.S. president Harry S. Truman, coauthors an influential secret report titled “American Relations with the Soviet Union,” warning of the threat of Soviet aggression



and calling for a policy of containment of further communist expansion.

**September 6, 1946** U.S. secretary of state James F. Byrnes announces in a major speech that it is now U.S. policy to reestablish an independent Germany, something the Soviets strongly opposed; many consider this speech the end of the wartime alliance between the West and the Soviet Union.

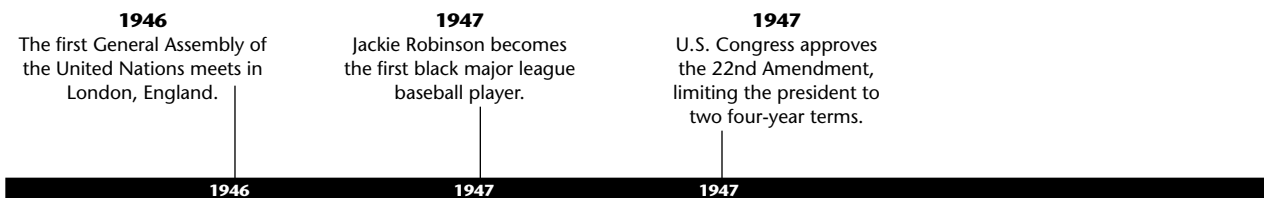
**October 7, 1946** **W. Averill Harriman** begins a stint as secretary of commerce, a position in which Harriman greatly influences later passage of the Marshall Plan, a plan to rebuild European economies devastated by World War II.

**December 2, 1946** The United States, Great Britain, and France merge their German occupation zones to create what would become West Germany.

**February 1947** After British foreign minister **Ernest Bevin** announces the withdrawal of long-term British support for Greece and Turkey, he approaches the U.S. government to seek its expansion in its international commitment to European security.

**March 12, 1947** U.S. president Harry S. Truman announces the Truman Doctrine, which states that the United States will assist any nation in the world being threatened by communist expansion.

**June 5, 1947** U.S. secretary of state **George C. Marshall** announces the Marshall Plan, an ambitious economic aid program to rebuild Western Europe from World War II destruction.



**July 1947** U.S. diplomat George F. Kennan introduces the containment theory in the “X” article in *Foreign Affairs* magazine.

**July 26, 1947** Congress passes the National Security Act, creating the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Council (NSC).

**October 1947** Actor **Ronald Reagan** and author **Ayn Rand** testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), a congressional group investigating communist influences in the United States.

**December 5, 1947** The Soviets establish the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) to promote the expansion of communism in the world.

**February 25, 1948** A communist coup in Czechoslovakia topples the last remaining democratic government in Eastern Europe.

**March 14, 1948** Israel announces its independence as a new state in the Middle East.

**June 24, 1948** The Soviets begin a blockade of Berlin, leading to a massive airlift of daily supplies by the Western powers for the next eleven months.

**January 21, 1949** At the beginning of his second term of office, President Harry S. Truman appoints **Dean G. Acheson** secretary of state.

**April 4, 1949** The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance involving Western Europe and the United States, comes into existence.

**May 5, 1949** The West Germans establish the Federal Republic of Germany government.

**1947**

Tennessee Williams’s *A Streetcar Named Desire* opens on Broadway.

**1948**

The Baskin-Robbins ice cream chain opens.

**1949**

The first Emmy Awards ceremony is held.

1947

1948

1949

**May 12, 1949** The Soviet blockade of access routes to West Berlin is lifted.

**May 30, 1949** Soviet-controlled East Germany establishes the German Democratic Republic.

**August 1949** **Konrad Adenauer** becomes the first chancellor of West Germany in the first open parliamentary elections of the newly established Federal Republic of Germany (FRG).

**August 29, 1949** Under the leadership of Soviet nuclear physicist **Igor Kurchatov**, the Soviet Union conducts its first successful atomic bomb test at the Semipalatinsk Test Site in northeastern Kazakhstan.

**October 1, 1949** Communist forces under **Mao Zedong** gain victory in the Chinese civil war, and the People's Republic of China (PRC) is established, with **Zhou Enlai** its leader.

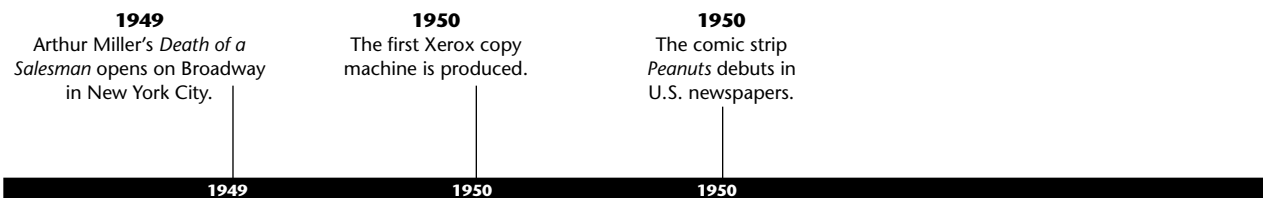
**January 1950** Former State Department employee Alger Hiss is convicted of perjury but not of spy charges.

**February 3, 1950** Klaus Fuchs is convicted of passing U.S. atomic secrets to the Soviets.

**February 9, 1950** U.S. senator **Joseph R. McCarthy** of Wisconsin publicly claims in a speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, to have a list of communists working in the U.S. government.

**March 1, 1950** **Chiang Kai-shek**, former leader of nationalist China, which was defeated by communist forces, establishes the Republic of China (ROC) on the island of Taiwan.

**April 7, 1950** U.S. security analyst Paul Nitze issues the secret National Security Council report 68 (NSC-68), calling





for a dramatic buildup of U.S. military forces to combat the Soviet threat.

**June 25, 1950** North Korean communist leader **Kim Il Sung** launches his armed forces against South Korea in an attempt to reunify Korea under his leadership, leading to the three-year Korean War.

**October 24, 1950** U.S. forces push the North Korean army back to the border with China, sparking a Chinese invasion one week later and forcing the United States into a hasty retreat.

**April 11, 1951** U.S. president Harry S. Truman fires General **Douglas MacArthur**, the U.S. military commander in Korea, for publicly attacking the president's war strategy.

**April 19, 1951** General Douglas MacArthur delivers his farewell address to a joint session of Congress.

**June 21, 1951** The Korean War reaches a military stalemate at the original boundary between North and South Korea.

**September 1, 1951** The United States, Australia, and New Zealand sign the ANZUS treaty, creating a military alliance to contain communism in the Southwest Pacific region.

**October 25, 1951** Winston Churchill wins reelection as British prime minister over Clement R. Attlee.

**October 3, 1952** Great Britain conducts its first atomic weapons test.

**November 1, 1952** The United States tests the hydrogen bomb on the Marshall Islands in the Pacific Ocean.

**1950**

The Korean War begins.

**1951**

*I Love Lucy* debuts on CBS-TV.

**1952**

NBC-TV's *The Today Show* debuts.

1950

1951

1952

**November 4, 1952** Former military general **Dwight D. Eisenhower** is elected U.S. president.

**March 5, 1953** After leading the Soviet Union for thirty years, Joseph Stalin dies of a stroke; Georgy Malenkov becomes the new Soviet leader.

**June 27, 1953** An armistice is signed, bringing a cease-fire to the Korean War.

**August 12, 1953** The Soviet Union announces its first hydrogen bomb test.

**May 7, 1954** The communist Viet Minh forces of **Ho Chi Minh** capture French forces at Dien Bien Phu, leading to a partition of Vietnam and independence for North Vietnam under Ho's leadership.

**June 29, 1954** Nuclear physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer's security clearance is not renewed due to his opposition of the development of the hydrogen bomb; his stance leads anticommunists to question his loyalty to the United States.

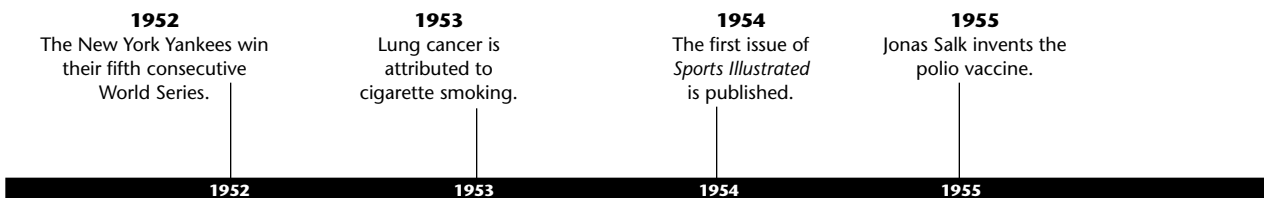
**September 8, 1954** The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is formed.

**December 2, 1954** The U.S. Senate votes to censure U.S. senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin after his communist accusations proved to be unfounded.

**January 12, 1955** U.S. secretary of state **John Foster Dulles** announces the "New Look" policy, promoting massive nuclear retaliation for any hostile actions.

**February 8, 1955** Nikolai Bulganin replaces Georgy Malenkov as Soviet premier.

**May 14, 1955** The Warsaw Pact, a military alliance of Soviet-controlled Eastern European nations, is established;



the countries include Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania.

**November 22, 1955** Under the guidance of nuclear physicist **Andrey Sakharov**, the Soviets detonate their first true hydrogen bomb at the Semipalatinsk Test Site; Sakharov would be awarded several of the Soviet Union's highest honors.

**February 24, 1956** Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** gives his "Secret Speech," attacking the past brutal policies of the late Soviet leader Joseph Stalin.

**October 31, 1956** British, French, and Israeli forces attack Egypt to regain control of the Suez Canal.

**November 1, 1956** In Hungary, the Soviets crush an uprising against strict communist rule, killing many protestors.

**January 10, 1957** **Harold Macmillan** becomes the new British prime minister.

**February 1957** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev appoints **Andrey Gromyko** foreign minister, replacing Vyacheslav Molotov; Gromyko will hold the position for the next twenty-eight years.

**March 7, 1957** The Eisenhower Doctrine, offering U.S. assistance to Middle East countries facing communist expansion threats, is approved by Congress.

**October 5, 1957** Shocking the world with their new technology, the Soviets launch into space *Sputnik*, the first man-made satellite.

**1958** FBI director J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972) writes *Masters of Deceit*, a book that educates the public about the threat of communism within the United States.

**1955**

The Disneyland amusement park opens in California.

**1956**

President Dwight D. Eisenhower is reelected.

**1957**

*West Side Story* opens on Broadway.

1955

1956

1957

**March 27, 1958** Nikita Khrushchev replaces Nikolai Bulganin as Soviet premier while remaining head of the Soviet Communist Party.

**November 10, 1958** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev issues an ultimatum to the West to pull out of Berlin, but later backs down.

**January 2, 1959** Revolutionary **Fidel Castro** assumes leadership of the Cuban government after toppling pro-U.S. dictator Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar.

**September 17, 1959** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev arrives in the United States to tour the country and meet with U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower.

**May 1, 1960** The Soviets shoot down a U.S. spy plane over Russia piloted by Francis Gary Powers, leading to the cancellation of a planned summit meeting in Paris between Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower.

**November 8, 1960** U.S. senator **John F. Kennedy** of Massachusetts defeats Vice President **Richard M. Nixon** in the presidential election.

**January 1961** **Robert S. McNamara** becomes secretary of defense in the new Kennedy administration, a position he would hold until 1968 throughout the critical years of the Vietnam War.

**March 1, 1961** U.S. president John F. Kennedy establishes the Peace Corps.

**April 15, 1961** A U.S.-supported army of Cuban exiles launches an ill-fated invasion of Cuba, leading to U.S. humiliation in the world.

**1958**  
The United States launches its first satellite.

**1959**  
Alaska and Hawaii become the 49th and 50th U.S. states.

**1960**  
The metric system is adopted by most nations.

1958

1959

1960

1961

**June 3, 1961** U.S. president John F. Kennedy meets with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev at a Vienna summit meeting to discuss the arms race and Berlin; Kennedy comes away shaken by Khrushchev's belligerence.

**August 15, 1961** Under orders from Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, the Berlin Wall is constructed, stopping the flight of refugees from East Germany to West Berlin.

**October 1962** The Cuban Missile Crisis occurs as the United States demands the Soviets remove nuclear missiles from Cuba.

**1963** Longtime U.S. diplomat W. Averell Harriman heads the U.S. team for negotiating with the Soviet Union the Limited Test Ban treaty, which bans above-ground testing of nuclear weapons.

**January 1, 1963** Chinese communist leaders Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai denounce Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's policies of peaceful coexistence with the West; the Soviets respond by denouncing the Chinese Communist Party.

**August 5, 1963** The first arms control agreement, the Limited Test Ban Treaty, banning above-ground nuclear testing, is reached between the United States, Soviet Union, and Great Britain.

**November 22, 1963** U.S. president John F. Kennedy is assassinated in Dallas, Texas, leaving Vice President **Lyndon B. Johnson** as the new U.S. president.

**August 7, 1964** U.S. Congress passes the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, authorizing U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson to conduct whatever military operations he thinks appropriate in Southeast Asia.

**1961**

Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin becomes the first man to orbit Earth.

**1962**

Jim Beatty becomes the first person to run the mile in less than four minutes.

**1963**

Civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. delivers his "I Have a Dream" speech.

1961

1962

1963

**October 15, 1964** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev is removed from Soviet leadership and replaced by **Leonid Brezhnev** as leader of the Soviet Communist Party and **Aleksey Kosygin** as Soviet premier.

**October 16, 1964** China conducts its first nuclear weapons test.

**November 3, 1964** Lyndon B. Johnson is elected U.S. president.

**March 8, 1965** U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson sends the first U.S. ground combat units to South Vietnam.

**June 23, 1967** U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson and Soviet premier Aleksey Kosygin meet in Glassboro, New Jersey, to discuss a peace settlement to the Vietnam War.

**January 23, 1968** Forces under the orders of North Korean communist leader Kim Il Sung capture a U.S. spy ship, the USS *Pueblo*, off the coast of North Korea and hold the crew captive for eleven months.

**January 31, 1968** Communist forces inspired by the leadership of the ailing Ho Chi Minh launch the massive Tet Offensive against the U.S. and South Vietnamese armies, marking a turning point as American public opinion shifts in opposition to the Vietnam War.

**July 15, 1968** Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev announces the Brezhnev Doctrine, which allows for the use of force where necessary to ensure the maintenance of communist governments in Eastern European nations.

**August 20, 1968** The Warsaw Pact forces a crackdown on a Czechoslovakia reform movement known as the "Prague Spring."

**1964**  
The musical *Fiddler on the Roof* opens.

**1965**  
Demonstrations against the Vietnam War occur in forty U.S. cities.

**1966**  
The National Organization for Women (NOW) is established.

**1967**  
*Rolling Stone* magazine is first published.

1964

1965

1966

1967

**August 27, 1968** Antiwar riots rage in Chicago's streets outside the Democratic National Convention.

**November 5, 1968** Richard M. Nixon defeats Vice President Hubert Humphrey in the U.S. presidential election.

**March 18, 1969** The United States begins secret bombing of Cambodia to destroy North Vietnamese supply lines.

**July 20, 1969** The United States lands the first men on the moon.

**October 15, 1969** Former West Berlin mayor Willy Brandt is elected chancellor of West Germany.

**April 16, 1970** Strategic arms limitation talks, SALT, begin.

**April 30, 1970** U.S. president Richard M. Nixon announces an invasion by U.S. forces of Cambodia to destroy North Vietnamese supply camps.

**May 4, 1970** Four students are killed at Kent State University as Ohio National Guardsmen open fire on antiwar demonstrators.

**November 3, 1970** **Salvador Allende** becomes president of Chile.

**October 20, 1971** West German chancellor Willy Brandt is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for seeking greater political and military stability in Europe.

**October 25, 1971** The People's Republic of China (PRC) is admitted to the United Nations as the Republic of China (ROC) is expelled.

**February 20, 1972** U.S. president Richard M. Nixon makes an historic trip to the People's Republic of China to discuss renewing relations between the two countries.

**1968**

Civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. is assassinated.

**1969**

The Woodstock music festival takes place.

**1970**

*Monday Night Football* debuts on ABC-TV.

**1971**

The legal U.S. voting age is lowered to eighteen.

1968

1969

1970

1971

**May 26, 1972** U.S. president Richard M. Nixon travels to Moscow to meet with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev to reach an agreement on the strategic arms limitation treaty, SALT I.

**January 27, 1973** After intensive bombing of North Vietnamese cities the previous month, the United States and North Vietnam sign a peace treaty, ending U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

**June 27, 1973** Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev journeys to Washington, D.C., to meet with U.S. president Richard M. Nixon to pursue détente.

**August 22, 1973** U.S. national security advisor **Henry Kissinger** is nominated by U.S. president Richard M. Nixon to also serve as secretary of state.

**September 11, 1973** Chilean president Salvador Allende is ousted in a coup and is replaced by pro-U.S. dictator Augusto Pinochet Ugarte.

**May 16, 1974** Helmut Schmidt becomes the new West German chancellor.

**June 27, 1974** U.S. president Richard M. Nixon travels to Moscow for another summit conference with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

**August 9, 1974** Under threats of impeachment due to a political scandal, U.S. president Richard M. Nixon resigns as U.S. president and is replaced by Vice President Gerald R. Ford.

**September 4, 1974** **George Bush** is sent as an envoy to the People's Republic of China.

**1972**  
The Watergate scandal begins.

**1973**  
U.S. troops pull out of Vietnam.

**1974**  
Hank Aaron passes Babe Ruth as baseball's all-time home run hitter.

1972

1973

1974



**November 23, 1974** U.S. president Gerald R. Ford and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev meet in the Soviet city of Vladivostok.

**1975** Nuclear physicist Andrey Sakharov receives the Nobel Peace Prize for his brave opposition to the nuclear arms race in the Soviet Union.

**April 30, 1975** In renewed fighting, North Vietnam captures South Vietnam and reunites the country.

**August 1, 1975** Numerous nations sign the Helsinki Accords at the end of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

**January 27, 1976** George Bush is confirmed by the U.S. Senate as the director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

**September 9, 1976** Mao Zedong dies and Hua Guofeng becomes the new leader of the People's Republic of China.

**November 2, 1976** Former Georgia governor **Jimmy Carter** defeats incumbent U.S. president Gerald R. Ford in the presidential election.

**December 16, 1976** U.S. president-elect Jimmy Carter names Zbigniew Brzezinski as the new national security advisor.

**June 16, 1977** Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev is elected president of the Soviet Union in addition to leader of the Soviet Communist Party.

**December 25, 1977** Israeli prime minister Menachim Begin and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat begin peace negotiations in Egypt.

**February 24, 1978** **Deng Xiaoping** is elected head of the Chinese Communist Party.

**1975**  
The video cassette recorder (VCR) is invented.

**1976**  
The first personal computer (PC) is developed.

**1977**  
Rock and roll singer Elvis Presley dies in Tennessee.

1974

1975

1976

1977

**September 17, 1978** Israeli prime minister Menachim Begin and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, meeting with U.S. president Jimmy Carter at Camp David, reach an historic peace settlement between Israel and Egypt.

**January 1, 1979** The United States and the People's Republic of China (PRC) establish diplomatic relations.

**January 16, 1979** The shah of Iran is overthrown as the leader of Iran and is replaced by Islamic leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

**May 4, 1979** **Margaret Thatcher** becomes the new British prime minister.

**June 18, 1979** U.S. president Jimmy Carter and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev sign the SALT II strategic arms limitation agreement in Vienna, Austria.

**July 19, 1979** Sandinista rebels seize power in Nicaragua with Daniel Ortega becoming the new leader.

**November 4, 1979** Islamic militants seize the U.S. embassy in Tehran, Iran, taking U.S. staff hostage.

**December 26, 1979** Soviet forces invade Afghanistan to prop up an unpopular pro-Soviet government, leading to a decade of bloody fighting.

**January 1980** Nuclear physicist Andrey Sakharov is seized by the secret police, sentenced, and sent into exile to the closed city of Gorky for the next six years.

**April 24, 1980** An attempted military rescue of American hostages in Iran ends with eight U.S. soldiers dead.

**August 14, 1980** The Solidarity labor union protests the prices of goods in Poland.

**November 4, 1980** Former California governor Ronald Reagan is elected president of the United States.

**1978**

Pope John Paul II begins reign as the leader of the Catholic Church.

1978

**1979**

The Three Mile Island nuclear reactor accident occurs in Pennsylvania.

1979

**1980**

Former Beatle John Lennon is murdered.

1980

**January 20, 1981** Iran releases the U.S. hostages as Ronald Reagan is being sworn in as the new U.S. president.

**January 29, 1981** U.S. president Ronald Reagan appoints **Jeane Kirkpatrick** as U.S. representative to the United Nations where she acts a key architect of Reagan's strong anticommunist position early in his presidency.

**October 1, 1982** **Helmut Kohl** is elected West German chancellor.

**November 12, 1982** Yuri Andropov becomes the new Soviet leader after the death of Leonid Brezhnev two days earlier.

**March 8, 1983** U.S. president Ronald Reagan calls the Soviet Union the "Evil Empire."

**March 23, 1983** U.S. president Ronald Reagan announces the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

**September 1, 1983** A Soviet fighter shoots down Korean Airlines Flight 007 as it strays off-course over Soviet restricted airspace.

**October 25, 1983** U.S. forces invade Grenada to end fighting between two pro-communist factions.

**February 13, 1984** Konstantin Chernenko becomes the new Soviet leader after the death of Yuri Andropov four days earlier.

**May 2, 1984** Nuclear physicist Andrey Sakharov begins a hunger strike.

**February 1985** The United States issues the Reagan Doctrine, which offers assistance to military dictatorships in defense against communist expansion.

**1980**  
The CNN cable TV network debuts.

**1981**  
Great Britain's Prince Charles marries Lady Diana Spencer.

**1982**  
The compact disc (CD) is introduced.

**1984**  
Apple introduces a new personal computer called the Macintosh.

1980

1981

1982

1984

**March 11, 1985** Mikhail Gorbachev becomes the new Soviet leader after the death of Konstantin Chernenko the previous day.

**July 2, 1985** Eduard Shevardnadze is named the new foreign minister by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, replacing Andrey Gromyko.

**October 11–12, 1986** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. president Ronald Reagan meet in Reykjavik, Iceland, and agree to seek the elimination of nuclear weapons.

**October 17, 1986** Congress approves aid to Contra rebels in Nicaragua.

**November 3, 1986** The Iran-Contra affair is uncovered.

**June 11, 1987** Margaret Thatcher wins an unprecedented third term as British prime minister.

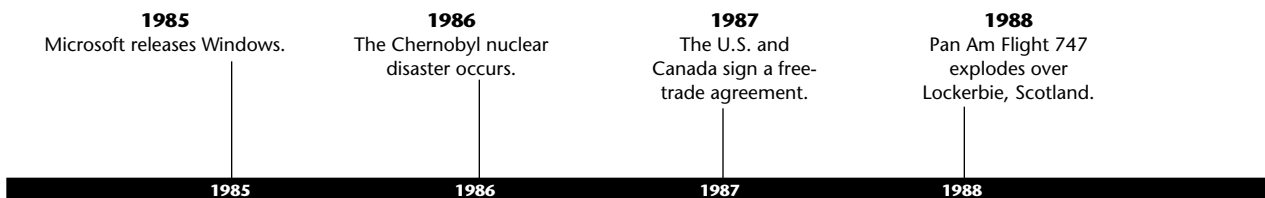
**December 8–10, 1987** U.S. president Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev meet in Washington to sign the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), removing thousands of missiles from Europe.

**February 8, 1988** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announces the decision to begin withdrawing Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

**May 29, 1988** U.S. president Ronald Reagan journeys to Moscow for a summit meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

**November 8, 1988** U.S. vice president George Bush is elected president of the United States.

**January 11, 1989** The Hungarian parliament adopts reforms granting greater personal freedoms to Hungarians, including allowing political parties and organizations.



**January 18, 1989** The labor union Solidarity gains formal acceptance in Poland.

**March 26, 1989** Open elections are held for the new Soviet Congress of People's Deputies, with the communists suffering major defeats; Boris Yeltsin wins the Moscow seat.

**May 11, 1989** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announces major reductions of nuclear forces in Eastern Europe.

**June 3–4, 1989** Chinese communist leaders order a military crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square, leading to many deaths.

**June 4, 1989** The first Polish free elections lead to major victory by Solidarity.

**October 7, 1989** The Hungarian communist party disbands.

**October 23, 1989** Massive demonstrations begin against the East German communist government, involving hundreds of thousands of protesters and leading to the resignation of the East German leadership in early November.

**November 10, 1989** East Germany begins dismantling the Berlin Wall; Bulgarian communist leadership resigns.

**November 24, 1989** Czechoslovakia communist leaders resign.

**December 1, 1989** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. president George Bush, assisted by **Condoleezza Rice** of the National Security Council, begin a three-day meeting on a ship in a Malta harbor to discuss rapid changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

**December 20, 1989** Lithuania votes for independence from the Soviet Union.

**1989**  
The Exxon Valdez oil tanker accident occurs.

**1989**  
Wayne Gretzky becomes professional hockey's all-time leading scorer.

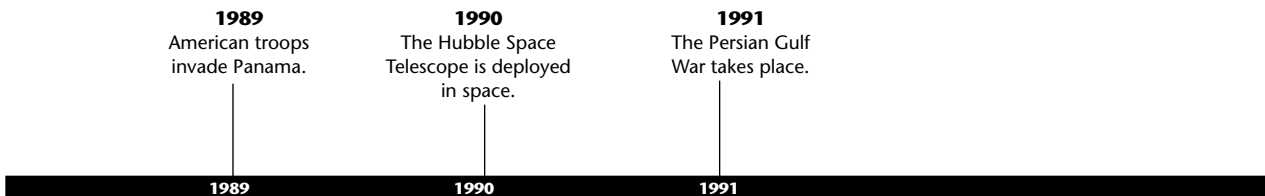
**1989**  
A major earthquake hits San Francisco, California.

1989

1989

1989

- December 22, 1989** Romanian communist leader Nicolae Ceausescu is toppled and executed three days later.
- March 1990** Lithuania declares independence from Moscow.
- March 14, 1990** Mikhail Gorbachev is elected president of the Soviet Union.
- March 18, 1990** Open East German elections lead to a major defeat of Communist Party candidates.
- May 29, 1990** Boris Yeltsin is elected president of the Russian republic.
- May 30, 1990** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev begins a summit meeting with U.S. president George Bush in Washington, D.C.
- June 1990** Russia declares independence as the Russian Federation.
- October 15, 1990** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his reforms that ended the Cold War.
- November 14, 1990** Various nations sign the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, ending the economic and military division of Europe created by the Cold War.
- July 1, 1991** The Warsaw Pact disbands.
- August 19, 1991** Soviet communist hardliners attempt an unsuccessful coup of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, leading to the banning of the Communist Party in Russia and other Soviet republics.
- August 20–September 9, 1991** The various Soviet republics declare their independence from the Soviet Union, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kirgizia, and Tadzhikistan.



**October 3, 1991** East and West Germany reunite as one nation.

**December 8, 1991** Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia create the Commonwealth of Independent States organization as an alliance replacing the Soviet Union.

**December 25, 1991** Mikhail Gorbachev resigns as the Soviet president, and the Soviet Union ceases to exist.

**January 28, 1992** In his State of the Union Address, U.S. president George Bush declares victory in the Cold War.

**1991**  
Clarence Thomas  
becomes a U.S.  
Supreme Court justice.

**1992**  
Hurricane Andrew  
causes \$15 billion  
in damage  
in Florida.

1991

1992

# Cold War Biographies



# Dean G. Acheson

**Born April 11, 1893  
Middletown, Connecticut  
Died October 12, 1971  
Sandy Spring, Maryland**

**U.S. secretary of state, lawyer, and author**



Secretary of State Dean Acheson played a critical role in developing U.S. foreign policy as the post-World War II (1939–45) rivalry with the Soviet Union was taking shape. He firmly believed in maintaining a position of strength through military might while seeking solutions through diplomacy. His influence would last throughout the Cold War (1945–91). The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.

## Early influences

Dean Gooderham Acheson was born on April 11, 1893, in Middletown, Connecticut. His father, Edward Champion Acheson, was born in Britain but left home at age sixteen to journey to Canada, where he joined the military. He married Eleanor Gooderham, daughter of a wealthy Canadian family, and moved to New England. There he became an Episcopal minister and later the Episcopal bishop of Connecticut. Having a comfortable middle-class upbringing, young Dean attended the exclusive Groton preparatory

“The Truman administration’s 1947 assumption of responsibility in the eastern Mediterranean, the 1948 grandeur of the Marshall Plan, ... the NATO defense of Europe in 1949, and the intervention in Korea in 1950—all these constituted expanding action in truly historic mold.”

**Dean G. Acheson.**

*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

school, graduating in 1911. He then attended Yale University and went on to Harvard Law School. At Harvard, Acheson studied under future U.S. Supreme Court justice Felix Frankfurter (1882–1965). While in law school, Acheson married Alice Stanley, a graduate of the prestigious Wellesley College, in May 1917. They would have three children.

Following graduation from Harvard in 1918, Acheson moved to Washington, D.C., to become a law clerk for Supreme Court justice Louis D. Brandeis (1856–1941). Brandeis became a highly influential person in Acheson's intellectual life. After two years with Brandeis, Acheson joined the highly respected Washington law firm of Covington, Burling, and Rublee in 1921. As a young lawyer, Acheson made a striking impression: He was a stylish dresser with tailored suits and a handkerchief. He was very quick intellectually but had a sarcastic wit that the press would later interpret as arrogance. He was impatient with slower thinkers.

After participating in the successful presidential campaign of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) in 1932, Acheson became undersecretary of the treasury in early 1933. However, he resigned six months later in protest over Roosevelt's monetary policies and returned to his job in the law firm.

## **Beginning of an influential public career**

With a world war looming, President Roosevelt appointed Acheson assistant secretary of state for economic affairs in 1940. In that position, Acheson promoted an active U.S. role in combating Germany's push to dominate Europe, the same strategy he would later recommend for dealing with the Soviet Union. He persuaded Roosevelt to adopt the Lend-Lease program, which provided aging U.S. warships to Britain in exchange for the use of military bases in various British colonies around the world. Also under this program, \$39 billion in aid would go to countries battling Germany, primarily Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Acheson's role in postwar economic matters would be even larger: At an international meeting held at Bretton Woods, New York, he was instrumental in establishing the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

(World Bank). Both became major funding institutions for nations recovering from the destruction of World War II and for developing nations worldwide.

President Roosevelt died suddenly of a cerebral hemorrhage (bleeding in the brain) on April 12, 1945. Roosevelt's successor, Vice President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; see entry), appointed Acheson undersecretary of state, first under **James F. Byrnes** (1879–1972; see entry) and later under **George C. Marshall** (1880–1959; see entry). Both Truman and Acheson had straightforward, realistic approaches to foreign policy, so they built a strong working relationship. In his first several months in office, Truman relied heavily on Acheson to guide him on foreign policy. During this time, Acheson encouraged Truman to drop the atomic bombs on Japan in August 1945 to end World War II. Acheson also developed a plan for international control of atomic energy programs through the United Nations. It was called the Baruch Plan, after American financier Bernard Baruch (1870–1965), the U.S. representative on the UN Atomic Energy Commission who presented the plan to the United Nations. However, Baruch had insisted on substantial changes to the plan that Acheson strongly opposed. The Soviets also rejected the proposal.

## **Cold War architect**

Soviet military intimidation in 1946 in Iran, Turkey, and Greece began to convince Acheson that friendly cooperation would not be possible. The Soviet Union operated under a communist form of government. Communist economic theory calls for the elimination of private property and privately owned businesses so that goods produced and wealth accumulated can be shared equally by all. This system threatened the U.S. economy, which relies on free trade and competition to thrive; accumulation of wealth and private property is one of the chief goals of American business. Because of the conflict between U.S. and Soviet economic goals, Acheson advised Truman to strongly oppose the Soviet Union's efforts to expand its influence.

In a meeting with congressional leaders at the White House, Acheson presented some alarming news about Soviet intentions. He claimed that if Greece and Turkey fell to Sovi-

et influence, all of Western Europe could be next. (Western Europe includes Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.) Acheson then developed a speech for Truman to give to Congress on March 12, 1947. The historic speech outlined what is now called the Truman Doctrine, stating that it was in America's interest to stop communist expansion anywhere in the world. This marked the first time the United States adopted a policy of direct involvement in the internal affairs of foreign nations threatened by communism. This policy would guide the United States throughout the rest of the Cold War.

The next step for Acheson was to design an economic recovery plan for Western Europe. Acheson believed that the region was vulnerable to growing communist influence because it had been economically weakened by World War II. He contended that the economic prosperity of Europe was directly related to the well-being of the United States. In a speech on June 5, 1947, Secretary of State Marshall formally introduced the proposed economic recovery plan, which became known as the Marshall Plan. It provided \$12 billion over a four-year period to restore industry and expand trade in Western Europe. Having achieved his key goals, Acheson resigned as undersecretary on June 30 and returned to private law practice. However, after only eighteen months, he would get the call to public service once again.

## **Secretary of State**

On January 21, 1949, at the beginning of his second term of office, President Truman appointed Acheson secretary of state. Acheson turned once again to the defense of Europe. Having addressed Europe's economic strength through the Marshall Plan, Acheson next wanted to build Europe's military strength. Toward this end, he promoted creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the spring of 1949. NATO was a peacetime alliance of Western European nations, Canada, and the United States, and a key factor in the attempt to contain communism. Under Acheson's guidance, the part of Germany that was occupied by U.S., British, and French



## Korean War

The Korean War (1950–53) dominated Dean Acheson's term as secretary of state. In fact, some people accused Acheson of being responsible for the war. In January 1950, in his first month as secretary, Acheson gave a speech to the National Press Club. During the speech, he stated that South Korea was outside what he considered the U.S. defense perimeter. Critics claimed Acheson's comment made North Korea think that the United States would not respond if North Korea attacked the south.

When North Korean forces invaded South Korea on June 25, 1950, Acheson instantly became President Harry Truman's key war advisor. That same day, he went before an emergency session of the United Nations (UN) Security Council to obtain resolutions condemning the attack and calling for a military response. The United States would spearhead the war effort with the assistance of several other nations. Acheson was lucky: Because the Soviet Union was boycotting the UN at the time (protesting the organization's exclusion of the People's Republic of China), Soviet representatives were not present to veto the resolutions.

On June 30, U.S. troops under the command of General **Douglas MacArthur** (1880–1964; see entry) arrived in Korea. Though North Korea had pushed deep into the south, MacArthur's strategy of splitting North Korean forces by invading farther up the Korean coast worked. North Korean forces were put on the run as the largely American force pushed all the way north to the border with the People's Republic of China (PRC). Acheson hoped MacArthur would crush the North Korean forces for a decisive victory. However, contrary to expectations, on November 25, the PRC entered the war in support of North Korea. The PRC sent three hundred thousand troops into North Korea, routing U.S. forces. U.S. soldiers retreated into South Korea and finally were able to battle to a stalemate at the original boundary between North and South Korea. Acheson later commented that the PRC attack was his worst moment in public life. Acheson had to support Truman's decision to remove General MacArthur from his command in April 1951 for not following orders. The war would drag on until June 1953, months after Acheson had returned to private life.

military forces became an independent government, the Federal Republic of Germany, more commonly called West Germany. The new nation was established in June 1949.

However, by June, Cold War events began turning more ominous. First, communist forces led by **Mao Zedong** (1893–1976; see entry) finally overthrew the Chinese govern-

ment after years of civil war. Then in August, the Soviet Union tested an atomic bomb, surprising U.S. officials, who had thought the Soviets were far behind them in research and development. The United States was no longer the only nation with atomic weapons. In reaction, Acheson promoted development of the much more powerful hydrogen bomb, despite objections by other key advisors. Acheson also guided a study of foreign policy written by policy analyst Paul H. Nitze (1907–). Known as National Security Council Memorandum 68 (NSC-68), the study reflected Acheson’s “get tough” approach to stopping the expansion of Soviet influence. The report called for substantial increases in military spending. It was not immediately well received by Congress because of its costs, but the North Korean invasion of South Korea (see box) on June 25, 1950, spurred Congress to adopt it.

Acheson recommended a military counterattack against North Korean forces. Meanwhile, he suspected that the Soviet Union might try to attack Western Europe while the United States was preoccupied with Korea, so he took steps to try to prevent this: He tried unsuccessfully to lobby Europe to rearm Germany; however, he did manage to increase the number of U.S. troops in Europe. He also appointed the highly popular World War II general **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; see entry) supreme commander of NATO. The army and air force grew dramatically as Acheson sought to triple the U.S. defense budget. In addition, Acheson established new U.S. military bases in Morocco, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Japan, and provided support to the French in Vietnam, where they were fighting communist rebel forces.

While Acheson was busily serving as chief advisor to Truman regarding the Korean War, he had to deal with continual attacks from U.S. senator **Joseph R. McCarthy** (1908–1957; see entry) of Wisconsin and his supporters, who accused Acheson of being “soft on communism.” They made these accusations because the communists had gained ground in China and Eastern Europe during the late 1940s, while Acheson was secretary of state. McCarthy also charged that communists had infiltrated Acheson’s State Department. Critics constantly pressured Acheson to resign. To escape from public pressure, Acheson took refuge on his eighteenth-century Maryland farm, where he made furniture by hand.



## An active life after public service

In January 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower entered the White House and Acheson's time as secretary of state came to a close. Though retired, Acheson remained active in foreign policy for years. He was a leading critic of Eisenhower and Eisenhower's secretary of state, **John Foster Dulles** (1888–1959; see entry), especially of their heavy reliance on nuclear deterrents. Acheson served as an informal advisor to Presidents **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) and **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69; see entry), continuing to advocate tough positions against Soviet actions. For example, he urged Kennedy to bomb the newly discovered Soviet missile sites during the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962. (Kennedy chose a less aggressive but successful course of blockading Cuba.) Acheson also supported U.S. military action in Vietnam until 1968, when he became convinced the war was no longer winnable. At that time, he advised President Johnson to begin scaling

Advisor Dean Acheson (center, with white mustache) counsels President Lyndon B. Johnson (right, with pillow behind head). Others at the table include U.S. ambassador to the UN George Ball (far left) and Secretary of State Dean Rusk (smoking pipe).  
*Photograph by Yoichi R. Okamoto. Reproduced by permission of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library Collection.*

down U.S. involvement. President **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74; see entry) and his national security advisor, **Henry Kissinger** (1923–; see entry), called on Acheson in 1969 for advice.

Acheson wrote many books and articles on foreign policy and politics in his later years. He won the Pulitzer Prize in history for his 1969 book *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department*. On October 12, 1971, Acheson died suddenly of a stroke while working at his desk on his Sandy Spring, Maryland, farm. He was seventy-eight.

## For More Information

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# Konrad Adenauer

**Born January 5, 1876  
Cologne, Germany  
Died April 19, 1967  
Rhoendorf, West Germany**

**West German chancellor**



**K**onrad Adenauer was the first chancellor of West Germany, officially known as the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). He held the office from 1949 to 1963, taking West Germany from postwar military occupation to national independence. This was a critical period for reestablishing governmental relations with other nations and for encouraging economic recovery after Germany's defeat in World War II (1939–45). Adenauer's period of leadership coincided with the early years of the Cold War (1945–91). The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that lasted from 1945 to 1991.

Adenauer, a staunch anticommunist, created strong economic and military ties with the democratic West (Western Europe and the United States). Through his fourteen years of leadership, postwar West Germany established sound foreign and domestic policies and made an astonishing economic recovery. Adenauer was the longest-serving democratically elected leader in modern German history.

"There is no doubt that the construction of a competent Federal Government effectively from a standing start was one of the greatest of Adenauer's formidable achievements."

— *Historian Charles Williams*

**Konrad Adenauer.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

## **An early start in politics**

Konrad Adenauer was born in January 1876 to a middle-class Roman Catholic family in the city of Cologne, Germany. His father, Johann Konrad Adenauer, was a Prussian soldier and government worker who insisted on college educations for his three sons. After graduating from high school in 1894, Konrad Adenauer studied political science and law in college. Following graduation from the University of Bonn in 1900, he passed the German bar exam and briefly worked in the Cologne prosecutor's office as a lawyer. Adenauer joined a private law firm in 1902 and through this job became acquainted with politically influential Cologne residents. The head of his law firm was the leader of the Central Party in Cologne, a nationwide Catholic-oriented political party. The Central Party's power base was in several regions of Germany that had large Catholic populations, including the Rhineland, where Cologne was located. Adenauer advanced further into the political life of Cologne, and in 1904 he married Emma Weyer, daughter of a wealthy and prominent family. Her uncle was mayor of Cologne. Konrad and Emma would have three children.

Interested in holding political office, Adenauer won his first public position in 1906 on Cologne's city council. By 1909, Adenauer had become an assistant to his wife's uncle, the mayor. When World War I (1914–18) broke out, Adenauer took charge of managing Cologne's food supply, an important responsibility in such a large city. During the war, Adenauer suffered two personal traumas: In October 1916, his wife died from lingering complications of childbirth. Then in March 1917, Adenauer was in a serious car accident and received severe facial injuries. Numerous surgeries permanently changed the appearance of his face.

## **Mayor of Cologne**

While recovering in the hospital, Adenauer won election as mayor of Cologne in September 1917. At only forty-one years of age, he was mayor of the third-largest city in Germany. In August 1919, Adenauer remarried. With his new wife, Auguste Zinsser, he had four children. Serving as mayor of Cologne for sixteen years, Adenauer gained prominence as a political representative of the Rhineland's regional interests

and a leading Central Party member. Adenauer was a very hardworking, reserved person who could be very forceful. Cologne prospered under his leadership, and he was popular with the voters. There was public pressure for him to run in the 1921 and 1926 elections for chancellor of the national German government—the Weimar Republic—which was established after Germany's defeat in World War I. However, he chose not to run for chancellor and, instead, won reelection as mayor of Cologne in 1929.

Adenauer was one of the early opponents of Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), the leader of the Nazi Party (known primarily for its brutal policies of racism) in Germany. In February 1933, two months after Hitler gained power in Germany, Adenauer was forced to flee Cologne with his family because he had refused to raise the Nazi flag on city buildings when Hitler came for a visit. Adenauer was arrested in 1934 and again in 1944, narrowly avoiding execution. His wife would later die from injuries she sustained while being questioned about his whereabouts. Between 1933 and 1945, Adenauer remained out of politics and kept out of sight, sometimes staying in a religious monastery.

## **Creating a new Germany**

When Cologne was liberated from Nazi control in March 1945, Adenauer temporarily regained his mayor position. However, conflicts with officials of the British-occupied zone of Germany led him to depart once again in October 1945. Adenauer harbored a disdain for the British throughout the rest of his political career. He turned his attention to national politics and helped form a new political party, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). Hoping to gain wider appeal than the Central Party, the CDU sought support from both Catholics and Protestants. Adenauer became head of the party in the British-occupied zone of Germany in 1946, at age seventy. By 1949, he served as head of the party for all of West Germany. The CDU was so strong that it essentially governed West Germany while West Germany remained under Allied occupation forces. In his leadership position, Adenauer played a key role in deciding the future direction of West Germany. He helped draft the West German constitution, completed in May 1949. The new country would be democratic

and capitalist and strongly allied with the West. By 1949, Germany was formally divided into two countries: West Germany became the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG); East Germany became the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and aligned itself with the communist bloc, or group, of countries led by the Soviet Union.

West Germany held its first parliamentary elections in August 1949. Victorious, Adenauer became the first chancellor of postwar West Germany. Adenauer was vehemently anticommunist and believed the best alliance for his country was with the United States. Adenauer planned to lead West Germany through major steps of economic development and rearmament, or building up its military supplies, all the while hoping that communist rule in East Germany would eventually come to an end. As he put his plan into action, he became recognized as a major European statesman. Ultimately, he hoped to reunite West and East Germany.

## **A plan for independence**

The first step in his plan came in 1950: Adenauer believed Germany needed a renewed relationship with France to begin building a strong, unified Europe. However, after suffering through two world wars in the past forty years, both of which Germany began, the French population was fearful of the Germans. In forging foreign ties, Adenauer had to overcome the horrible legacy of Hitler. France responded to his overtures with the Schuman Plan. This was an economic plan that proposed having West Germany and France pool their coal and steel resources, both critically needed by West Germany for its rebuilding. Adenauer was very pleased. It was a first step toward European integration. It was also the first formal acceptance of the West German government by a foreign nation.

Next, Adenauer sought to build a European defense alliance, called the European Defense Community (EDC). However, France rejected the proposal. Adenauer was dismayed by this rejection. When Adenauer threatened to join an alliance with the Soviet Union for defense, Western European countries and the United States invited West Germany to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). NATO was a re-



cently formed defense alliance including Western European countries, the United States, and Canada. West Germany joined NATO in 1955. To reduce France's fears about Germany, Adenauer agreed to limit the size of the West German military, and Britain agreed to station fifty thousand troops in West Germany for fifty years, for military defense purposes. France feared a remilitarized Germany after suffering through two wars with Germany already in the twentieth century. In May 1952, Adenauer had signed a treaty to formally end military occupation of West Germany in May 1955, meaning Germany could now make its own political decisions.

Perhaps in a last-ditch effort to derail Western European integration involving West Germany, the Soviet Union proposed a plan for reunifying East and West Germany. Though that was one of Adenauer's ultimate goals, he did not trust the Soviets and believed they were simply trying to impede West Germany's growing attachments to the West; he thought they would eventually seek to gain control of West

**German chancellor Konrad Adenauer reviews his troops in 1956.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Germany, just as they had done in East Germany. Adenauer wanted German reunification, but only on his own terms. He endured substantial criticism from the West German population for favoring Western alliances over Soviet reunification proposals.

Membership in NATO gave West Germany a higher status. Quickly, the Soviets invited Adenauer to Moscow for talks to establish formal relations. He went to Moscow in September 1955. Until 1966, the Soviet Union was the only nation to officially recognize both East and West Germany. The United States would not recognize East Germany until 1974. The Soviets also agreed to return German prisoners of war from World War II, who had been held for over a decade.

The next step for Adenauer was formation of the European Economic Community, more commonly known as the Common Market, in March 1957. The Common Market created much stronger economic ties between the European countries. Having achieved military and economic alliances for West Germany, Adenauer rose to the pinnacle of his popularity. At eighty-one years of age, he won reelection in a landslide. His CDU party held a strong majority in the West German government.

## **An aging leader**

When Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970) returned to power in France in 1958, Adenauer renewed his efforts to strengthen ties with France. Discussions between the two leaders began in September 1958. In 1963, the two countries signed the Franco-German Friendship Treaty. The treaty called for military cooperation and much closer coordination on foreign policy decisions.

A Cold War crisis came to Adenauer's doorstep in 1961, when Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry) ordered the construction of the Berlin Wall. Khrushchev wanted to stop the steady flow of residents from the communist East Germany into the democratic West Germany. Adenauer chose not to contest construction of the wall, bringing considerable criticism from the West German population. As a result, Adenauer's political party, the CDU,



## Willy Brandt

Konrad Adenauer led West Germany through its initial years, establishing its place in the world community of nations. He looked toward the United States for protection from potential Soviet communist expansion. Serving as West German chancellor from 1969 to 1974, Willy Brandt (1913–1992) continued to expand West Germany's international influence by seeking to ease tensions with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Like Adenauer, Brandt (born Karl Herbert Frahm) fled from the Nazis in 1933. After World War II, Brandt returned to German politics. He was elected to the first West German legislature in 1949. Brandt then served as mayor of West Berlin from 1957 to 1966.

In the late 1960s, Brandt introduced a new policy called *Ostpolitik*, which recognized East Germany and territorial changes that occurred at the conclusion of World War II, including the new boundaries of Poland. Brandt signed nonaggression agreements with the Soviet Union and Poland in 1970. He also recognized the territorial gains the Soviet Union had made in



**Willy Brandt.** *Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

Eastern Europe during World War II. Later agreements would ease travel restrictions between East and West Germany. In 1971, Brandt received the Nobel Peace Prize for easing Cold War tensions. After leaving office in 1974, he became a leader in the European antinuclear movement in the early 1980s. He lobbied against U.S. escalation of a new nuclear arms race and placement of new nuclear missiles in Europe.

lost strength in the West German government in the September 1961 elections. Now eighty-five years old, Adenauer refused to step down as chancellor, despite increasing pressure. In 1963, his last year as chancellor, Adenauer accompanied U.S. president **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) on Kennedy's famous visit to the Berlin Wall. However, by that time, Adenauer was considered out of touch

with the younger generations and with changing international relations. He finally resigned in October 1963 but remained chairman of the CDU party until March 1966. Much of his time, however, was spent writing a four-volume set of memoirs, tending his rose garden, and painting. Adenauer died on April 19, 1967, at the age of ninety-one. His funeral drew worldwide tributes unprecedented for a German leader.

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# Salvador Allende

**Born July 26, 1908**  
**Valparaíso, Chile**  
**Died September 11, 1973**  
**Santiago, Chile**

**Chilean president**



**S**alvador Allende made history by being the first democratically elected socialist head of state in the Western Hemisphere. Socialism is an economic and political system in which the government owns most means of production and profits are shared with everyone. Trained as a doctor, Allende devoted most of his life to improving the lives of working-class Chileans. He wanted to create a true republic of the working class, in which democracy ruled—a country dedicated to their health, welfare, and development. He wanted to show that a peaceful road to socialism existed.

Allende's unique background allowed him to play a crucial role in the creation of the Popular Unity Coalition that brought him to power. He was able to unify traditional and revolutionary political parties to create a group to govern Chile. But in doing so, he touched off a frenzy of concern in the Western world. The United States and other Western countries worried that Chile's socialism provided an opportunity for communist countries, especially the Soviet Union, to gain a foothold in the Americas. Communism is a governmental system in which a single political party, the Commu-

"I am a militant socialist, a man who has realized that unity alone held out the hope of victory for the people."

**Salvador Allende.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

nist Party, controls nearly all aspects of society. In a communist economy, private ownership of businesses and property is prohibited so that the goods produced and the wealth accumulated can be shared equally by all.

## Early life

Salvador Allende Gossens was born on July 26, 1908, into an upper-middle-class family in Valparaíso, Chile. His father, Salvador Allende Castro, was a lawyer. His mother, Laura Gossens, was a teacher and stressed a freethinking family atmosphere. Allende's family had a long tradition of service to the country. At sixteen years of age, following his education in Chile's public schools, Salvador Allende volunteered for military service. He went on to earn an officer's rank in the army reserves.

His family also had a long tradition of participation in radicalism, in which extreme change in politics is advocated. His father and uncle were part of the reformist efforts (mass changes) of the Radical Party in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Allende was exposed to radical ideas and concepts early in life. When his father died, Salvador Allende declared that he would dedicate his life to the social struggle, or concerns related to such issues as health and employment, of the people of Chile.

After his discharge from the military, Allende went on to study medicine at the University of Chile. He was a good student and held several leadership positions while in school. He was president of the student medical center, vice chairman of the student federation, and a delegate to the university council. He married Hortensia Bussy and had three daughters.

Allende's education was not restricted to medicine. He began reading the works of political philosopher Karl Marx (1818–1883) and writings by former Soviet leader Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924). Allende became convinced that a socialist revolution would solve Chile's social and economic problems. He did not, however, agree with the rigidity of the Soviet Union's communist policies. While in school, Allende helped found the Chilean Socialist Party as a socialist alternative to the Communist Party's support for the Soviet Union.

Allende's education was interrupted by frequent suspensions from school and at least two arrests, all of which stemmed from his political activities. Allende was protesting the dictatorship of General Carlos Ibáñez del Campo (1877–1960). Allende was awarded a doctorate in medicine in 1937, but because of his political activism and his outspokenness, he found that potential employers were wary of offering him high-level medical positions. He ended up in a series of lower-level jobs.

## Political life

Though Allende's medical career never really blossomed, his political career began to take off. He served as secretary general of the Socialist Party of Chile in 1933. In 1937, he was elected to Chile's Chamber of Deputies, the lower house of Chile's congress. While in congress, Allende introduced many bills addressing issues of public health, social welfare, and women's rights. He developed a reputation as a champion of the poor.

Allende served as Chile's minister of health from 1939 to 1943, during which time he focused on the social causes of poor health. Allende knew that individual decisions always affected personal health, but he believed that social factors, such as poverty, access to health care, and the living conditions of each person, also played a role. He tried to address these factors through changes in health insurance and industrial safety laws. While he was minister of health, he published a book, *The Medical-Social Reality in Chile*.

In 1945, Allende was elected to Chile's Senate, the upper house of Chile's congress. Allende served three eight-year terms in the Senate, which included stints as vice president and then president of the Senate. He also unsuccessfully ran for president of Chile a number of times. He was suspended from the Socialist Party for a while in 1952 because of his support for the Communist Party of Chile, which was outlawed at that time. In 1956, he served as the first president of the Popular Revolutionary Action Front (FRAP), a communist-socialist coalition, or group. In 1970, Allende was finally successful in his bid for the presidency and became the first popularly elected socialist head of state in the Americas.



## Allende's Journeys in the Communist World

In 1958, Salvador Allende visited Cuba and began lifelong friendships with **Fidel Castro** (1926–; see entry), who became president of communist Cuba in 1959, and revolutionary Che Guevara (1928–1967). Later, as a senator in Chile, Allende visited communist North Vietnam and was hosted by North Vietnamese leader **Ho Chi Minh** (1890–1969; see entry). Allende also visited North Korea and East Germany, two more countries that had communist governments.

Allende continued to emphasize that he did not want violent revolution in

Chile, but his visits and friendships in the communist world frightened many people, both inside and outside of Chile. Chileans worried that Allende did not seem to recognize the repression and lack of civil rights that were common under communist governments. Still, Allende asserted that he believed in democratic evolution, not revolution. When Allende was elected as president of Chile, his friend Guevara sent him a note saying that Allende was seeking change through political means, while Guevara sought it through revolution.

### President-Elect Allende

In Chile, there were numerous political parties. To elect a president, various parties often had to cooperate with one another and agree to vote for one person. A candidate needed at least a plurality (most votes) to make the runoff election in which to seek a majority. By the late 1960s, Allende was considered past his prime as a politician. However, he was also recognized as the only person who could bring together the groups necessary to win the election. Allende was able to unite the Socialist Party with the Radical Party, the Communist Party, the Christian Democrats, and other reform parties in Chile to craft a coalition—called the Popular Unity Coalition—that was able to garner enough support to win the election.

Allende won plurality (36 percent), but since he did not receive a majority of votes, he had to participate in a runoff in a second election to gain a majority. In the runoff, Allende won. However, the 36 percent in the initial balloting represented only a tiny percentage of Chile's total population. Since the number of votes Allende received represented less than half the voters, the Chilean congress had to confirm his victory in the runoff election. Confirmation was not guaranteed, and much negotiation took place.



Finally, the Chilean congress agreed to confirm Allende as president in exchange for his support of some changes to Chile's constitution. The changes reflected the concerns of many Chileans that Allende's socialist affiliations would lead to a deterioration in the people's rights, similar to that seen in the Soviet Union. Allende instituted major changes in the economic system, such as wage increases for low-paid workers while freezing prices of goods. He also nationalized companies, such as copper mines, owned by U.S. citizens without compensating for losses; pushed for collective farms; and nationalized many local businesses. Allende supported the constitutional amendments guaranteeing freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, and other basic freedoms. He became president in 1970.

### **Cold War fears**

Allende had run for president on a platform, or political program, of moderate reform. He advocated agricultural

**Chilean president Salvador Allende waves to supporters.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

reform, which usually meant the redistribution of land from large landowners to people with no land. He also supported labor reform, social welfare programs, and liberal economic programs. One of his more controversial proposals involved Chile's copper mines. These were very important to Chile's economy. Copper mining and production made up a huge part of Chile's exports each year—about 75 percent. But companies based in the United States controlled the copper mines. Allende and many other Chileans believed that the copper mines should be controlled by Chile. Allende proceeded to nationalize ownership of the copper mines.

The United States did not want Allende to be Chile's president. U.S. president **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74; see entry) was strongly anticommunist and did not believe that Chile should have a socialist government. When Allende was elected, Nixon did not send him the customary greeting of congratulations. Nixon feared that Chile would be only the first of the South American governments to fall to communism, that Chile would pave the way for others. Allende added to Nixon's fears when he resumed diplomatic ties with communist Cuba within ten days of taking office.

Immediately following Allende's election, many of the wealthier people in Chile sent their money out of the country. They were afraid that Allende would take their money and give it to poor people. In addition, about fifteen thousand people left Chile. Trying to calm his nation's fears, Allende said that 98 percent of Chileans had nothing to fear from his government, but many people worried that they were part of the 2 percent that would be affected.

Rumors spread of a violent response to Allende's election. Some people were pushing the military to take control of Chile and overthrow Allende. The move to overthrow Allende was coming from reactionary people in Chile. Reactionary opinions involve a former, and sometimes outdated, political policy. Allende said that his supporters would answer force with force.

Allende tried to alleviate U.S. fears of a communist government in the Americas by promising that Chile would never permit its military bases to be used against the United States. The United States was not convinced and began pressuring other countries to reduce or eliminate trade with

Chile, thereby seriously hurting its economy. However, because conservative Chileans were affiliated with the military, the United States continued to send money and equipment to the Chilean military.

## **Deterioration**

In the early 1970s, the world was in the midst of a recession, or reduced economic activity. Chile was no exception. Inflation, or increasing consumer prices, was high, and jobs were scarce. There were shortages of the basic items required for living, and food was rationed. The Chilean people became more and more frantic about the economic situation.

Allende tried to respond, but the U.S. economic blockade made it difficult. In addition, he instituted some programs that frightened the Chilean people. For example, he started a neighborhood surveillance program and applied pressure on opposition newspapers to quiet the voices critical of his programs. For many Chileans, Allende's programs seemed too much like the confining programs of the Soviet Union. Allende lost even more support by appearing to be soft on crime, which continued to escalate.

In 1972 and 1973, general strikes, or work stoppages, crippled the Chilean economy. Workers and shopkeepers were upset with the inflation and lack of goods, and they protested by refusing to work. The economy began to collapse. The country was falling apart, but the military, fortified by U.S. contributions, was strong.

## **The coup**

On September 11, 1973, the military put into action a plan to overthrow President Allende. The military surrounded Allende's palace; inside, Allende, his daughter Beatriz, and his supporters waited. Allende's daughter was a fervent supporter of the far left, or liberal, component of the Socialist Party. Some historians have suggested that Allende's decision to nationalize businesses was partially driven by a wish not to disappoint her. Allende made one final speech affirming his belief in the Chilean people, and then died. It was never determined whether he shot himself or was killed by an assassin.

The coup was very violent. Several thousand people were killed or injured in the overthrow of Allende. Allende was buried in an unmarked grave, reportedly so that the grave site would not become a shrine. In 1990, he was reburied with honor. Allende became a hero for many liberals. With his commitment to workers' rights and the welfare of the poor, as well as his unwillingness to bow to pressure from the United States, he inspired many liberals in America. Allende's stature only grew when accusations surfaced that the United States, specifically the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), had engineered his downfall. For the political right, or conservatives, Allende continued to stand for the threat of communism.

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# Clement R. Attlee

**Born January 3, 1883**  
**Putney, England**  
**Died October 8, 1967**  
**London, England**

**British prime minister**



Clement Attlee was Britain's top leader from 1945 to 1951. Both before and after serving as prime minister, Attlee headed the British Labour Party, from 1935 to 1940 and from 1951 to 1955. The rise of the Labour Party made the British government a two-party system; the second party was the Conservative Party. Attlee substantially changed Britain's economic and political role in the world by dismantling the British Empire and bringing socialism, in the form of a national welfare system, to Britain. Socialism is a system in which the government owns or controls all means of production and all citizens share in the work and products. Operated by the national government, a national welfare system provides financial help and other forms of assistance to poor and needy citizens.

Attlee's tenure as his nation's leader occurred when the Cold War was just beginning. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that lasted from 1945 to 1991. During the Cold War, the United States ran a democratic system of government, which consists of several political parties

"On a personal level, Attlee had a shyness ... which is unique in modern British politics. A small number of people are like this in all walks of life, yet none but Clem Attlee has ever become prime minister. His shyness camouflaged his ability." — *Author Robert Pearce*

**Clement R. Attlee.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

whose members are elected to various government offices by vote of the general population. The United States operates under a capitalist economic system. This means prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government interference. In contrast, the Soviet Union ran a communist governmental system led, in which a single political party, the Communist Party, control almost all aspects of society. In a communist economy, private ownership of property and business is prohibited so that goods produced and wealth accumulated can be shared equally by all. The low-key Attlee had to develop Britain's early Cold War policies and provide leadership to a nation greatly weakened by two world wars.

### **Dedication to the poor**

Clement Richard Attlee was born in January 1883 in Putney, England, the fourth son of a devoutly religious family. His father, Henry Attlee, was a prosperous London lawyer, and his mother, Ellen Watson, was educated as well. Raised in a comfortable middle-class neighborhood, Clement was educated at Haileybury College boarding school and then Oxford University. He studied law at Inner Temple and set up his own law office in 1905. That same year, he began volunteer work for a boys club at a settlement house in London's impoverished East End. Settlement houses were private organizations established in poor neighborhoods in the late nineteenth century to provide assorted social services to nearby residents. Attlee moved into the house in 1907, serving as a house manager.

Greatly influenced by the poverty of London's East End, he developed socialist political beliefs and a commitment to social reform. Attlee joined a socialist organization, the Fabian Society, in 1907, and in 1908 he became politically active in the Independent Labour Party. In 1909, he abandoned his law career for politics and would continue living in the London slums until 1923. During this period, Attlee lectured in social sciences at Ruskin College and Oxford University and later was appointed as a lecturer at the London School of Economics. Attlee was fully dedicated to improving the lives of Britain's working class.

## Political career takes off

At the outbreak of World War I (1914–18), Attlee joined the British army and served in France and Africa. He attained the rank of major, a title he would continue to use when his military service was over. After the war, he returned to teach at the London School of Economics. However, his political career soon began. In 1919, he was elected mayor of Stepney of East London and became a member of the London Labour Party's executive committee. In 1922, Attlee won election to Parliament. He also married Violet Millar of Hampstead that year; they would have four children.

Despite his liberal politics, Attlee was very conservative in his lifestyle and mannerisms. He was strongly family-oriented and showed little egotism or flamboyant behavior. Some even regarded him as colorless. Attlee did not have notable public speaking skills; he was to the point and used few words. However, he was known for his witty one-liners. An excellent administrator, Attlee much preferred working behind the scenes.

Through the 1920s, Attlee moved up in Parliament to undersecretary for war in 1924 and various other cabinet positions through 1930. In 1931, Attlee resigned from Parliament to become deputy leader of the Labour Party. He was elected Labour Party leader in October 1935. The Labour Party rose to prominence in opposition to the well-established Conservative Party, and thus a two-party political system in Britain was born.

Attlee strongly opposed Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's appeasement policies toward Nazi Germany. (Appeasement meant giving in to Germany's demands; the Nazi Party was known primarily for its brutal policies of racism.) Attlee proposed taking action against Germany's military expansion in Europe. Chamberlain (1869–1940) was a member of the Conservative Party, which opposed most Labour Party beliefs, but when war broke out in 1939, Chamberlain asked Attlee to be part of a wartime coalition, or partnership. Attlee refused and blocked all Labour Party participation, leading to Chamberlain's resignation in May 1940. **Winston Churchill** (1874–1965; see entry), also of the Conservative Party, replaced Chamberlain.

Though he belonged to a different political party, Churchill shared Attlee's views regarding Germany. Churchill appointed Attlee to his five-member War Cabinet to perform

various duties. By 1942, Attlee was deputy prime minister. While Churchill focused on the war, Attlee took care of the home front. Under Attlee's leadership, the British government took control of every aspect of the economy to support the war effort.

Britain's war effort was successful. With the Allies poised to defeat Germany, Attlee represented Britain at the United Nations organizational meeting in April 1945 in San Francisco, California. Also at that time, Attlee and other Labour Party members pulled out of Churchill's wartime coalition government, forcing a general election for prime minister in July; Attlee and Churchill were the two candidates. With the election votes still being counted, both Attlee and Churchill traveled to the Potsdam Conference in Germany, a postwar meeting of the victorious Big Three war allies: the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. While at the conference, Attlee learned he had won in a landslide, so he then took over for Churchill in the discussions.

## **A changing Britain**

After World War II (1939–45), Attlee embarked on a dramatic change of British government policies, both at home in Britain and in foreign relations. He had hoped to transform Britain's government-controlled wartime economy into a peacetime socialist economy. However, because the defeated Germany was no longer a threat, wartime aid from the United States abruptly stopped. This left the British economy in shambles. For many Britons, hardships immediately after the war were worse than they had been during the war. Shortages grew worse: Civilians were restricted from using gasoline, and even potatoes, a staple food, were rationed. In an effort to increase industrial productivity as well as support increased social services, Attlee began to curtail British foreign commitments; this allowed him to reduce the military budget and brought soldiers back into the civilian workforce. In 1945 and 1946, Attlee nationalized, or placed under the control of the national government, basic British industries such as gas, electricity, coal, railways, civil aviation, roads, and the Bank of England. These industries were losing large amounts of money at the time, so opposition to Attlee's plan was mini-

mal. With the British economy near collapse, the United States provided a \$937 million loan in 1945, shortly after the surrender of Germany. Even with this help, Attlee had to maintain strict, wartime-like measures, such as banning gasoline for civilian use and rationing potatoes; high taxes; and wage and price controls to boost the British economy. Because of the persistent hardships, Attlee's public support steadily dwindled as the middle class switched allegiance to the Conservative Party.

In 1947, Attlee nationalized more of the economy, including the iron and steel industries. This was an unpopular move with both labor and industry because they were losing ownership of their industries to the state. Attlee also made other major changes in 1947 by greatly expanding social services to Britons. He extended social insurance and established a national health care system called the National Health Service.

## **A diminished world role**

The dramatic changes in domestic policies directly influenced Attlee's foreign policy. In order to increase industrial productivity and to pay for the expanded social services and subsidize, or financially support, the nationalized industries at home, Attlee had to make cuts in foreign commitments. He began to dismantle the British Empire, which included colonies around the world. In its place he established the British Commonwealth of Nations, an alliance of Britain and its former colonies. Attlee granted independence to Jordan in 1946 and gave India its independence in 1947. In recognition of ethnic differences in the region, he created Pakistan from part of British-controlled India. Attlee also ended British control of Egypt and Palestine.

Besides trimming Britain's colonies from the budget, Attlee ended foreign aid to other countries. In February 1947, he ended financial aid to Greece and Turkey. At the time, the Greek government was fighting a communist-supported revolt, and Turkey was under pressure from the Soviet Union to allow the Soviets access to the Mediterranean Sea. Alarmed by Britain's withdrawal from these two countries, the United States quickly decided to replace Britain in the area. On March 12, 1947, President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served

British prime minister Clement R. Attlee (bottom right) consults with U.S. president Harry S. Truman. Secretary of State Dean Acheson (left) and Secretary of Defense George C. Marshall stand behind them. *Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*



1945–53; see entry) sought economic aid for Greece and Turkey from Congress and announced the Truman Doctrine. The doctrine stated that the United States would provide assistance to countries combating communist aggression.

A major goal of Attlee's foreign policy was to draw the United States into a much greater role in protecting Europe from Soviet Communist expansion. U.S. aid for Greece and Turkey was the first step. Next would come the Marshall Plan



## British Atomic Bomb Program

While serving as Great Britain's prime minister, Clement Attlee had to make a key decision: to commit his nation to the nuclear arms race. During World War II, British, Canadian, and U.S. atomic scientists worked together to develop an atomic bomb as part of the top-secret Manhattan Project. In 1942, Britain's prime minister, Winston Churchill, reached a secret agreement with the United States about sharing technical atomic bomb information. Just after replacing Churchill as prime minister in July 1945, Attlee was informed of the atomic bomb project. The United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan in August 1945, ending World War II. Attlee suddenly had to deal with the nuclear age.

Attempting to avoid a nuclear arms race, Attlee desperately tried to develop agreements with the United States and the Soviet Union to ban atomic bombs. Unsuccessful in his attempts, Attlee gave British scientists the go-ahead in late September 1945 to conduct atomic energy research for civilian use. He still held back on the decision about atomic bomb production.

Others, including his foreign minister, **Ernest Bevin** (1881–1951; see entry), wanted Attlee to push ahead on the bomb.

Attlee was also trying to obtain the previously promised atomic secrets from the United States. However, shortly after World War II, Congress had passed a law prohibiting the United States from sharing scientific information about the bomb. President Harry S. Truman still privately indicated to Attlee that he would honor the earlier agreement. But when Britain formally requested assistance in April 1946, Truman refused to cooperate. It was clear that Britain would have to develop an atomic bomb on its own. By late 1946, unable to achieve any arms control agreements, Attlee knew it was time for Britain to produce its own bomb. He believed Britain needed the bomb to maintain a level of prestige with the United States. In January 1947, he secretly decided to move forward with development of the atomic bomb. Britain conducted its first successful test in 1952, joining the United States and the Soviet Union as one of the world's nuclear powers.

in mid-1947, a program that provided long-term economic assistance to Western Europe and Britain, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. NATO was a peacetime alliance of the United States and eleven other nations, and a key factor in the attempt to contain communism. Britain also became more aggressive against Soviet threats of expansion. Attlee approved the development of Britain's own atomic bomb program, and he began rearming Britain by taking money from social programs.

In 1950, Attlee supported a military response to the communist North Korean invasion of South Korea. This conflict soon mushroomed into the Korean War (1950–53). Attlee's decision proved highly unpopular among Britons and led to his final political demise. Postwar economic problems in Britain had gradually eroded his popular support. U.S. loans in 1945 and the Marshall Plan of 1947 were not enough to sustain the British economy or Attlee's popularity. In October 1951, Attlee resigned as prime minister, and Churchill won the position for a second time. In December 1955, after suffering a stroke, Attlee resigned as leader of the Labour Party.

### **An honored life**

Attlee received numerous awards for his dedicated service to Great Britain during difficult times. In 1951, he received the Order of Merit, and in 1955 he was knighted and granted an earldom, an honor that gave him a seat in the House of Lords, the upper house of British parliament. He was one of only four prime ministers in British history to receive these honors. He spent much time writing and giving lectures until he was disabled in 1966 by another stroke. He died in London in October 1967.

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# Ernest Bevin

**Born March 9, 1881**  
**Winsford, Cheshire, England**  
**Died April 14, 1951**  
**London, England**

**British foreign minister**



Immediately following the end of World War II (1939–45) in Europe, a general election was held in Great Britain for prime minister, Britain’s top leadership position. **Clement R. Attlee** (1883–1967; see entry), leader of the Labour Party, defeated wartime hero **Winston Churchill** (1874–1965; see entry) for the office. After his election, Attlee asked Ernest Bevin to be his foreign secretary. According to Mark Stephens’s 1985 book *Ernest Bevin: Unskilled Labourer and World Statesman, 1881–1951*, Attlee wanted “a heavy tank,” not “a sniper.”

Such was the hard-nosed, up-front character of Ernest Bevin. As British foreign minister from 1945 to 1951, Bevin had a major role in developing British foreign policy during the Cold War’s early years. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry between the democratic United States and the communist Soviet Union that lasted from 1945 to 1991.

## The rise of a leader

Ernest Bevin was born on March 9, 1881, to a poor mother, Diana Mercy Bevin, in Winsford, Cheshire, England.

“Unintelligent people always look for a scapegoat.”

**Ernest Bevin.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

He was the youngest of seven children. He never knew his father. His mother did domestic work and sometimes served as the village midwife, a person who helps mothers during childbirth. She died of cancer when he was eight. Orphaned, Ernest lived with a stepsister and her husband for awhile, and then left school at age eleven to seek work. He worked at various unskilled jobs until becoming a delivery driver, using a horse-drawn cart to deliver mineral water in the town of Bristol. He held the job for eleven years, until he was twenty-nine years old.

By 1908, Bevin's life had begun to take shape. He became involved in labor issues and married Florence Townley, the daughter of a Bristol wine taster. They had one child. Bevin's career took off in 1910, when he joined the Dockers' Union while they were on strike (a work stoppage in protest of low wages or unsatisfactory working conditions) in Bristol. He organized a new branch of the union for truck drivers. The expanded membership helped the dockworkers win their strike. Greatly enthused by his quick success, Bevin became a full-time labor organizer and exhibited great skill in negotiating and recruiting. Through his energetic leadership, working conditions on the docks improved, and he received increasing recognition. By 1914, Bevin was a national organizer for the Dockers' Union. During World War I (1914–18), he mobilized transport workers and unions to support Britain's war effort. By 1920, he was a top official in the dockworkers' union.

Bevin was an unusual character. He ate and drank excessively at times and smoked heavily. Short and stocky, he lumbered about awkwardly. He had poor table manners, and he spoke with poor grammar in a gravelly voice. But Bevin also had natural skills and behavioral traits that made him an effective negotiator in labor disputes and later in foreign policy conferences. His success in bitter negotiations with employers was attributed to his ruthless demeanor. He was abrupt, boastful, and self-righteous. His forceful character led to poor relations with the press and professional politicians. Yet surprisingly, he could be a very effective and impassioned orator at times, and above all, he was very imaginative.

Despite his outward arrogance, he inspired strong loyalty, obedience, and even affection in union members during his labor days and later among the British people in general.

Witnessing Bevin's twenty-five years as a union leader convinced newly elected prime minister Clement Attlee that Bevin had an ideal personality for dealing with the tough Soviet premier **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry) and other Soviet leaders. Some historians even claim Bevin's tough approach contributed to the beginning of the Cold War. Bevin battled growing Soviet influence by taking an early hardline position against Stalin and organizing alliances in opposition to the perceived Soviet threat, which became increasingly real as positions became cemented.

A major step in Bevin's labor career came in 1922, when he combined many small local unions into one, the Transport and General Workers' Union. Bevin led this trade union—the world's largest—until 1940. In 1937, Bevin was also elected chairman of the Trades Union Congress (TUC). The TUC is a national organization of British trade unions that was founded in 1868. Bevin had become one of the most powerful union leaders in Britain. As Nazi leader Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) rose to power in Germany through the 1930s, Bevin used his position to vigorously argue for rearming Britain so Britain could challenge the growing German threat.

Acknowledging Bevin's prominence in British labor circles, Winston Churchill, Britain's prime minister during World War II, appointed Bevin to the five-person War Cabinet in May 1940. Bevin's position was minister of labor and national service. He was charged with the daunting task of mobilizing British troops through unpopular measures such as a military draft, meaning certain citizens would be eligible to serve in the military if required, and restrictions on trade union activities, including strikes. The Emergency Powers Act of 1940 gave Bevin the power to shift the workforce between the armed forces, the war industry, and civilian needs. As World War II progressed, his mobilization program proved an incredible success.

## Foreign minister

In July 1945, Bevin traveled with Churchill and Attlee to Potsdam, Germany, for a postwar meeting of leaders from the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. The key purpose of the meeting was to determine the fate of Ger-



## Problems in Palestine

Great Britain had assumed control of Palestine, a region on the east coast of the Mediterranean inhabited by Arab peoples who had been under British colonial rule, in October 1918 at the end of World War I. Immediately following World War II, increased Jewish immigration into the area became a major concern. Persecuted during the war by German Nazi troops, many Jews fled Europe, hoping to find safety and better economic conditions in Palestine. Jews are believers of Judaism who trace their descent from Hebrews of the ancient biblical kingdom of Israel. Arabs are the inhabitants who occupy Southwest Asia and Northern Africa, including Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, and Egypt. Bevin faced the difficult task of maintaining good relations with the Arabs while dealing with the desire of Jews to establish a homeland for the many thousands fleeing Europe and the Soviet Union, where they faced religious persecution as well. Bevin hoped Britain could maintain a dominant role in the Middle

East, and he knew that would require good relations with the various Arab states. Therefore, because the Arab peoples were alarmed by the growing influx of Jews in the region, Bevin opposed Jewish immigration and the creation of an independent Jewish state in Palestinian territory. There were few Jews in the region to begin with, but with growing numbers, Arabs feared the Jews would create their own country, which they did; Arabs held a strong anti-Israel position, that Jews should be removed entirely from the Middle East region.

Bevin proposed a federated Jewish-Arab state, but negotiations on this proposal collapsed by 1948. A federated state would be similar in appearance to the United States, where a single central government exists but separate states under it control affairs within their borders. In an effort to gain independence and drive the British out of the region, Jewish terrorists, or radical rebels, began striking against British troops

many, which had been defeated in the war. While the meeting was taking place, Attlee learned he had defeated Churchill in the general elections for prime minister. Attlee then appointed Bevin foreign minister of the new British government. Though Bevin had no experience in foreign affairs, Attlee believed Bevin's toughness and long experience as a negotiator was needed. Bevin officially took office on July 26, 1945. Immediately, while at Potsdam, Bevin confronted the Soviets on their efforts to place a new postwar communist government in Poland. The Soviets backed off and promised to allow general elections. However, they did not fulfill the

in the area, leading to bloody clashes. On July 22, 1946, ninety-one people were killed when Zionists bombed British government and military offices. (Zionists were members of the Jewish movement to establish the state of Israel. They wanted to reestablish themselves in their biblical homeland and be safe from persecution in Europe and Russia.) Bevin turned to the United States for assistance, but President Harry S. Truman took a decidedly pro-Israel position. Against the advice of his advisors, Truman recognized Israel within hours of its establishment, thus creating much ill will with Arab countries in the region. Israel had been carved out of Arab lands with force. However, Truman was facing reelection in a tough political race and needed the support of the strong and wealthy pro-Israel lobby in the United States. With the increasing violence in Palestine, the British public was becoming less and less supportive of keeping British troops in the area. In frustration, Bevin decided to completely withdraw Britain, including

eighty thousand British soldiers, from the region. Giving up on long-term British influence in the region, Bevin announced that Britain's withdrawal would be completed by May 15, 1948.

Meanwhile, fighting became more intense between Israelis and Palestinians as the Zionists made territorial gains. On the same day that the last British commissioner departed, Israel declared independence. Within hours, U.S. president Truman extended formal recognition. Immediately, armies from Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Transjordan launched attacks against the newly formed country. Fighting continued through the remainder of 1948. Finally, Israel secured control of the region, and the fighting stopped. The failure to reach a peaceful settlement in British-controlled Palestine is considered the greatest failure of British foreign policy during the Cold War. Bevin was greatly criticized for his handling of the situation.

promise, and this deception would influence Bevin's decisions on other postwar issues. By 1946, Bevin came to the conclusion that the communist Soviets were intent on taking over all of Europe, including Great Britain.

The Potsdam Conference also established a council of foreign ministers to sign a peace treaty with Germany. Bevin hosted the first council meeting in London in September 1945, but it was unproductive. As it turned out, there would be no peace treaty until 1990, after the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe.

## Foreign policy

Addressing the growing Soviet threat, Bevin proclaimed economic restoration and the defense of Western Europe as his top priorities. Because the British economy had been severely weakened by World War II, Bevin began trying to shift European defense responsibilities to the United States. The first occasion came in February 1947 when Britain withdrew its longstanding financial support from Greece and Turkey. At the time, the Greek government was fighting a civil war against communist rebel forces. Turkey was under pressure from the Soviets to share its access to the Mediterranean Sea. Bevin approached the United States, asking U.S. leaders to fill the gap left by Britain and to make commitments to European security. President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry) immediately took up the challenge. The resulting Truman Doctrine, a U.S. pledge to assist governments being threatened by communist expansion or rebellion, came in March.

Bevin next argued for economic aid for Europe in general. The United States responded in July with the Marshall Plan, a massive program of economic aid to Western European countries, including Britain. Bevin helped create the Organization for European Economic Cooperation in April 1948 to coordinate dispersal of U.S. aid under the Marshall Plan.

True to his roots in organized labor, Bevin believed unity was strength, and he applied this belief to foreign affairs. After securing U.S. economic involvement in Europe's postwar reconstruction, Bevin sought a U.S. military commitment to European security. First, Bevin established the Brussels Treaty in March 1948, a defense pact between Britain, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. Next, Bevin sought to dramatically expand this alliance; his efforts led to the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in April 1949. NATO included the United States, Canada, and the Western European nations. Thanks in part to Bevin, NATO would bring a long period of peace to the European continent.

Bevin also pursued aggressive steps for Britain itself. He sought to rearm Britain and pursue a program to develop an atomic bomb. When the Soviets blockaded West Berlin in 1948, Bevin had the Royal Air Force take part in the massive airlift led by the United States to supply the shut-out West

Berliners with food and other essentials. Bevin even allowed the United States to station its bombers at a British air base. However, donating large amounts of British food and supplies to Germany via the airlift was not a popular cause among the British population, because they themselves were suffering from shortages. Furthermore, Britain's economic problems were worsened by increased military spending.

### Bevin and the East

Despite cooperative efforts such as the airlift, Bevin did not always see eye to eye with the United States on foreign policy issues. For example, under Bevin's guidance, Britain formally recognized the communist People's Republic of China (PRC) in January 1950. Communist forces had waged a long civil war against the Chinese government in the 1930s and 1940s. They finally won in 1949 and established the PRC. The overthrown government leaders fled to the island of Taiwan and established the Republic of China (ROC). Immediately, the United States officially recognized the ROC as the only legitimate government of China; nevertheless, Bevin and Britain stood by the PRC. They did this because the PRC represented most of the Chinese population and President **Chiang Kai-shek** (1887–1975; see entry) had not been popular with the Chinese people. Bevin also believed that differences between the communist Chinese and Soviet Union would eventually surface, and he wanted Britain to be able to take advantage by increasing ties with China further at the time of the split. The United States did not recognize the Communist PRC until 1979.



**British foreign minister Ernest Bevin signs a document in his office in 1947.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Bevin did support the U.S. decision to militarily respond to North Korea's invasion of South Korea, which occurred on June 25, 1950. Bevin readily committed British troops to a United Nations military force dominated by the United States. However, Bevin strongly opposed the desire by U.S. general **Douglas MacArthur** (1880–1964; see entry) to invade the PRC, a plan MacArthur announced after successfully pushing the communist North Korean forces back north, all the way to the border with the PRC. In fact, Bevin's protest contributed to MacArthur's dismissal by President Truman. Bevin's commitment of British troops to the Korean War (1950–53) was unpopular with the British public and ultimately led to the end of the Labour Party's control of the British government. The Conservative Party candidate Winston Churchill replaced Clement Attlee as prime minister in the fall of 1951.

With his health failing, Bevin orchestrated one last feat in foreign affairs in 1950. He arranged for a \$5 billion aid package to Southeast Asian countries, called the Colombo Plan, to help fend off communist expansion. Bevin resigned on March 9, 1951, his seventieth birthday, and died five weeks later. Though not versed in international relations to begin with, Bevin is regarded as one of the best foreign ministers in British history.

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# Leonid Brezhnev

**Born December 19, 1906**  
**Kamenskoye, Ukraine**  
**Died November 10, 1982**  
**Moscow, Russia**

**General secretary of the  
Soviet Communist Party**



**W**hen chosen to succeed **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry) as the leader of the Soviet Communist Party, Leonid Brezhnev was fifty-eight years old. Says author John L. Keep, in *A History of the Soviet Union, 1945–1991: Last of the Empires*, Brezhnev was “sturdily built, beetle-browed ... a cheerful and sociable man who treated others courteously and had considerable charm. There was also a darker, more devious side to his character.”

Apparently Brezhnev showed both his tough side and his charm early in his career in the Communist Party. He moved up through the party ranks swiftly while tackling challenging assignments. He would travel to rural areas to impose Soviet rule on peasants and replace local leaders with the Communist Party system. Unfortunately, little is known of this early period of Brezhnev’s life. When he was later chosen to succeed Khrushchev, Brezhnev was probably considered by most as a short-term, safe choice. However, Brezhnev proved to be a long-term stabilizing force in the Communist Party. The party bureaucracy would flourish under his eighteen years of steady leadership (1964–82) during the Cold War.

“Whatever else may divide us, Europe is our common home; a common fate has linked us through the centuries, and it continues to link us today.”

**Leonid Brezhnev.** *Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

The Cold War was a prolonged conflict between the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union, the world's two superpowers; the battle lasted from 1945 to 1991. The weapons of this conflict were words—propaganda and threats. Communism is a political and economic system in which the Communist Party controls nearly all aspects of citizens' lives. In a communist economy, private ownership of property is banned. This system is not compatible with American political and economic values, in which a capitalist system allows property to be privately owned. Production, distribution, and prices of goods are determined by competition in an open market that operates with relatively little government intervention. A variety of political parties and public elections give citizens a voice in their government.

### Coming of age in a communist state

In December 1906, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev was born to Russian working-class parents in the mining town of Kamenskoye, Ukraine, later renamed Dniprodzerzhynsk, Ukraine. Little is known of his childhood until 1921. Then, at age fifteen, he began working in the same steel mill as his father, Ilya Brezhnev. Leonid was only eleven years old when the communists gained control of Russia in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. In 1922, the Soviet Union was created, and Brezhnev joined the Young Communist League, known as Komsomol. This membership allowed him to enter a technical school. His studies qualified him as a land surveyor, and beginning in 1927 he held several rural public administrative jobs in the Kursk and Ural regions of the Soviet Union. By 1931, he returned home and began studies at the Dniprodzerzhynsk Metallurgical Institute. That same year, he joined the Communist Party and married Viktoria Petrovna, a nurse. After graduating in 1935, Brezhnev became an engineer and worked in the Dniprodzerzhynsk steel mill for two years.

Under the communist regime of Soviet premier **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry), Brezhnev's career in the Communist Party flourished. Brezhnev's role in Stalin's Great Terror, which lasted from 1936 to 1938, is not known, but during that period Stalin purged many party leaders. Millions of citizens and leaders were executed or imprisoned. Stalin al-

lowed young communists like Brezhnev to replace those who were purged. Brezhnev held several local positions and brought Soviet rule to various rural regions; in 1937, he was elected deputy mayor of Dniprodzerzhyn'sk.

In 1938, Nikita Khrushchev, the future leader of the Soviet Union, became first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, and Brezhnev became one of his close associates. Brezhnev built friendships and political alliances quite easily. By 1939, he was secretary (leader) of the regional Communist Party organization in Dniprodzerzhyn'sk. After Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 during World War II (1939–45), Brezhnev served in the Soviet military. He was a political officer in charge of recruiting soldiers into the Communist Party and maintaining morale among troops. Toward the end of the war, Brezhnev played a role in the Sovietization of Czechoslovakia and Romania. Sovietization was the practice of bringing a region under Soviet control by taking over ownership of factories and farmlands and establishing a ruling Communist Party structure. In 1946, Brezhnev left the military with the rank of major general.

## **Establishing his party standing**

When Brezhnev returned to the Ukraine from the military, Khrushchev made him first secretary of a regional Communist Party committee. In this important position, Brezhnev oversaw reconstruction of industry in a region devastated by the war. Brezhnev's success in this job brought him personal acclaim. By November 1947, he became first secretary of a larger district, his home district of Dniprodzerzhyn'sk. He also gained membership to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. The Central Committee was an important administrative body overseeing day-to-day party activities.

In 1950, Brezhnev moved with Khrushchev to Moscow to work on the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. Soon, Khrushchev appointed him first secretary of the Central Committee in the Soviet republic of Moldavia. Brezhnev was to complete the Sovietization of that country by changing private farmland into community-owned farmland and strengthening the Communist Party. Party membership in the region greatly increased because of Brezhnev's efforts.

While he was in Moldavia, Brezhnev formed a strong working relationship with another future Soviet leader, Konstantin Chernenko (1911–1985).

In 1952, because of his connection to Khrushchev and his own success in promoting the communist cause, Brezhnev was elected to membership in the Soviet Central Committee and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The Presidium was the executive body and center of power in the Soviet Communist Party; it sets party policies. When Stalin died in 1953, however, Brezhnev, a longtime Stalin supporter, temporarily lost his lofty seats. He was demoted to a position in the ministry of defense and was in charge of the political aspects of the Soviet navy.

### **Rise in prominence**

Brezhnev's fortunes would shift again when Khrushchev became first secretary of the Soviet Communist Party. He appointed Brezhnev second secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party; Kazakhstan was the second largest republic in the Soviet Union. In Kazakhstan, Khrushchev placed Brezhnev in charge of the ambitious Virgin Land program, an effort to convert a vast amount of unused land, some 90 million acres, into grain production. Brezhnev would become first secretary of the Kazakhstan Central Committee in August 1954 after purging the previous first secretary and his supporters.

After some success on the Virgin Land project, which produced a record grain harvest of 33 million tons (30 million metric tons) in 1956, Brezhnev returned to the inner power circles of Moscow, where he would remain the rest of his life. He rose to secretary of the Soviet Central Committee in February 1956 and became a member of the Presidium again in July 1957. In 1960, Brezhnev became the head of state as chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. In this position, he became involved in foreign affairs, though Khrushchev remained in charge as general secretary of the Central Committee. By June 1963, Brezhnev resigned from his Presidium position to be second secretary of the Central Committee. He served as Khrushchev's assistant in the day-to-day operations of the Soviet Communist Party. At this point, many considered him the eventual successor to Khrushchev.



## An Aging Soviet Leadership

Toward the end of Leonid Brezhnev's long term as the leader of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Communist Party leadership was aging and losing touch with a changing world. Like Brezhnev, many Soviet leaders were in their early youth at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, when communists first gained control of the Russian government. They were educated in the new communist education system and joined the Communist Party in the 1930s. After Joseph Stalin's purge of many party leaders during the Great Terror (1936–38), the most promising of this younger generation of communists rose up through the ranks to lead the Communist Party.

Not long after World War II, Brezhnev met Konstantin Chernenko while they were both serving the Communist Party in Moldavia. Chernenko was born to a Russian peasant farming family. Like Brezhnev, he joined the Communist Party in 1931, serving in various propaganda positions, including the one in Moldavia, which began in 1948. (Propaganda is information and ideas that are spread to support a cause.) In 1956, Brezhnev brought Chernenko to Moscow to work for the party's Central

Committee. When Brezhnev became leader of the Soviet Union in 1964, he made Chernenko his chief of staff. Chernenko traveled extensively with Brezhnev and was considered by many to be Brezhnev's eventual successor.

However, when Brezhnev died in November 1982, another conservative party leader, Yuri Andropov (1914–1984), was chosen as Soviet leader. Andropov had been an organizer for Komsomol, the Young Communist League, through the 1930s and 1940s until he was brought to Moscow as a promising young leader. Under Brezhnev, Andropov headed the Committee on State Security (KGB) from 1967 to 1982. He replaced Brezhnev as leader of the Soviet Union in 1983. However, Andropov's health declined sharply, and he died only fifteen months later. Andropov was replaced by Chernenko, who would be leader for only one year before he died. Following Chernenko's death, a much younger and more dynamic party leader, **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1931–; see entry) would take over and try to revitalize Soviet society, which had stagnated under the leadership of Brezhnev, Andropov, and Chernenko.

## Soviet leadership

By the fall of 1964, Brezhnev's relationship with Khrushchev would dramatically change. On October 14, 1964, Brezhnev helped lead a bloodless coup against Khrushchev, his longtime mentor. (*Coup* is short for coup d'état. Usually carried out by a small group, a coup is an overthrow of an existing leader or government. Sometimes a coup can turn vio-

lent.) Other Communist Party leaders were tired of Khrushchev's increasingly independent behavior and unpredictable shifts in policies. They wanted more stability and predictability. They would find that in Brezhnev, who succeeded his former friend as Soviet leader. Whereas Khrushchev was bold and impulsive, Brezhnev was cautious and patient. A collective leadership structure was put in place so power would be shared among a small group of leaders.

Brezhnev became first secretary of the Central Committee, the most powerful of all the positions. **Aleksey Kosygin** (1904–1980; see entry) became chairman of the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers controlled Soviet economic and cultural life. By December 1966, Nikolay Podgorny (1903–1983) was named head of state in charge of foreign affairs. Brezhnev was in charge of Communist Party activities; Kosygin was responsible for economic planning; and Podgorny headed foreign affairs. By March 1966, Brezhnev had gained greater dominance, becoming general secretary of the Communist Party. Under Brezhnev's conservative leadership, the vast Soviet bureaucracy gained strength.

Brezhnev brought changes to the Soviet Union. He stopped public attacks on Stalin and his policies, attacks that Khrushchev had begun in 1956. Brezhnev also sought to boost Soviet agricultural productivity. However, with the Communist Party tightly controlling the agricultural industry, progress was limited. Under Brezhnev, the secret police, or KGB, rose in power again after a decline under Khrushchev. Khrushchev had opposed the Stalin regime of force and terror by the secret police; Khrushchev related to the peasants (having been one himself) and thus supported domestic improvements, such as agricultural reforms, that would help the common person. Brezhnev returned the secret police to power to maintain control, but without Stalin's terror. The Soviets again more forcibly repressed dissidents, individuals who disagree with the ideas of those in power. Many prominent writers and artists were deported, exiled, or sent to labor camps and psychiatric wards. The hard-line communists believed the traditional party bureaucracy was being threatened by Khrushchev's reforms; they also felt that too much freedom of expression was creeping into the communist system under Khrushchev, so they tightened controls on behavior and ended the rather mild reforms.

During his rule, Brezhnev and his family continued living modestly, occupying a five-room apartment. However, he did have an affection for luxury cars and owned one of the few Rolls-Royce automobiles in the Soviet Union. Other world leaders would give him luxury cars as gifts. Another affection of Brezhnev's was tobacco, which would contribute to severe health problems later.

One of Brezhnev's key goals was to reach nuclear parity (equal strength in nuclear arms) with the United States by 1970. Through a massive and expensive missile production program, he accomplished this goal. Brezhnev also built a huge navy and maintained the largest army in the world. In addition, the Soviet space program overtook the United States in reaching space exploration goals.

## **Expanding world influence**

Brezhnev became more directly involved in foreign affairs in 1968, when Czechoslovakian leader Alexander Dubcek (1921–1992) proposed giving greater freedoms to Czech citizens, including freedom of the press. Brezhnev approved the use of military force to crush the reform movement and remove Dubcek from office. Brezhnev then unveiled what became known as the Brezhnev Doctrine, stating that the Soviets would intervene in any country where threats to communist rule could threaten other communist countries as well. The Soviets would use this doctrine to justify military intervention in the internal politics of other communist countries under Soviet influence.

Brezhnev also became involved in dealing with China, West Germany, and the United States. Brezhnev had to deal with growing friction between the Soviets and the Chinese communists who controlled the People's Republic of China (PRC). Military skirmishes occurred near the long border between the two countries. Because the PRC's relations with the United States were improving, Brezhnev worried that those two countries might form an alliance against the Soviets. Recognizing the need for strong neighboring allies, Brezhnev sought to ease tensions on the Soviet Union's western border. He wanted to normalize relations between West Germany and the Warsaw Pact. The Warsaw Pact was a de-



**Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev (left) meets with U.S. president Richard Nixon in the Oval Office in June 1973.** *Photograph by Wally McNamee. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

fense alliance composed of Eastern European countries under Soviet control. In 1970 and 1971, Brezhnev built a warm relationship with West German chancellor Willy Brandt (1913–1992; see box in **Konrad Adenauer** entry).

In the early 1970s, efforts at *détente* (the easing of tensions) with the West brought Brezhnev even more into international relations. Through *détente*, Brezhnev wanted to curb the arms race and gain access to Western technology that he desperately needed for Soviet industry and agriculture. Once Brezhnev had achieved nuclear parity, he was willing to enter arms control talks. He was eager to cut back military spending to help raise the standard of living in the Soviet Union.

Arms control talks progressed, and in May 1972, Brezhnev hosted U.S. president **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74; see entry) in Moscow for the signing of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, SALT I. This treaty froze production of certain nuclear weapon systems.





Other meetings followed: Brezhnev traveled to Washington, D.C., in June 1973; Nixon again went to Moscow in July 1974; and President Gerald R. Ford (1913–; served 1974–77) went to the Soviet city of Vladivostok in November 1974.

The Helsinki Accords, signed in August 1975, represented the high point of détente. This agreement recognized the postwar territorial boundaries of the European nations. The Soviets had long sought recognition of the political boundaries of Eastern European communist countries and finally achieved it in Helsinki, and again more formally in the treaty ending World War II in 1991. In 1979, Brezhnev would meet with President **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81; see entry) in Vienna, Austria, to sign SALT II, a new Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty. By the mid-1970s, Brezhnev's prestige had substantially risen, and so had the Soviet Union's. In 1976, Brezhnev became marshal of the Soviet Union, the only party leader aside from Stalin to achieve that military rank. In May 1977, Brezhnev became the first Soviet party

**U.S. president Gerald Ford (left) meets Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev for the first time, in the Soviet city of Vladivostok in November 1974. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.**

leader to also be head of state, replacing Podgorny as chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

During the 1970s, Brezhnev also pressed for more Soviet support of national liberation movements and greater support of left-wing governments in Third World countries. Left-wing groups are politically radical elements often seeking change from traditional forms of rule. Third World refers to poor underdeveloped or economically developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Many of these countries were seeking independence from the political control of Western European nations. Brezhnev believed such radical movements, as opposed to the traditional oppressive military dictatorships, opened the door for adopting alternative forms of government such as communism. The Soviets' support included that of North Vietnam during the Vietnam War (1954–75). Brezhnev also used his influence to help Nixon negotiate a peace treaty with the North Vietnamese to end the war. He believed this would lead to U.S. public opinion support for signing the SALT I arms agreement. In the Middle East, the Soviets supported Egypt and Syria in a 1973 war with Israel, leading to a direct confrontation with the United States. (The United States, through its strong pro-Israel lobby within the United States itself, provided substantial economic support to Israel.) The Soviets would continue supporting Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the Middle East. Brezhnev also supported communist rebels in 1974 in Angola. He provided equipment, Soviet military advisors, and twenty thousand Cuban troops. The rebel forces successfully overthrew the government. In 1977, Brezhnev provided similar support to the Ethiopian government so it could repel attacks by neighboring Somalia, a U.S. ally.

### **Growing problems in later years**

By the end of the 1970s, problems were building for Brezhnev. In 1979, he approved the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The Soviets were seeking to support an unpopular communist government against an Islamic movement trying to seize power. The war would drag on for ten years and cost thousands of Soviet lives. The Soviet invasion angered President Carter, and U.S.-Soviet relations cooled. The arrival

of President **Ronald Reagan** (1911– ; served 1981–89; see entry) in the White House in January 1981 would lead to even cooler relations. Reagan greatly boosted the U.S. military budget, accelerating the arms race and forcing Brezhnev to increase his military spending in order to keep up. In December 1981, Brezhnev made another move unpopular with the West when he supported the Polish government's suppression of the Solidarity workers union. (The government had officially banned Solidarity as martial law was imposed on Polish citizens.) The union, which represented a strong challenge to communist control, was protesting the rise in food prices and challenging communist authority in Poland.

On the home front, the dramatic arms buildup through the 1960s and 1970s and Soviet military adventures in Third World countries had taken money away from other sectors of the Soviet economy. As a result, agriculture, industrial production of nonwar consumer goods, and health care services declined sharply. Shortages of goods became worse, and the Soviet standard of living declined. Soviet morale sank as lines of people seeking basic necessities grew longer outside Soviet stores. The decline in morale would cause worker production to drop further, in a vicious downward spiral. Widespread rumors of corruption in Brezhnev's government lowered morale even further. Meanwhile, Brezhnev kept tight control of the growing number of Soviet dissidents criticizing communist rule.

By 1982, Brezhnev's health was visibly failing. He had suffered a heart attack in 1974 and was suffering from leukemia (a blood disease) and emphysema (a respiratory disease) by the early 1980s. His public appearances dwindled. Despite increasing feebleness, he stayed in power until his death in November 1982. Brezhnev had led the Soviet Communist Party longer than anyone else would—eighteen years.

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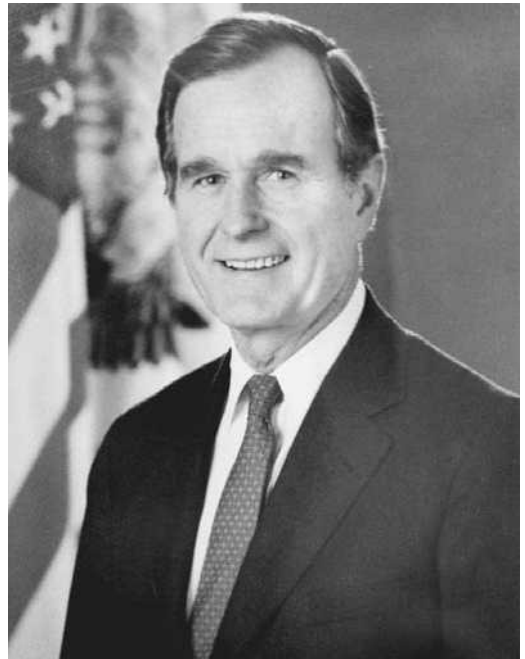
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# George Bush

**Born June 12, 1924  
Milton, Massachusetts**

**U.S. president, vice president,  
and CIA director**



**G**eorge Bush was president of the United States as the Cold War came to an end. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that lasted from 1945 to 1991. In the final years of the Cold War, the world was dramatically changing. Eastern European countries were throwing out their Soviet-controlled communist governments. The Berlin Wall, dividing East and West Berlin, came down, and East and West Germany became one united country. And, stunningly, the Soviet empire collapsed. New independent nations and governments appeared.

## Education and war

George Herbert Walker Bush was born to Prescott Bush and Dorothy Walker on June 12, 1924, in Milton, Massachusetts. His father was a prominent Wall Street investment banker and served as U.S. senator from Connecticut from 1952 to 1963. His mother was the daughter of a leading Wall Street banker located in St. Louis, Missouri. George grew up in

*“This is America ... a brilliant diversity spread like stars. Like a thousand points of light in a broad and peaceful sky.”*

**George Bush.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

affluent Greenwich, Connecticut, and attended the top private schools, including the Phillips Academy preparatory school in Andover, Massachusetts.

Bush graduated from Phillips in 1942, while World War II (1939–45) was still raging. He joined the U.S. Naval Reserve on his eighteenth birthday and became the youngest naval pilot at the time to complete his training. Bush was a torpedo bomber pilot on aircraft carriers in the Pacific Ocean from 1943 to 1945. He flew fifty-eight combat missions and was shot down twice by the Japanese; once, he was rescued by a U.S. submarine. For bravery in action, he received the Distinguished Flying Cross.

Upon returning from the war, Bush entered Yale University, where he excelled as a student and was captain of the baseball team. While he was still a student, he married Barbara Pierce in January 1945. They would have six children, but one died at the age of three from leukemia. Bush graduated with honors with a degree in economics in 1948.

## **Texas oil and politics**

Rather than following in his father's footsteps, Bush and his family moved to Odessa in west Texas. There, he entered the oil industry business with the help of a family friend. In 1951, Bush established his own company, the Bush-Overbey Oil Development Company; then he founded the Zapata Petroleum Corporation in 1953 and the Zapata Off-Shore Company in 1954.

In 1958, Bush shifted his company's corporate headquarters to the city of Houston, where he became active in the Republican Party. In 1964, he ran for a U.S. Senate seat as part of the newly forming conservative right led by the Republican presidential candidate at the time, Barry Goldwater (1909–1998). This part of the Republican Party opposed civil rights legislation and domestic spending on social programs; it supported U.S. withdrawal from the United Nations (UN) and major cuts in foreign aid. Like Goldwater, Bush was soundly defeated. In 1966, he entered the race for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives; this time he won. Bush swayed back and forth between conservative and moderate

positions on social and economic issues. Then in 1970, he left his seat to run for the Senate again, only to lose once more. He would not run for public office again until 1980.

## Public service

During the 1970s, Bush served in various government positions. In February 1971, U.S. president **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74; see entry) appointed Bush to serve as U.S. ambassador to the UN, where Bush became a highly respected representative. In December 1972, Bush left the UN post to become chairman of the Republican National Committee. By early 1973, Nixon and members of his administration became engulfed in the Watergate scandal, which involved the 1972 burglary of the Democratic National Committee offices and a coverup that followed. During this time, Bush sought to minimize the effect of the scandal on the Republican Party. He supported Nixon until August 1974, when he joined others who were calling for Nixon to resign. Nixon resigned on August 9. Vice President Gerald R. Ford (1913–; served 1974–77) was sworn in as the new president. Bush hoped to be selected as Ford's vice president, but Ford chose former New York governor Nelson A. Rockefeller (1908–1979) instead. Ford then appointed Bush as head of the U.S. Liaison Office in Communist China. There Bush served as the top U.S. representative to China for the next two years.

Bush returned to the United States in 1976 to become director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He was only in that position for a short time before Democrat **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81; see entry) became the next president in January 1977. Bush resigned from the CIA and returned briefly to a private life in Texas as chairman of the First National Bank of Houston.

## To Washington, D.C.

In 1979, Bush announced he would seek the Republican nomination for president the following year. However, he was unable to match the popularity of **Ronald Reagan** (1911–; served 1981–89; see entry). When Reagan won the party's nomination in the summer of 1980, he chose Bush as

his vice presidential running mate. Reagan handily defeated the incumbent, or current office holder, Jimmy Carter, in the national election that fall, and easily won reelection in 1984. Bush served as vice president for the full eight years of Reagan's presidency.

As vice president, Bush traveled over one million miles to represent the United States at various functions. During his second term of office, a major scandal known as the Iran-Contra Affair erupted. Members of the Reagan administration were illegally selling weapons to Iran in exchange for U.S. hostages held by pro-Iranian rebels in Lebanon. Reagan's representatives were using part of the money from the illegal arms sales to illegally fund contra rebels fighting to overthrow the procommunist Nicaraguan government in Latin America. The United States under Reagan and Bush provided funds to an anticommunist group in Nicaragua known as the contras (short for the Spanish word meaning "counterrevolutionaries"). Bush and Reagan both denied knowledge of these covert, or secret, activities. Several officials were charged and convicted.

In 1988, Bush succeeded in gaining the Republican Party's presidential nomination and won the national election over the Democratic candidate, Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis (1933–). The national economy was doing well at the time, so President Bush was able to pursue foreign affairs, his preferred focus, rather than dealing as closely with domestic issues.

## Cold War ends

By 1989, when Bush took office as U.S. president, the Soviet empire was crumbling. **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1931–; see entry) had become leader of the Soviet Union in 1985. Inheriting a nation in economic disarray, Gorbachev introduced major reforms (perestroika) and greater freedom of expression (glasnost). To achieve sufficient economic stability, Gorbachev had to significantly cut Soviet defense spending. This meant ending the Cold War arms race. Between 1985 and 1988, Gorbachev and President Reagan worked together to dramatically change U.S.-Soviet relations. The two leaders agreed to major cuts in long-range nuclear weapons and eliminated intermediate-range nuclear weapons from Europe.



In December 1988, only a month after Bush won the presidential election, Gorbachev gave a historic speech at the UN. He announced that it was possible for the two superpowers to peacefully coexist and that the Soviets would withdraw five hundred thousand troops and thousands of heavy conventional weapons from Eastern Europe. The announcement stunned the world. A memorable photograph was taken of Reagan, Gorbachev, and President-elect Bush with the Statue of Liberty in the background.

When Bush took office in January 1989, he was hesitant to cooperate as fully with Gorbachev as Reagan had been. He believed Reagan had gone too far too fast in his talks with the Soviet leader. Bush decided to slow down arms control negotiations. In early 1989, however, Bush's secretary of state, James Baker (1930–), established a close working relationship with Soviet foreign minister **Eduard Shevardnadze** (1928–; see entry) through a series of meetings. Soon, events would show Bush that the speed in the changes that were occurring was legitimate.

By the fall of 1989, various Eastern European countries that had been under Soviet communist domination since the end of World War II threw out their communist governments and adopted noncommunist government systems. For the first time, the Soviets did not militarily intervene to save the communist governments. In November 1989, the Berlin Wall—the most striking image of the Cold War—was dismantled and came tumbling down. The stark concrete-and-barbed-wire wall had been built in 1961 between East and West Berlin to keep East Germans living under communist rule from fleeing into West Berlin, which was controlled by the democratic Western powers.

In 1990, the Soviet republics began demanding independence. The Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—were the first to break from the Soviet Union. Bush by now had concluded that it was in the best interests of the United States to support Gorbachev in his reforms; otherwise, Gorbachev might lose power, and communist hard-liners could retake the Soviet government. Bush and Gorbachev met on a ship near the European island nation of Malta in the Mediterranean Sea to discuss how to deal with the collapsing Soviet Union; their goal was to avoid political chaos and bloodshed during the transitional time.

In July 1990, Gorbachev agreed to allow Germany to reunify and join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) if it desired to. NATO had been a peacetime alliance of the United States and eleven other nations, and a key factor in the attempt to contain communism. Gorbachev also announced that all Soviet troops would be withdrawn from East Germany. West German chancellor **Helmut Kohl** (1930–; see entry) agreed to pay the cost of Soviet troop withdrawal and provide some economic aid to the Soviets. Germany had been split into communist East Germany and democratic West Germany since the end of World War II. By early October 1990, Germany was reunified. In November 1990, Bush met with Gorbachev in Paris, France, to sign a mutual nonaggression pact reducing conventional forces in Europe. This agreement marked the end of the Cold War. In July 1991, they met again, this time in Moscow, where they signed arms control treaties significantly reducing the number of long-range nuclear weapons that the two nations had stockpiled through the years; they also agreed to reduce the number of weapons with multiple nuclear warheads.

In August 1991, Bush traveled to the Ukraine and announced his support for Gorbachev's reforms. He cautioned the Ukrainian people against violent confrontations with the Soviets. Nevertheless, that same month, a group of communist hard-liners attempted to overthrow Gorbachev and reverse his reforms. However, Boris Yeltsin (1931–), president of the new Russian Federation, blocked this attempt, with much public support. Though Gorbachev continued in office, it was now clear he had little power left. The Soviet Union was at an end. Gorbachev resigned as president of the Soviet Union on December 25, 1991, and the Soviet Union ceased to exist. Gorbachev turned control of the Soviet nuclear arsenal, or collection of weapons, over to Yeltsin. Yeltsin was now the most powerful leader in the region.

Bush opened U.S. embassies in the newly independent countries that were no longer part of the Soviet Union. Yeltsin pleaded for U.S. economic aid to help rebuild the Russian economy and introduce a free market system, or economic conditions dictated by open competition. However, the United States was facing huge budget deficits, so there was little public support for Bush to assist the struggling Russian state. The United States did provide some aid, but it was



primarily for humanitarian needs and to help dismantle the nuclear weapons the Soviets had agreed to give up.

## **Panama and the Persian Gulf War**

President Bush also became involved in foreign matters outside Europe and the Soviet Union. In 1989, he ordered a military invasion of Panama to overthrow the corrupt regime of General Manuel Noriega (1934–). Noriega had gained a reputation for brutality and was known to support illegal drug trade; the Bush administration believed Noriega threatened the security of the Panama Canal. The canal was built in 1903 by the United States to improve transportation between the east and west coasts of the United States. At the time, the United States still retained control over the canal and an area surrounding it known as the Canal Zone, though a treaty signed in 1977 by President Carter would give Panama control over the zone beginning on December 31, 1999. The U.S. invasion

**U.S. president George Bush (left) signs the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START II) Treaty with Russian president Boris Yeltsin.** *Photograph by Gennady Galperin. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

of Panama led to four days of fighting and hundreds of deaths. The Organization of American States, an alliance of Latin American and North American countries dedicated to peacefully resolving conflicts, denounced Bush for the invasion, as did the United Nations General Assembly.

In August 1990, the Middle Eastern country of Iraq invaded and occupied the neighboring nation of Kuwait. Bush first imposed UN-approved trade restrictions on Iraq to force its withdrawal from Kuwait. Bush also sent U.S. forces to Saudi Arabia to protect that nation from possible invasion. When Iraq refused to pull back from Kuwait, Bush pulled together a broad coalition of forces from Western Europe and some Arab states to launch a military campaign against Iraq. The number of U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf region grew to five hundred thousand. The United States launched an air attack on Iraq in January 1991, which was followed by an Allied ground assault, known as Desert Storm, in late February. Iraq's armies were destroyed, and Kuwait was liberated. Bush's approval rating soared to over 90 percent.

### **A steep decline in popularity**

On the domestic front, the U.S. economy had entered a recession, or reduced economic activity, in late 1990, and the economic lull continued into the 1992 election year. Bush's popularity began to slide as he failed to publicly address economic issues. In addition, shortly before the election, a new investigation was released indicating that Bush and Reagan had known more about the Iran-Contra Affair than they had previously admitted. In the fall of 1992, Bush's Democratic challenger, Arkansas governor Bill Clinton (1946–; served 1993–2001), defeated Bush in his reelection bid.

Controversy continued to plague the Bush administration in its final weeks after the election. During this time, Bush sent U.S. troops to Somalia on a mission to feed starving citizens caught in a civil war. However, the marines were caught between the fighting factions, and eighteen U.S. soldiers died. Bush also issued pardons to six former Reagan administration officials, including Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger (1917–), who were facing charges in the Iran-Contra Affair.

## A quiet retirement

After leaving office in January 1993, Bush returned to Houston, Texas. He maintained little involvement in the Republican Party. Two of his sons carried on the family tradition of public service. His oldest son, George W. Bush (1946–), won election as governor of Texas in 1994 and served for nearly two terms. Another son, Jeb Bush (1953–), became governor of Florida in 1998. In 2000, George W. Bush defeated his Democratic opponent, Vice President Al Gore (1948–), in an exceptionally close presidential election. The Bush family was once again in the White House.

The senior George Bush published an autobiography in 1987 titled *Looking Forward*. In 1998, he coauthored another book, *A World Transformed*, describing world changes through his presidency and afterwards. His wife, Barbara Bush (1925–), published her own memoirs in 1994. In honor of the elder George Bush, the George Bush Presidential Library and Museum was dedicated in November 1997. It is located on the campus of Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas, near Houston.

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## James F. Byrnes

**Born May 2, 1879**  
**Charleston, South Carolina**  
**Died April 9, 1972**  
**Columbia, South Carolina**

**U.S. secretary of state, senator,  
Supreme Court justice, governor**

“Too many people are thinking of security instead of opportunity. They seem more afraid of life than death.”

James F. Byrnes. Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.

James F. Byrnes was the first American to serve as a U.S. congressman, U.S. senator, Supreme Court justice, secretary of state, and governor. In the early 1940s, he was sometimes called the “assistant president,” but by the late 1940s he was a forgotten man in federal government.

Byrnes was at the side of Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) and **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry) as the Cold War was taking shape. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry between the democratic United States and the communist Soviet Union that lasted from 1945 to 1991. Byrnes strove hard to establish a friendship between the Soviet Union and the United States as World War II (1939–45) drew to a close, but he was overcome by the Soviets’ aggressive efforts to expand their influence and, as noted in David Robertson’s *Sly and Able: A Political Biography of James F. Byrnes*, Truman’s frustration over what he viewed as “disastrous compromises.” As a result, Byrnes lost influence in the United States and faded from national prominence, but resurfaced as governor of South Carolina.

## A self-made man

James Francis Byrnes was born to Irish immigrants in May 1879 in Charleston, South Carolina. His father, for whom he was named, died of tuberculosis, a respiratory disease, only weeks before James was born. His mother, Elizabeth McSweeney Byrnes, was a dressmaker who worked hard to provide for her family. Though his family was needy at times, young James was never deprived. Byrnes attended Catholic school until age fourteen, when he left to become a messenger for a law office. He needed to take this job to help support the family. By age twenty-one, he had become a circuit court stenographer (a type of note taker) in Aiken, South Carolina. Under the fatherly guidance of two judges, Byrnes studied law and successfully passed the South Carolina bar exam three years later in 1903. In 1906, he married Maude Perkins Busch of Aiken. They did not have children. Known by friends as Jimmy, Byrnes won his first public office in 1908, becoming a public prosecutor. In 1911, in a very close race, he won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives as a Democratic candidate. He served in the House until 1924.

Byrnes was short and thin; he lived modestly but dressed well. Other congressmen considered him tireless and shrewd in diplomacy. He was always thought of as highly ambitious. Byrnes held some extreme personal and political views: He was a white supremacist, one who believes that people of color are naturally inferior to whites. He also actively opposed an antilynching bill in Congress. (Lynching is execution-style murder—often by hanging—carried out by a mob. Lynchings of black Americans frequently occurred in the South.) Despite his vote against antilynching legislation, Byrnes said he opposed the violent tactics of the Ku Klux Klan, a militant white supremacy group that had a large membership in South Carolina. Byrnes was also against women's suffrage, or the right to vote.

While in Congress, Byrnes showed unusual skill in bringing people together to reach compromises and pass legislation. He supported the creation of the federal highway system and became a member of the important House Appropriations Committee after reelection in 1912. Byrnes steadily moved up in prestige in the House and, while working on naval funding, formed a friendship with future president Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was assistant secretary of the navy

at the time. In 1924, Byrnes decided to run for the U.S. Senate but lost the Democratic nomination to a longstanding popular figure, Coleman L. Blease (1868–1942). Out of public office, Byrnes moved to Spartanburg, South Carolina, where he practiced law for six years and remained active in civic affairs.

### **Senator, justice, and administrator**

Beginning in 1930, the economic downturn of the Great Depression (1929–41), which began when the stock market crashed in 1929, hit South Carolina hard. People were looking for new leaders. With the backing of wealthy financier and fellow South Carolinian Bernard Baruch (1870–1965), Byrnes won election to the U.S. Senate in 1930 by a slim margin. Byrnes quickly moved up in the Senate to a position of great power. He campaigned hard for Franklin Roosevelt in the 1932 presidential election. Once in office, Roosevelt used Byrnes as a key Democratic Senate leader and assigned him to various important committees so Byrnes could push New Deal legislation through Congress. The New Deal was Roosevelt's program of economic and social relief and reform designed to ease the painful effects of the Depression on the nation. Like Roosevelt, Byrnes easily won reelection in 1936. He greatly desired to be Roosevelt's running mate in the 1940 presidential election but lost out when Roosevelt selected Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace (1888–1965) instead. In June 1941, President Roosevelt appointed Byrnes to a different lofty position: justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Byrnes would sit on the Supreme Court for only sixteen months before he became restless. He wanted to become more involved in the growing home front effort during World War II. Roosevelt responded by appointing Byrnes as director of economic stabilization. He was to control the domestic economy, especially by keeping prices of goods down, during the war. Byrnes was highly successful in this important role, so in May 1943 Roosevelt expanded Byrnes's responsibilities. The president appointed him chairman of the War Mobilization Board for coordinating all war agencies and federal departments. From his office in the White House, Byrnes was now fully in charge of the domestic economy, allowing Roosevelt to concentrate on the war effort. Some people referred to Byrnes as the "assistant president." However,



in 1944, he was again passed over as Roosevelt's running mate; the Democratic Party selected U.S. senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri instead.

## Cold War negotiator

In 1945, Byrnes began applying his strong negotiating skills to foreign relations. In February, he accompanied President Roosevelt to the Yalta Conference in the Soviet Union. There they met with Soviet premier **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry) and British prime minister **Winston Churchill** (1874–1965; see entry). During the conference, Byrnes had lunch each day with Roosevelt and took detailed notes, reminiscent of his court stenographer days. Following Roosevelt's sudden death from a cerebral hemorrhage (bleeding in the brain) just two months later, Vice President Truman became president; Byrnes organized Roosevelt's funeral. Upon becoming president, Truman immediately called on Byrnes and his Yalta notes. Truman wanted to study Roosevelt's thoughts and postwar plans so he could make decisions consistent with those plans; he also wanted to follow through on private commitments Roosevelt made at Yalta.

Byrnes was a central figure in the developing rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, a rivalry that eventually came to be called the Cold War. He was confident that he had the necessary negotiating skills to establish a productive relationship with the Soviets. He traveled with President Truman to the next meeting of the Big Three leaders, at Potsdam, Germany, in June 1945. (The Big Three refers to the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union; the Big Three also referred to those nations' leaders: Truman, Churchill, and Stalin.) For the rest of 1945, Byrnes served as the key U.S. representative at various high-level meetings, including the London Conference of Foreign Ministers in September, a December meeting in Moscow with the Soviet and British foreign ministers, and the United Nations (UN) organizational meeting.

In the December meeting in Moscow, Byrnes made an all-out attempt to establish friendly relations with the Soviets. Byrnes made several deals regarding international control of atomic energy and the postwar governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Japan. However, his concessions (issues he



## Yalta and Potsdam

James Byrnes had perhaps his best moments in foreign affairs while attempting to forge a friendly relationship with the Soviet Union during the two 1945 summit meetings at Yalta and Potsdam. The summits involved the leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain, the countries known as the Big Three. In February, Byrnes traveled with President Franklin Roosevelt to Yalta, a town on the Crimean Peninsula in the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine.

At the meeting, Soviet premier Joseph Stalin agreed to attack Japan to help the U.S. war effort in the Pacific. Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston Churchill conceded to the Soviet Union veto power in the newly developing United Nations organization. They also gave in to Stalin's demands to shift the west border of Poland westward to include parts of Germany. In return, Stalin agreed to allow free elections in Poland. The leaders also agreed to divide Germany into four postwar occupation zones, with the Soviets, the Americans, the British, and the French each controlling one zone. In addition, Churchill and Roosevelt agreed to require war reparations from Germany, another demand Stalin made for the Soviet Union. (Reparations are payments a defeated country must some-

times make for damages it caused during a war.) Despite reaching these agreements, the leaders of the three countries revealed in their negotiations a growing division between East and West over future goals.

The next meeting of the Big Three came on July 26, 1945, in Potsdam, Germany. Harry S. Truman had replaced Roosevelt after Roosevelt's sudden death in April, and **Clement R. Attlee** (1883–1967; see entry) had replaced Churchill as Britain's prime minister. Because the two Western leaders were new, Byrnes played a stronger role in orchestrating agreements. Regarding war reparations, he proposed that the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and France obtain reparations only from their own German occupation zones. If Stalin accepted this arrangement, the Americans, the British, and the French would formally accept the new Polish boundaries that Stalin and the Soviets wanted. Through Byrnes's negotiations, the four German occupation zones became more permanently fixed. In addition, Italy became part of the Western sphere of influence, and Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary became part of the Eastern sphere. Through Byrnes's personal orchestration, the division of Europe had become firmly established.

agreed to) to the Soviets proved highly unpopular back in the United States. Byrnes's preference for diplomacy over military confrontation attracted increasing criticism. He was accused of being soft on communism. When Byrnes returned from



Moscow, Truman personally rebuffed him for being too eager to concede to the Soviets in order to make a deal. According to *Sly and Able: A Political Biography of James F. Byrnes*, in a letter to Byrnes, Truman said, "I'm tired of babying the Soviets." Byrnes's influence soon began to decline; his role as a skilled compromiser and negotiator during the Cold War occurred at a time when both the United States and the Soviet Union were unwilling to compromise.

Byrnes tried toughening his approach toward the Soviets through 1946. At Stuttgart, West Germany, on September 6, 1946, Byrnes announced in a major speech that it was now U.S. policy to reestablish an independent Germany, something the Soviets strongly opposed. Many saw this speech as the end of the wartime alliance between the West and the Soviet Union.

Byrnes's efforts to befriend the Soviets were ultimately unsuccessful, but his departure from Truman's cabinet was not about job performance; it had more to do with a personality

**President Harry S. Truman (left) confers with Secretary of State James F. Byrnes in August 1945.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

conflict. Byrnes and Truman simply did not get along. Byrnes envied Truman for succeeding Roosevelt as president and often negotiated with foreign nations without consulting with Truman. In addition, Byrnes's position on white supremacy was in stark contrast to Truman's domestic policies. Byrnes finally resigned in January 1947. Just before leaving office, he negotiated peace treaties with the Soviet Union and Italy, Romania, Hungary, and Finland. It was a last-gasp effort at U.S.-Soviet friendship. General **George C. Marshall** (1880–1959; see entry) replaced Byrnes as secretary of state.

## Governor Byrnes

Byrnes kept quiet in public on national issues for two years after leaving the State Department. By 1949, Byrnes began openly criticizing some of Truman's domestic policies. Returning to public life, Byrnes won election as governor of South Carolina in 1950, receiving 85 percent of the vote. While in office, he pressed Truman to bomb the People's Republic of China (PRC) during the Korean War (1950–53) because he had been so criticized for being soft on communism that he adopted a more warlike position on issues.

Byrnes also supported racial segregation, or separation of the races, in public schools. An opponent of the civil rights movement, which stressed equal rights for African Americans, Byrnes, like many Southerners in the early 1950s, switched his party affiliation and became a Republican. His fight against public school desegregation directly contributed to the landmark 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, a court case that combined cases from several states, including South Carolina. The Court decided to ban racial segregation in public schools, but Byrnes vowed to fight implementation of the decision. He fought the adoption of segregation policies with limited success when implementation was delayed. Byrnes retired from office in 1955 and died in April 1972 in Columbia, South Carolina.

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## Jimmy Carter

**Born October 1, 1924**  
**Plains, Georgia**

**U.S. president, governor,  
humanitarian, and farmer**

"[One] responsibility of mine was to approve the testing of atomic explosive devices.... I wondered if [other top leaders] too thought about future generations and were also sometimes very discouraged. Why could we not control this most ominous of all threats?"

**Jimmy Carter.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

**I**naugurated as the thirty-ninth U.S. president in January 1977, Jimmy Carter came to the White House with little experience in foreign affairs. Yet Carter's presidency coincided with an important period of the Cold War, the longstanding economic and political rivalry between the communist Soviet Union and the democratic United States. After two-and-a-half years of often rocky negotiations, Carter signed a new arms control agreement with the Soviets, SALT II. He granted formal diplomatic recognition to communist China. In response to a Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, President Carter punished the Soviets by boycotting the Olympic Games in Moscow in 1980; U.S. athletes were not allowed to participate in the Games.

Carter's brightest success in foreign policy was the peace agreement he helped negotiate between Egypt and Israel. The most difficult situation he faced as president was the American hostage crisis in Iran that began in November 1979 and did not end until the very day he left office. Carter's greatest accomplishment, overshadowing all else in his presidency, was the promotion of human rights on a global scale.

## Young Jimmy

James Earl Carter Jr. was born in Plains, Georgia. His parents—James Earl Sr., or “Earl” for short, and Lillian Gordy Carter—were middle-income landowners who farmed peanuts and cotton and operated a warehouse and store. When Jimmy was four years old, they moved to their new home in a small community known as Archery, four miles from Plains along U.S. Route 280. Jimmy’s father was a highly efficient farmer, a businessman, and a civic leader. At his death in 1953, he was a member of the state legislature. Jimmy’s most memorable moments were the times his father took him on trips around their farmlands, all of which were within a few miles of Plains. Earl instilled the business ethic in Jimmy early in life. As a five-year-old, Jimmy pulled peanut plants, boiled the peanuts, and took them into Plains in his wagon to sell.

Jimmy’s mother, known as “Miz” Lillian, was a trained nurse. She broke the color barrier in their segregated community by caring for black families as well as whites. (Segregate means to separate or set apart; segregated communities were places where there were separate hospitals, schools, and other public facilities for blacks and whites.) Miz Lillian was an avid reader and encouraged her children to read. The Carters had four children: Jimmy, the oldest, and Gloria, Ruth, and Billy.

As a boy, Carter worked with black farmhands on the land or tended his dad’s store, where townspeople bought supplies. Many neighbors were black tenant farmers, that is, black farmers who did not own their land but instead worked the land for the landholders. Carter observed firsthand how careful with money the tenant farmers were, always buying the least expensive food and supplies. In his book *An Hour Before Daylight* (2001), Carter writes, “More than anyone else in my family, perhaps even including my father, I could understand the plight [difficult situation] of the black families because I lived so much among them.”

Carter grew up in the 1930s during the Great Depression (1929–41), when up to 25 percent of Americans lost their jobs and many rural folk lost their farms and livelihood. Carter witnessed how his mother never turned anyone away who came to their door for food or a drink of water. These early experiences shaped Carter’s attitudes, making him sen-

sitive to the suffering of others and helping him understand the value of all human beings. This was the beginning of Carter's development as a great promoter of human rights.

By the time Carter was in high school, he knew the farming operation well. He could perform all the chores on the farm, knew the animals and the machinery, and had acquired skills in carpentry and blacksmithing. However, Carter was destined to move beyond Plains. Miz Lillian's brother, Tom Watson Gordy, had joined the navy at a young age. He traveled the world and sent letters to his nephew Jimmy about the exotic places where his ships docked. Because of his Uncle Tom's influence, Carter dreamed of attending the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, and becoming a naval officer. As Carter's high school graduation date neared, Earl Carter set about helping his son request an appointment to Annapolis through their local congressman Stephen Pace (1891–1970).

## **A naval officer**

Jimmy graduated from Plains High School in the spring of 1941; he was class valedictorian, the student with the highest grade point average. In September, he enrolled in Georgia Southwestern College in Americus, where he took courses recommended by the Annapolis guidebook. For his second year, Jimmy moved to Georgia Tech in Atlanta to study engineering. At the completion of his second year of college, Jimmy received his appointment to Annapolis. He graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1946 in the top 10 percent of his class. He returned to Plains that summer to marry Rosalynn Smith on July 7. They would have four children: John William, known as Jack; James Earl III, known as Chip; Donnel Jeffrey, known as Jeff; and Amy Lynn.

Carter began his naval career in 1946 and two years later volunteered for submarine duty. Graduating third out of a class of fifty-two in submarine training school, he received his first sub assignment on the USS *Pomfret*, then later, the USS *K-1*. In 1952, Carter served as an officer on the nuclear-powered submarine *Sea Wolf*. Carter served under navy captain Hyman G. Rickover (1900–1986), who headed the development program for the nation's first nuclear-powered submarines. Carter later said that except for his parents, no



one had a greater impact on his conduct in life than Rickover, who demanded excellence and then gave as much as or more than he demanded of others. With his early success in the navy, Carter seemed on track to become an admiral, the navy's highest rank. Then a call from Plains came.

## **Return to Plains**

Carter's father was diagnosed with terminal pancreatic cancer in 1953. This affliction would also take the lives of all of Jimmy's siblings while they were in their fifties. Carter took a week's leave to be with his dad. During their last time together, Carter realized even more fully the accomplishments of his father and how important his father had been to his rural Georgia community. Much to his wife Rosalynn's dismay, Carter soon resigned from the navy and returned to Plains to take over for his father on the family farm.

By 1960, the farm was prospering, and Carter was also immersed in civic duties. He was a member of the Sumter County Board of Education from 1955 to 1962, served on the local hospital and library boards, and taught Sunday school at the Plains Baptist Church. When the church voted on whether to admit black families, the Carter family and one other church member cast the only favorable votes. Similarly, when a chapter of the segregationist organization White Citizens' Council came to Plains, Carter was the only white male in the community who refused to join.

In 1962, Carter was elected to the Georgia state senate. He was reelected in 1964, then won the Georgia governorship in 1970. In his inaugural address, Carter attracted national attention by declaring that it was time for racial discrimination to end. Carter increased job opportunities for blacks in the state government and began to hang portraits of prominent black leaders in the state capitol. He increased the efficiency of state government by reorganizing about three hundred state agencies into approximately thirty agencies. Carter also became involved in the national political scene. In 1972, he headed the Democratic Governors' Campaign Committee and in 1974 served as chairman of the Democratic National Campaign Committee. As early as 1973, Carter had decided to make a run for the U.S. presidency in 1976.

In Georgia, no one can serve two consecutive terms as governor. So when Carter left office in January 1975, he began campaigning for the presidency nationwide. He attracted little attention, but he continued tirelessly and won the early Iowa caucus, where a group of people gather to select candidates. By the August 1976 Democratic National Convention in New York City, Carter had gained enough support to win the nomination. He chose U.S. senator Walter F. Mondale (1928–) of Minnesota as his vice presidential running mate. Carter and Mondale defeated their Republican opponents, President Gerald Ford (1913–) and his running mate, U.S. senator Robert Dole (1923–) of Kansas.

Carter's appeal stemmed from the fact that he was an outsider, not part of the Washington, D.C., political scene. In the minds of the American public, Ford was permanently tied to his predecessor, **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74; see entry), who had resigned from the presidency in disgrace following the Watergate scandal, which involved administration officials participating in the burglary of a Democratic National Committee office and a subsequent cover-up. In one of his first acts as president, Ford pardoned Nixon, a very unpopular move among many citizens. Carter promised to take America toward different goals than Ford and Nixon had pursued. However, concerning relations with the Soviet Union, Carter hoped to continue the policy of *détente* (decreasing international tensions) that Nixon and Ford had established.

## The White House years

Carter appointed Zbigniew Brzezinski (1928–) as his national security advisor and Cyrus Vance (1917–2002) as secretary of state. Brzezinski and Vance held opposing views on how to deal with the Soviets. Vance strongly supported diplomacy (talking out problems), whereas Brzezinski favored military responses to any Soviet activities that were carried out with the goal of expanding communism. Carter at first favored Vance's approach. In January 1977, Carter sent a warm letter to **Leonid Brezhnev** (1906–1982; see entry), general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union. In the letter, Carter expressed his desire to improve relations with the Soviet Union and to end the nuclear weapons arms race. With this letter, Carter also intended to establish

friendlier relations with the Soviets so the United States could focus more on leading the world in promoting human rights rather than being so consumed with the Cold War rivalry.

## Carter's human rights campaign

Carter, a devout Christian, believed in promoting human rights on a global scale. The term *human rights* refers to certain rights that all people, simply by being human, deserve. Examples of human rights include economic opportunities, political freedoms, and an existence free from oppression, unlawful imprisonment, and torture. In March 1977, Carter increased funding for Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and Voice of America, radio stations that beamed programs about basic human freedoms into the Soviet Union and into Eastern Europe, which was under tight communist control. **Andrey Sakharov** (1921–1989; see entry), a Soviet nuclear physicist-turned-dissident, or an individual who disagrees with the ideas of those in power, encouraged Carter to pursue his human rights campaign.

In November 1977, at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the United States accused the Soviets and Eastern European countries of violating their citizens' human rights. Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders charged the United States with interfering in Soviet domestic affairs. In response, through the late 1970s, Brezhnev jailed hundreds of dissidents—anyone in the Soviet Union critical of communist rule. Brezhnev also increased oppression of Soviet Jews who were critical of communist rule. Soon détente was pushed aside, and U.S.-Soviet relations became frosty and hostile. Carter changed course in his foreign policy approach and favored U.S. national security advisor Brzezinski's hard-line attitude toward the Soviets.



**U.S. national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski.**  
*Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

## Latin America

Carter also focused his human rights campaign on Latin American countries and South Korea. Latin America includes all countries in the Western Hemisphere south of the United States. Carter believed the Soviet Union was no longer a strong threat to Latin American countries, so he halted the U.S. policy of supporting oppressive dictatorships just because they were anticommunist. Argentina, Brazil, and Chile were countries known to suffer from human rights abuses. In an attempt to influence government leaders there, Carter blocked U.S. loans to these countries. He also halted other economic assistance and ended arms deals. Carter's policies resulted in chilled relations with Latin American countries that had previously been friendly to the United States.

## Domestic policies

Carter's first action on the home scene was to pardon all those who had evaded the draft during the Vietnam War (1954–75). The draft was a process in which all eighteen-year-old U.S. men had to register to enter the military. Some illegally avoided being drafted by packing up and moving to Canada, where they stayed for many years. Carter's pardon of draft evaders was a popular move with some Americans, but it was very unpopular with many war veterans.

During his term, Carter won congressional approval of two new cabinet-level executive departments: the Department of Education and the Department of Energy. The Department of Energy would regulate energy suppliers and fund research into additional energy sources. Some of Carter's energy policy successes helped reduce the nation's dependence on foreign oil. By the time Carter left office in 1981, his energy programs had reduced U.S. dependence on foreign oil from 48 percent to 40 percent. The United States had also stored large amounts of oil and a surplus of natural gas; domestic production of oil and gas had increased substantially. By the mid-1980s, Carter's policies would lead to reduced prices for energy products. However, in the short term, during the late 1970s, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) nearly tripled its oil prices from \$13 a barrel to above \$34 per barrel. Inflation (the rise in the cost of

goods and services) soared to above 15 percent, and Carter's popularity plummeted. Carter worsened his public image by giving what became known as his "malaise speech," in which he expressed concern over the American people's malaise (though he never actually used that word in his speech), or lack of confidence and purpose, in the future of the United States. To the public, to the media, and to Congress, Carter seemed distant and arrogant. His chances for reelection grew smaller and smaller.

## Successes in foreign affairs

While domestic economic troubles plagued his administration, Carter found success abroad—in relations with China, an arms limitation treaty with the Soviet Union, and a peace treaty that he helped negotiate between Egypt and Israel. Carter also succeeded in negotiating treaties to return control of the Panama Canal to the country of Panama, effective December 31, 1999; the United States had constructed the canal and controlled it since the early 1900s. The Panama Canal treaties were in keeping with Carter's policy of scaling back U.S. involvement in other countries.

The Carter administration continued the efforts of Presidents Nixon and Ford by strengthening U.S. ties with communist China. The countries granted each other full diplomatic relations on January 1, 1979. Communists interested in China's economic growth replaced many hard-line communists in China. The United States began importing finished consumer goods from China and exporting lumber and food products to China.

After six years of talks during the terms of three U.S. presidents (Nixon, Ford, and Carter), the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) was completed. President Carter and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev signed SALT II on June 18, 1979. SALT II put a ceiling on the number of nuclear delivery vehicles each country could possess and on the number of ballistic missiles the two countries could have in their offensive weapons systems. It did not require the countries to reduce their stockpiles of weapons. On the night of June 18, 1979, Carter addressed a joint session of Congress. In the address, as noted in the *Public Papers of the Presidents of the Unit-*



Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin (far left), U.S. president Jimmy Carter, and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat meet in 1979 at the Camp David Accords.

*Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

*ed States: Jimmy Carter, 1979, Book I, Carter stated, "SALT II is very important, but it's more than a single arms control agreement. It is part of a long, historical process of gradually reducing the danger of nuclear war—a process that we in this room must not undermine.... And, of course, SALT II is the absolutely indispensable precondition for moving on to much deeper and more significant cuts under SALT III."*

Unfortunately for U.S.-Soviet relations, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in late 1979 and early 1980 to support an unpopular communist government there. U.S.-Soviet relations nose-dived. Carter refused to allow U.S. athletes to go to the 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow. He also withdrew SALT II from the Senate ratification process. Nevertheless, Brezhnev and Carter and, later, President **Ronald Reagan** (1911–; served 1981–89; see entry), agreed to abide by the provisions of the treaty.

Carter's greatest foreign policy success came with the so-called Camp David Accords. Camp David is the presidential

retreat outside Washington, D.C., in the hills of Maryland. Carter invited Israel's prime minister, Menachem Begin (1913–1992), and Egypt's president, Anwar Sadat (1918–1981), to Camp David to negotiate a peace treaty. Between September 4 and September 17, 1978, Carter effectively mediated between the two bitter enemies until a peace agreement was worked out. The agreement was formally signed in Washington, D.C., on March 26, 1979. Begin and Sadat received the 1978 Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts.

## **Iranian crisis**

In 1979, the shah, or ruler, of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919–1980), was forced to flee Iran when Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (c. 1900–1989), the leader of the Shiites, a radical Muslim group, took control. Exiled, the shah journeyed to Panama in December 1979. Suffering from cancer, he asked for permission to enter the United States for treatment. President Carter agreed to the shah's request. Greatly angered by this action, Iranian revolutionaries stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran, Iran's capital city, and took sixty-six Americans hostage, fourteen of whom were soon released. The Iranians demanded that the shah be returned to Iran for trial on charges of crimes against the Iranian people before the hostages would be released. All negotiations failed, and Carter ordered a military rescue in April 1980. A desert sandstorm downed several of the American rescue helicopters. One helicopter crashed into a transport plane, killing eight. Finally, on the very day Carter left office, January 20, 1981, the fifty-two hostages were released. The Republican candidate, former California governor Ronald Reagan, had easily defeated Carter in the presidential race by charging that Carter had been ineffective in his handling of the hostage crisis and was equally ineffective in reducing inflation and unemployment at home.

## **Second return to Georgia**

Jimmy Carter returned to Plains in January 1981 and immediately began to write his memoirs, *Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President*, first published in 1982. (An engaging author,



## Books by Jimmy Carter

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*"I'll Never Lie to You": Jimmy Carter in His Own Words.* New York: Ballantine, 1976.

*A Government as Good as Its People.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977.

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*An Outdoor Journal: Adventures and Reflections.* New York: Bantam Press, 1988.

*Turning Point: A Candidate, a State, and a Nation Come of Age.* New York: Times Books, 1992.

*Talking Peace.* New York: Dutton Children's Books, 1995.

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*An Hour before Daylight: Memories of a Rural Boyhood.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001.

Carter has written many other books in his postpresidential years; see sidebar.) In his postpresidential life, Carter became a model for future ex-presidents by maintaining a substantial involvement in worthwhile causes, particularly human rights issues. Considering Carter's accomplishments after 1980, it seems the U.S. presidency was not the pinnacle of his career, but a stepping-stone on a path to further greatness.

In October 1984, construction began on the Jimmy Carter Library. The library is located on a 35-acre campus near downtown Atlanta, Georgia. Completed in October 1986, the facility includes the presidential library, the Carter Museum, privately maintained offices for Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter and the staff of foundations supported by the Carters, and the Carter Center. The Carter Center operates in partnership with Emory University and is governed by an independent board of trustees chaired by the former president. According to the Center's Web site, its mission "is guided by a fundamental commitment to human rights and the alleviation of human suffering; it seeks to prevent and resolve conflicts, enhance freedom and democracy, and improve health."

Through the Carter Center Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter have been involved in many dispute resolution activities, especially in civil war situations in Third World countries. They have also monitored elections in countries where open and honest elections are difficult to carry out and



given advice to government officials on a variety of issues. Jimmy Carter has served as an unofficial ambassador for several administrations. President **George Bush** (1924–; served 1989–93; see entry), Reagan’s successor, sent Carter to Panama in 1989 to oversee presidential elections there. Then in 1990, Carter led a team that monitored presidential elections in Nicaragua. President Bill Clinton (1946–; served 1993–2001) sent Carter to North Korea in 1994 to defuse a nuclear weapons dispute. For all his efforts, Carter was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2002.

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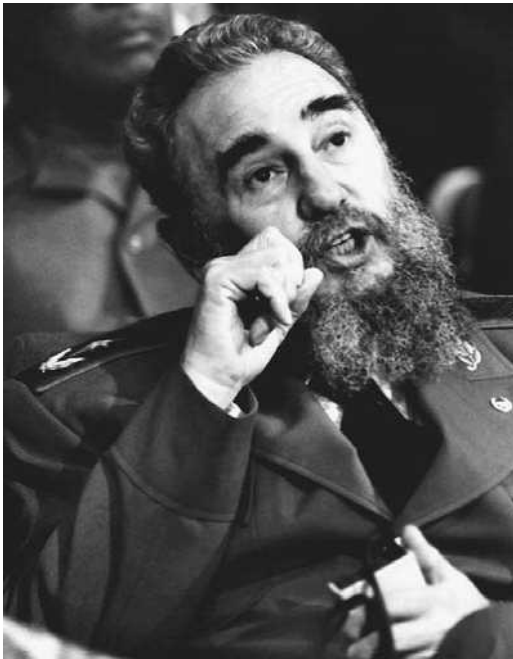
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## Fidel Castro

**Born August 13, 1926**  
**Mayarí, Cuba**

**Cuban president**

"If there ever was in the history of humanity an enemy who was truly universal, an enemy whose acts and moves trouble [and] threaten the entire world ... that real and really universal enemy is precisely Yankee imperialism."

**Fidel Castro.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Cuba's proximity to the United States, only 90 miles (145 kilometers) from the Florida Keys, and its hard-line pro-Soviet Union communist government led successive U.S. presidential administrations to fear the island, both as a base for subversive activities throughout the Western Hemisphere and as a platform for a Soviet attack on the United States. These fears led to the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and American efforts to isolate the Cuban government and assassinate its leader, Fidel Castro. In the early twenty-first century, Cuba still operated under communism, a governmental system in which a single political party, the Communist Party, controls nearly all aspects of society. In a communist economy, private ownership of property and businesses is banned so that goods produced and wealth accumulated can be shared equally by all.

Although the Soviet Union never entered into a formal military alliance with Castro, Castro was useful to the Soviets because his presence challenged U.S. dominance in Latin America. In this sense, Castro's Cuba was an irritant to the Americans just as West Berlin was to the Soviets. Castro regularly appeared at international meetings, where he criti-

cized American imperialism, the process of expanding the authority of one government over other nations and groups of people, and offered aid and encouragement to national liberation movements in the Third World. (Third World refers to poor underdeveloped or economically developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Many of these countries were seeking independence from the political control of Western European nations.

## **A land of opportunity**

Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz was born on his father's farm, "Las Manacas," near the town of Mayarí in the former province of Oriente. He was the third child of seven born to Lina Ruz Gonzalez and Angel Castro Argiz. Angel was a Spaniard who fought as a cavalry officer in the Spanish army during the Spanish-American War (1898). This conflict was an ongoing civil war between Spain, which controlled Cuba at that time, and rebel forces seeking independence for Cuba. The United States had an interest in ridding Cuba of its Spanish rulers, because it no longer wanted European influences in the Western Hemisphere. The United States wanted to control or influence resources and economies for its own benefit and not allow possible growth of influences from abroad. By April 1898, U.S. military forces were sent in to assist the rebels. Within only a few months, Cuba was liberated from Spanish domination.

After the war, Angel Castro stayed on in Cuba to become a relatively prosperous sugarcane grower. He was a powerful authoritarian figure who was often in a state of conflict with his young sons. At the age of thirteen, Fidel went so far as to organize a strike of the workers on his father's plantation. Fidel inherited his father's height, which contributed to his success as a superior athlete.

Fidel's mother was a very religious woman who had received little education herself. She therefore stressed the importance of education for her children. She combined warmth and affection with high expectations and a determination that they would succeed. In 1942, at the age of fifteen, Fidel attended Belen, a Jesuit, or Catholic missionary, boarding school in Havana that had close ties with Spain. The prestigious school served the nation's upper class and offered the

best education and opportunity in Cuba. From the moment young Fidel arrived at the school, the faculty singled him out as a boy with exceptional talent and leadership potential.

At Belen, Castro was exposed to the writings of Cuban national hero José Martí (1853–1895). Martí was a towering figure in Cuban history, a patriot who fought for Cuba’s freedom. Like Castro, Martí was the son of an officer in the Spanish army, the army that opposed the Cuban rebels who fought for independence in the late nineteenth century. Despite his father’s political leanings, José Martí was dedicated to the struggle for an independent Cuba.

The fascist, or dictatorial, views of José Antonio Primo de Rivera (1903–1936) were another significant influence on Castro. De Rivera fought under Spanish leader Francisco Franco (1892–1975) in order to free Spain from strong communist and British influences. Like Castro, de Rivera came from a wealthy background, but he had given up an easy life to fight for what he believed in.

While at Belen, Castro was very active in a Jesuit organization called the “Explorers,” which was similar to the Boy Scouts. They went on rigorous camping trips into rugged mountain areas, and Castro acquired a reputation for stamina and endurance, eventually becoming the leader of the troop.

## **Revolution**

In 1945, Castro went on to study law at the University of Havana, and it was there that he became involved in politics. Castro joined the left-wing, or liberal, Cuban People’s Party. In 1948, he married Mirta Diaz-Bilart, and they had a son. Castro graduated with a law degree from the University of Havana in 1950 and set up a law practice in the city.

During most of Castro’s early years, Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar (1901–1973), an oppressive dictator, a leader who uses force and terror to maintain control, ruled Cuba. Since 1933, either directly or through others who were leaders in name only, Batista had been in complete control of the island. Batista’s economic policies helped establish such light industry businesses as canneries and allowed foreign companies, many from the United States, to build their businesses

in Cuba. U.S. corporations dominated the sugar industry, oil production, and other key elements of the island's economy. As a result, most of Cuba's wealth was therefore only owned by a small percentage of the population, meaning most Cuban citizens lived in dire poverty. Cuba was ripe for revolution by the 1950s. Castro, the handsome, intense young lawyer, proved to be a charismatic leader for the rebel cause.

Castro started organizing a revolution to overthrow Batista. On July 26, 1953, Castro was arrested after leading an armed assault on the Moncada army barracks in Santiago de Cuba. The attack was a failure, and most of his followers were killed. Castro conducted his own defense at his trial and used the opportunity as a platform to call for free elections, land reform, profit sharing, and industrialization. These issues formed the foundation of his revolutionary movement, and they appealed to many Cubans. Both Castro and his brother, Raúl Castro (1931–), were sentenced to fifteen years in prison for insurrection, or revolt. They were released under an amnesty, or official forgiveness, program in 1955. Castro's marriage to Mirta was dissolved that year as well.

Naming a tiny group of rebels the "26th of July Movement," Castro went into exile in Mexico and began to organize an armed rebellion. The small band of guerrillas, small groups of soldiers specializing in surprise attacks, returned to Cuba on December 26, 1956, aboard an old 38-foot (12-meter) wooden boat, the *Granma*, which had been purchased from an American. Upon landing back at home in Oriente, they encountered government forces and suffered heavy losses. Castro and eleven others, including his brother Raúl and Argentinian revolutionary leader Ernesto "Che" Guevara (1928–1967), survived the encounter and escaped to the mountains of the Sierra Maestra on the southeast end of the island. There they joined allies, all part of a widespread opposition to Batista. Castro began to launch a military offensive against Batista's Cuban army in the fall of 1958. With his regime collapsing around him and Castro marching on Havana, Batista fled for the Dominican Republic in the early hours of January 1, 1959. Fidel Castro and his forces immediately took control of the capital and the country. Castro took the oath of office as premier of Cuba on February 16, 1959, and became the youngest head of state in the Western Hemisphere.

## A new Cuban government

In the immediate aftermath of the overthrow of Batista's government, Castro appeared to be inclined toward a democratic government. A democratic system of government allows multiple political parties. Members of the different political parties are elected to various government offices by popular vote of the people. Castro arrived in Washington, D.C., in April 1959 to begin a goodwill tour of the United States, a staunchly democratic country. In Washington and in New York City, enthusiastic crowds greeted Castro; he was seen as a democratic reformer, not a communist. However, after Castro returned to Cuba, it quickly became evident that he was basing his regime on opposition to the Americans. In May, against the objections of the United States, Castro nationalized, or took control and ownership of, the sugarcane industry, which had been dominated by an American corporation, the United Fruit Company. He proceeded to collectivize agriculture, or place control of farmlands under group control in specific areas rather than by individual ownership. Castro also took over native- and foreign-owned industry, placing it under the government's control. Many of the wealthy, property-owning classes fled the country.

The United States was heavily invested in the Cuban economy and had virtually controlled it for decades. Being the dominant power in Cuba, America had also intervened in Cuban politics to ensure that the Cuban government would stay friendly to the United States. Castro's policy of transforming Cuba from a capitalist to a socialist society did not sit well with the United States, which had always had a capitalist economy. In a capitalist economy, property and businesses are privately owned. Production, distribution, and prices of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention. In contrast, a socialist economy allows the government to control all means of production and to set prices.

Castro's new economic policies made Cuba a focal point of the Cold War, an intense political and economic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that lasted from 1945 to 1991. By September 1959, Castro had signed trade agreements with the Soviet Union, a communist country. He then signed agreements with the rest of Eastern Europe and China, all communist nations. Castro was openly

critical of the United States and blamed American imperialism for inflicting economic backwardness on Cuba and the rest of Latin America. U.S. president **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61; see entry) responded by imposing trade restrictions on Cuba. One of the last official diplomatic acts of the Eisenhower administration was the severing of U.S.-Cuban diplomatic relations. In March 1960, Eisenhower authorized the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to begin training Cuban exiles, people who had fled Cuba, to participate in a possible attack on Cuba.

## The Bay of Pigs

When President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) took office in January 1961, he inherited Eisenhower's plan to destabilize the Castro regime. The United States was in the midst of the Cold War with the communist Soviet Union, and Kennedy did not wish to appear soft on Communism. However, he did not want to put U.S. forces in danger by staging a full-fledged invasion of Cuba. Kennedy instead authorized a revised, top-secret plan to carry out a small-scale invasion. On April 17, 1961, the plan was put into action.

The original plan had been to land a large-scale operation at Trinidad, on the southern coast of Cuba. The landing was switched to a spot about 100 miles (160 kilometers) away, just south of the city of Matanzas, called the Bahía de Cochinos (Bay of Pigs). The armed force consisted of about fifteen hundred U.S.-trained Cuban exiles. The Cuban military quickly confronted this small group, and the whole operation collapsed within days. The victory was a major boost for Castro and a major embarrassment for the Kennedy administration. The invasion provoked demonstrations against the United States in Latin America and Europe and increased the tensions between the United States and Cuba. The event also encouraged Castro to seek military ties with the Soviet Union so he could protect his government against another attack.

## A tug of war

Castro's success in maintaining independence from the United States earned him admiration in Latin America

and throughout the Third World. Sporting a beard and dressed in army fatigues, Castro cultivated his image as a revolutionary hero and guerrilla fighter. Cuba provided military assistance to revolutionary movements in South America and later in Africa. U.S. presidential administrations sought to isolate Castro's government within the Western Hemisphere and made it known to other countries that having friendly relations with Castro would be considered an unfriendly act toward the United States.

American attempts to overthrow Castro shifted from invasion to a covert operation, dubbed Operation Mongoose. The goal of the top-secret effort, which was directed by the CIA, was to get rid of Castro—via overthrow or assassination. At least eight attempts were made on Castro's life, a fact revealed in documents released by the U.S. government. The assassination attempts involved contacts with the Mafia, or secret criminals, to hire hit men to assassinate Castro. Other attempts involved the use of poisoned cigars, poisoned pills, a poison pen, and a poison-impregnated skin diving suit. At one time, Castro himself claimed that at least twenty-four CIA-organized attempts had been made on his life.

## **Building tensions**

Castro reacted to the U.S. hostility by openly describing himself as procommunist in 1961. He established close political and economic ties with the Soviet Union so that Cuba was aligned with the communist bloc, or group, of nations. Soviet aid enabled Castro to redistribute wealth in Cuba, introduce a free public health system, expand educational opportunities, and provide full employment. However, Castro also introduced a Soviet-style political structure; the Cuban Communist Party was the only legal political party. Press and television were heavily censored, and most businesses were owned by the state. In exchange for the aid they provided to Cuba, the Soviets hoped to use Castro's revolutionary enthusiasm to further the cause of communism on an international scale.

In 1962, Castro sent his finance minister, Che Guevara, and his foreign minister, Raúl Castro, to Moscow to negotiate for Soviet military aid. The Soviets refused to sign a formal military alliance with Cuba; instead they decided to install nuclear offensive and defensive missiles on the island. This would pro-



**MISSILE EQUIPMENT  
MARIEL PORT FACILITY  
4 NOVEMBER 1962**



vide the Soviets with a strategic military base in the Western Hemisphere and protect Cuba from American attack.

### **Cuban Missile Crisis**

One year after the Bay of Pigs invasion attempt, Kennedy and his advisors began an intensive debate about

Missile erectors and launch stands are visible in this aerial intelligence photograph of Mariel Port Facility in Cuba during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

how to respond to the informal alliance between Cuba and the Soviet Union. Anxious U.S. leaders doubted that Cuban communism and the capitalist democracy of the United States could exist peacefully side by side, only 90 miles (145 kilometers) apart. As an added security measure, some 150,000 U.S. reserve troops were ordered to active duty, and U.S. reconnaissance, or spy, flights over Cuba increased. These flights revealed that the Soviet Union had started building launching pads for offensive ballistic missiles at San Cristóbal. Then intelligence reports revealed that twenty-five Soviet ships, carrying a cargo of ballistic missiles, had recently left ports on the Black Sea bound for Cuba. They were expected to reach the Caribbean within ten days. This left President Kennedy just over a week to decide his course of action. The only certain military solution would be a full-scale assault on Cuba. But such an attack could be used by the Soviets to justify a similar attack on West Berlin, the stronghold of Western influence in Eastern Europe. In short, Kennedy thought that military action at this point might well lead to World War III.

President Kennedy and his advisors decided to use a naval blockade around Cuba. Because blockades were against international law, they called the blockade a “quarantine.” The purpose of the quarantine was to prevent the Soviet ships carrying the missiles from reaching Cuba; the United States wanted to give Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry) time to reconsider his actions. Khrushchev quickly recognized that he was in an impossible situation: If he moved against West Berlin, he would face nuclear retaliation. If he completed and used the missile bases already in Cuba, his fate would be no different. If he simply left the missiles already in place in Cuba, the United States would invade Cuba and the Soviet Union would lose its communist foothold in the Western Hemisphere. If he tried to break the blockade, the result would be a direct Soviet-American military confrontation, which could quickly escalate out of control. Khrushchev therefore opted to negotiate with the United States, and ultimately the Soviets removed their missiles from Cuba. Castro was left out of the negotiations entirely.

The Cuban Missile Crisis frightened the leaders of both the Soviet Union and the United States. It led both countries to move toward easing international tensions in order to avoid a repeat of the event. In the months immediately fol-

lowing the crisis, the two countries established the Washington-Moscow Hot Line, and in August 1963 they signed the first Limited Test-Ban Treaty, which banned nuclear bomb testing in the atmosphere, in outer space, or underwater.

## Home front

Although Cuba retained its political independence, the Cuban economy came to depend on billions of dollars in Soviet aid. Soviet support eventually began to drop off, and by 1985, when **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1931–; see entry) came into power in the Soviet Union, Castro was forced to reduce his expenditures. As the Cuban economy worsened, Castro's government increased food and gasoline rationing, or limited distribution. After a thirty-year absence, Cuba was given a seat in the United Nations Security Council on January 1, 1990. However, in Cuba, there were signs of discontent with Castro's government. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Cuba entered a crisis period. In need of foreign financial assistance to relieve the economic depression, Castro's regime began to promote tourism and open the country up to foreign investment. In 1991, Castro coauthored a book with South African leader Nelson Mandela (1918–). It was titled *How Far We Slaves Have Come: South Africa and Cuba in Today's World*. Castro remains a symbol of the Cuban Revolution and continues to lead Cuba in the twenty-first century.

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# Chiang Kai-shek

**Born October 31, 1887**

**Qikou, Zhejiang Province, China**

**Died April 5, 1975**

**Taipei, Taiwan**

**President of the Republic of China**

"We live in the present,  
we dream of the future  
and we learn eternal  
truths from the past."

**Chiang Kai-shek.** *Reproduced  
by permission of AP/Wide  
World Photos.*

**C**hiang Kai-shek was a longtime leader of China. First, he ruled Mainland China from 1927 to 1949. In 1949, Chinese communist forces defeated Chiang in a civil war. He fled to the island of Taiwan, where he established the Republic of China (ROC). He ruled over Taiwan in a dictatorial fashion into the 1970s.

## Young revolutionary

Chiang Kai-shek was born in October 1887 in the village of Qikou, within the coastal Zhejiang Province, about 100 miles (160 kilometers) south of the city of Shanghai. His father, a salt merchant, died when Chiang was nine years old. Chiang's early education was in the Confucian tradition, instilling him with strong self-discipline. Confucianism is an educational system based on the teachings of the early Chinese philosopher Confucius (551–479 B.C.E.); it includes training in ethics and diplomacy. Because of his schooling in Confucianism, which teaches students to be inwardly reflective, respect authority, and not call attention to oneself, Chiang would always be quiet and passionless in his mannerisms and diplomatic relations.

Chiang gained admission to the Paoting Military Academy in 1906 and was a good enough student to be sent to a Japanese academy in 1907 for advanced study. While in Japan, Chiang met a Chinese revolutionary named Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), who became his mentor. When student revolts broke out in China in 1911 against the Manchu dynasty, Chiang became a military commander for Sun. In 1912, Sun founded the Kuomintang, or Nationalist movement, based in Canton in southeast China. With the fall of the Manchu in 1913, the young revolutionaries continued fighting the new Chinese leader, Yüan Shih-k'ai (1859–1916). When Yüan died in 1916, the country fragmented into a number of regions ruled by local warlords, or dictatorial leaders. For the next several years, Chiang shifted back and forth between China and Japan, at times doing work for Sun. In 1921, Chiang became chief of staff of Sun's Nationalist government.

During the early 1920s, the Kuomintang were allied with Chinese communist forces and supported by the newly established communist government in the Soviet Union. Sun sent Chiang to the Soviet Union in 1923 to study Soviet military organization and obtain aid. Using the information Chiang gathered in the Soviet Union, Sun established the Whampoa Military Academy and appointed Chiang commander of the academy. The academy would train many of China's future military leaders. Chiang had returned from the Soviet Union with valuable military information, but during his stay he had formed strong anticommunist views.

## Leader of the Chinese Nationals

Sun died in 1925, and after a power struggle, Chiang took command of the Kuomintang. Still holding power only in the south of the country, Chiang launched a major military expedition in July 1926 to gain control of the remainder of China. However, Chiang felt threatened by the increasing popularity of the Chinese communists. In April 1927, during his expedition, Chiang carried out a surprise bloody massacre of thousands of communists. Surviving Chinese Communist Party members, led by **Mao Zedong** (1893–1976; see entry) and **Zhou Enlai** (1898–1976; see entry), fled to the southern Jiangxi Province. With the communists temporarily beaten back, Chiang established a base for the Nationalist govern-

ment in the city of Nanking. However, the warlords still controlled much of northern China.

In September 1927, during a lull in the military expedition, Chiang journeyed to Japan to marry Soong Mei-ling (1897–), an American-educated daughter of a prominent Chinese Christian family. To fulfill a condition of the December wedding, Chiang became a devout Christian. Mei-ling, who became known as Madame Chiang, would later help Chiang gain crucial support from the United States.

## Leader of China

In 1928, Chiang continued his military expedition to the north. Gaining control of the northern city of Peking in June, Chiang claimed rule over all of China. He proceeded to build a strong political and military base. However, warlords still persisted in controlling some areas, the communists were expanding their control of the Jiangxi Province, and in 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria, a northeastern region of China. Even though the Japanese were clearly interested in expanding their influence, Chiang decided to focus his efforts on eliminating the communists. In 1934, Chiang's Nationalist army encircled the communist forces. However, many of the communists escaped, and in a 6,000-mile (9,654-kilometer) journey known as the Long March, they made their way to northwestern China, where they would regroup once again.

Chiang modernized China by bringing in foreign-educated intellectuals and emphasizing higher education. He began the "New Life Movement," promoting a lifestyle combining Confucian values, the Western Christian religion values of Protestantism, and strict military discipline. However, as urban development flourished, conditions in rural China declined.

From their distant location in northwest China, the communists tried to negotiate with Chiang to end the hostilities between them and join forces against the Japanese in Manchuria. However, Chiang refused to cooperate with the communists. Then, in December 1936, the Sian Incident occurred: A group of warlords kidnapped Chiang and insisted that he confront the Japanese. Seizing on the opportunity, communist leader Zhou Enlai rushed to where Chiang was



## Madame Chiang Kai-shek

Soong Mei-ling, the wife of Chiang Kai-shek, played a major role in sustaining U.S. financial and military support for the Republic of China (ROC) through much of the Cold War. The Soong family was prominent in Chinese politics throughout the twentieth century. Mei-ling's father, Charlie Soong (1866–1918), became a wealthy businessman by the 1890s. All four of his children were educated in the United States.

In 1894, Charlie became a supporter of Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary movement to overthrow the oppressive Manchu dynasty in China. He financed Sun's newly formed Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party. An older sister of Mei-Ling, Soong Ch'ing-ling, married Sun in 1914, even though he was twenty-six years older than she was. After Sun's death in 1925, Ch'ing-ling actively supported the more liberal wing of the Nationalist Party as Chiang Kai-shek gained control of the larger conservative wing. When Chiang purged communists in 1927, Ch'ing-ling denounced the slaughter and left China for the Soviet Union. Later that same year, her sister Mei-ling married Chiang.

Graceful and charming, Mei-ling became better known as Madame Chiang. She introduced Chiang Kai-shek to Western culture and promoted Chiang's cause throughout the United States, building strong support for his war against the Chinese communist forces. During World War II, Madame Chiang wrote many articles, published in U.S. journals, in support of the



**Madame Chiang Kai-shek.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

China Lobby, an influential U.S. group of Chinese Nationalist supporters. After the war, her sister Ch'ing-ling returned to Chinese politics, actively opposing Chiang's war against the Chinese communist movement. When Chiang lost to the communists in 1949 and fled to Taiwan, Ch'ing-ling remained in Mainland China and became an important official in the Communist People's Republic of China (PRC) government.

In 1943, Madame Chiang became the first Chinese citizen and only the second woman in history to address a joint session of the U.S. Congress. In 1951, she received the Stalin Prize; in 1967, her name appeared on a U.S. list of the ten most admired women in the world; and in 1981, she was named honorary chairperson of the PRC.

being held. Arguing to save Chiang's life, Chou was able to reach an agreement on ending the Chinese civil war and joining forces with Chiang's army and the warlords to battle the Japanese. Their alliance, called the United Front, benefited both sides: The Chinese communists gained public respect for obtaining a peaceful end to the incident, and during the late 1930s Chiang's popularity soared in China and the United States because of his ability to hold full military power over the union of nationalists and communists.

### **Decline of the Nationalist government**

The United Front stayed together until 1941, splitting just before the United States entered World War II (1939–45) against Japan. The United States threw its support behind Chiang's Nationalist government. However, the Chinese people were growing weary of war, and the Chinese economy was suffering; Chiang's popularity sagged. In addition, Allied leaders soon grew wary of Chiang's increasingly corrupt and inefficient government. During this period, the Chinese communists gained popularity by deciding to take a different strategy and take advantage of the growing discontent to gain greater political strength, albeit underground; however, some degree of cooperation persisted with Chiang and Zhou Enlai acting as the go-between until civil war broke out again after Japan was defeated.

After the Japanese surrendered in August 1945, ending World War II, Chiang once again focused on eliminating the Chinese communists. The United States made diplomatic efforts to help the different Chinese factions form a coalition government, or partnership, but this attempt was unsuccessful. Civil war once again broke out between the army supporting Chiang and the communist forces led by Mao Zedong. Chiang's support was weak, primarily coming from merchants, large landowners, and the military. The communists appealed to the peasants, who made up 90 percent of the Chinese population. Despite their numbers, Chiang had largely ignored them during his period in power. Seeing no advantage in further supporting Chiang, President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry) reduced U.S. aid to Chiang's forces. Mao's forces finally captured Mainland





**Chiang Kai-shek in front of Nationalist headquarters in Taipei.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

China and formed the Communist People's Republic of China (PRC) in October 1949.

### **Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan**

Chiang fled with over one million refugees to the island of Taiwan, located 90 miles (145 kilometers) off the south coast of Mainland China. There, he established the Republic

of China (ROC). On Taiwan, Chiang was unchallenged and gained unlimited power over the fifteen million inhabitants of Taiwan. Chiang declared martial law (military rule) and jailed dissenters. Martial law would continue into the late 1980s, and the ROC government was essentially a dictatorship. Chiang Kai-shek's son, Chiang Ching-kuo (1910–1988), gained a reputation for ruthlessness as head of the ROC secret police.

In the United States, President Truman faced renewed pressure from influential Chinese Nationalist supporters, who were greatly dismayed by the communist takeover of Mainland China. They criticized U.S. leaders for not assisting Chiang more during the struggle. Therefore, the United States renewed its support of Chiang and officially recognized the ROC as the only legitimate government of China. For years, the China Lobby, an influential U.S. group of Chinese Nationalist supporters with lots of money and political clout, continued to pressure the U.S. government to recognize ROC as the main government of China, not the PRC. The United States fought against the Communist PRC's entrance into the United Nations for thirty years.

Chiang had long harbored a desire to invade Mainland China and recapture it from the Chinese communists. The outbreak of the Korean War (1950–53) in 1950 raised his hopes of attacking the PRC from the south while PRC forces were busy to the east in Korea. However, Truman did not want to potentially draw the Soviet Union into a much wider conflict. During the 1950s, feeling threatened by Chiang, the PRC twice bombarded the ROC-controlled islands of Quemoy and Matsu, off the southern coast of China. In both cases, the United States intervened, threatening the PRC with nuclear weapons while extracting guarantees from Chiang that he would drop any ideas of invading Mainland China.

Taiwan, the island Chiang controlled under the ROC government, enjoyed strong economic growth after 1954, achieving one of the highest standards of living in Asia. It became a center of technology. However, the 1970s brought important changes for Chiang. The PRC replaced the ROC in the United Nations in 1971. With **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74; see entry) now president, the United States backed off on its opposition and the inevitable UN switch occurred. Most countries had favored recognizing PRC over ROC

to begin with, since it represented the bulk of the population and Chiang was essentially a leader in exile. In 1972, Nixon became the first U.S. president to visit the PRC. During his visit, Nixon verbally agreed with Mao and the Chinese communist leaders that Taiwan was part of Mainland China. Also during 1972, Chiang's son, Chiang Ching-kuo, assumed most leadership responsibilities in Taiwan. Chiang remained leader in title only, until his death from a heart attack in April 1975; his son succeeded him in power. In 1979, the United States wanted to open up a new market for U.S. businesses, but it could not expand relations with the PRC while still recognizing the ROC; so it dropped formal diplomatic relations with the ROC and officially recognized the PRC.

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## Winston Churchill

**Born November 30, 1874**  
**Oxfordshire, England**  
**Died January 24, 1965**  
**London, England**

**British prime minister**

“Never give in—never, never, never, never, in nothing great or small, large or petty, never give in except to convictions of honour and good sense.”

**Winston Churchill.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

**W**inston Churchill was one of the greatest political figures of the twentieth century. He led Britain from the brink of defeat to ultimate victory in World War II (1939–45). Churchill later became the first of the major Western leaders to warn of the communist threat, and he was the first to use the term “Iron Curtain” to describe the growing division or barrier between the communist East and the democratic West. Communism is a system of government in which a single political party, the Communist Party, controls almost all aspects of people’s lives. In a communist economy, private ownership of property and business is prohibited so that goods produced and wealth accumulated can be shared equally by all.

Churchill’s courage and independence of mind often created difficulties for him in his early career, but they served him well during the critical moments of World War II, when he demonstrated rare qualities of leadership and outstanding gifts as a public speaker. He was a soldier, writer, artist, and statesman. Britain’s Queen Elizabeth II (1926–) conferred on Churchill the dignity of knighthood and invested him with the insignia of a special honor called the Order of the Garter in

1953. That year, Churchill also received the Nobel Prize in literature. In 1963, President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) made Churchill an honorary U.S. citizen.

## A prestigious inheritance

English on his father's side, American on his mother's, Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill was born at Blenheim Palace, near Oxford, England, in 1874. He was the eldest son of Jennie Jerome and Lord Randolph Churchill (1849–1895). Young Winston was born into a long, distinguished family history. He was named Winston after the Royalist (supporter of the British monarchy) family the Churchills married into before the English Civil War in the mid-seventeenth century. He was given the name Leonard in honor of his maternal grandfather, a wealthy American financier from New York named Leonard Jerome. The name Spencer was the married name of the daughter of the first duke of Marlborough, from whom the family descended. And lastly, he received the Churchill surname. It was the original family name of the first duke of Marlborough (John Churchill [1650–1722]), a great soldier and the family patriarch.

Young Winston's talents were not apparent during his unremarkable schooldays at Harrow, an exclusive English private school. On his third attempt to gain admittance, he was accepted for army training at the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst. He graduated from the academy in 1894. Winston entered the army as a cavalry officer. He took to soldiering, including regimental polo playing, with great enthusiasm.

Churchill made his mark as a journalist and writer, not as a soldier, though he did participate in three major military campaigns. He was a war correspondent in 1895 with the Spanish forces fighting the guerrillas, or irregular and independent fighters, in Cuba. He served as both a war correspondent and an officer in two later campaigns: In 1897, Churchill fought in India, and in 1898 he took part in the Sudan campaign in Africa. While in Sudan, he participated in the British army's last cavalry charge at the Battle of Omdurman.

In 1899, Churchill went to South Africa to report on the Boer War (1899–1902) for the London *Morning Post* and

was captured within a month of his arrival. Taken to a prison camp in Pretoria, Churchill made a dramatic escape and traveled by way of Portuguese East Africa back to the fighting front in Natal. His escape made him world-famous overnight. He returned to Britain as a national hero, and in 1900 he capitalized on his popularity by running for political office and winning a seat as a Conservative member of Parliament for Oldham, a city in northwest England. He would remain a member of Parliament for sixty-four years.

## Politics

In 1904, Churchill left the Conservative Party to join the Liberals. He spent a considerable amount of his time and energy working on his father's biography, which was published in 1905. In 1908, his book *My African Journey* was published. It recounted his experiences—both for work and for pleasure—while touring East Africa. That same year, Churchill married Clementine Ogilvy Hozier. Together, they had five children and, in his own words, “lived happily ever afterwards.”

Churchill held many high government posts during the first three decades of the century. From 1911 to 1915, he was first lord of the admiralty, which is the political head of the Royal Navy. In 1915, when he became embroiled in a heated dispute over Britain's tactics in World War I (1914–18), he resigned from the government and joined the fighting in France as a lieutenant colonel. In 1916, Churchill returned to Parliament as minister of munitions. While holding that job, he helped develop the world's first tanks. Churchill abandoned the Liberals and rejoined the Conservative Party in the early 1920s but found he was now being personally excluded from elections by officials of all major parties because of his repeated switching of party affiliation and because of military decisions he made during World War I that did not work out. Excluded from office, Churchill spent the 1930s as a private citizen and continued his writing.

Throughout the 1930s, Churchill spoke out publicly to warn the world about the threat posed by Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), the leader of Germany's Nazi Party (known primarily for its brutal policies of racism). When Germany invaded Poland in 1939, thereby starting World War II, the moment



## Writings and Honors

Winston Churchill's literary career began in 1898 with military campaign reports. His first book, *The Story of the Malakand Field Force* (1898), recounted his experiences fighting the tribesmen of the North-West Frontier in India. Churchill next wrote about his experiences in the Battle of Omdurman in *The River War* (1899).

In 1900, Churchill published his only novel, *Savrola*, and six years later he published his first major work, a biography of his father, titled *Lord Randolph Churchill*. He later wrote another famous biography, *Marlborough*, which tells of the life of his great ancestor, the first duke of Marlborough. It was published in four volumes between 1933 and 1938. In the 1930s, while he was out of public office, Churchill wrote *My Early Life* (1930), *Thoughts and Adventures* (1932), and

the first draft of *History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, a multivolume work that was published in the 1950s. During the 1930s, he also took up painting as a hobby, and he remained devoted to it for the rest of his life. A collection of his portrait sketches, *Great Contemporaries*, came out in 1937, and he published *Painting as a Pastime* in 1948.

Churchill's history of World War I appeared in four volumes under the title *The World Crisis* (1923–29). His memoirs of World War II, titled *The Second World War*, were published in six volumes between 1948 and 1954. Churchill published the four-volume *History of the English-Speaking Peoples* (1956–58) after he retired from his position as prime minister. In 1958, the Royal Academy in London devoted its galleries to a show of Churchill's paintings.

of confrontation between Britain and Hitler had finally arrived. Churchill found himself uniquely positioned as a symbol for action and national resolve because of his longstanding strong stance against Hitler's aggression, unlike Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940) and other contemporary leaders. This gave Chamberlain no choice but to return Churchill to the cabinet as head of the navy. Chamberlain's efforts to appease Hitler failed, as Germany continued to expand. Chamberlain soon lost his position as prime minister to Churchill, who also became minister of defense in 1940.

## Alliances

After Germany defeated France, Britain's major ally in the war, Britain stood alone against the Germans for much of



**British prime minister Winston Churchill inspects his troops during World War II.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

1940. Churchill had inherited a grim situation: Great Britain was under constant air attack and lay under the threat of German invasion. Churchill nevertheless stood firm, refusing Hitler's offers to join his side, and requested help from other world leaders.

Churchill's genius lay in his ability to communicate his conviction that the war could and must be won. By the autumn of 1940, he became confident that the Germans could not succeed if they attempted to invade Britain. Britain had successfully withstood the first few months of German bombing of London and its other cities and had garnered support from the United States in terms of war materials to fend off potential efforts of German forces to try to cross the English Channel in a sea invasion. From the earliest days of the war, Churchill had sought an alliance with both the United States and the Soviet Union; he knew he would need their aid in the fight against Hitler's forces. When Hitler launched his surprise attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941,



Churchill immediately pledged Britain's aid to the Soviet people. On December 7 of that year, the United States entered the war after Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, a U.S. naval base in Hawaii. By May 1942, Churchill had his formal alliance with the United States and the Soviet Union. The leaders of the Allied nations—Churchill, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45), and Soviet premier **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry)—were thereafter referred to as the Big Three.

## Summit meetings

Churchill's years as Hitler's only opposition had earned him prestige equal to that of Roosevelt and Stalin, the world's two superpower leaders. Working closely with Roosevelt and keeping on equal terms with Stalin, Churchill traveled widely throughout the war and was present at the three great Allied summit meetings. The first of these was held in Tehran, Iran's capital city; the second was in Yalta in the Soviet Crimean region; and the third took place in Potsdam, Germany.

When the Big Three met at the Tehran Conference in early December 1943, the beginnings of victory were visible. The leaders began discussing strategy for the final stages of the war and plans for the postwar world. The historic Yalta Conference was held in February 1945. The postwar division of Germany was the first and most important item on the agenda. The boundaries of the occupation zones of Germany became controversial, and the exact divisions were left to later discussions.

The second item on the agenda was the formation of the United Nations (UN), an international organization, composed of most of the nations of the world, created to preserve world peace and security. It was proposed that the UN would have a Security Council and that Britain, the United States, China, and the Soviet Union—the four permanent members of the council—would each have a veto. This meant that these nations would always have the power to block any proposed UN actions that might be detrimental to their own well-being and goals.

The third item on the agenda was German war reparations, or payments for war damages. The three leaders could only agree to refer the issue to a reparations commission. The

final and most difficult subject on the Yalta agenda was the future of Poland, which was occupied by Soviet forces. This subject dominated the discussions, yet no agreement or resolution was forthcoming. Poland would become a major point of conflict between the East (the Soviet Union) and the West (the other Allies).

The Potsdam Conference took place during the British general election in July 1945. It was the first major diplomatic forum at which it became apparent that the wartime alliance might not survive into peacetime. The East-West differences came to the forefront, especially over the issue of Poland. The world had changed dramatically since the Yalta Conference five months earlier. Germany had surrendered, and the Soviet Union was preparing to enter the war against Japan. Roosevelt had died, and **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry) was the new U.S. president. The day before the conference started, the United States had successfully tested the world's first atomic bomb.

Midway through the conference, Churchill was replaced by a newly elected prime minister, **Clement R. Attlee** (1883–1967; see entry). A general election in Great Britain was being held as the meetings began. Conservative Party candidate Churchill and Labour Party candidate Attlee had both traveled to Germany and awaited the results. The Labour Party was victorious, meaning Attlee became prime minister, replacing Churchill in the Big Three. The only easy decision to come out of the conference was an agreement regarding the eventual peace conference. The leaders agreed that foreign ministers representing the members of the UN Security Council would form another council to prepare for the peace conference.

At the Potsdam Conference, the key issues that became grounds for the Cold War began to emerge. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that lasted from 1945 to 1991. At Yalta, the Big Three leaders had agreed that Germany would be divided into four occupation zones. Each of the Allied countries—Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union—would occupy one zone. Berlin, Germany's capital city, was to be similarly divided. The Soviets had rejected an earlier proposal that would have left Germany as a

unified and democratic nation; still hurting from the German attack on their country during the war, the Soviets wanted a weak Germany. The United States, on the other hand, believed that a unified Germany would help keep Europe politically stable and strengthen the postwar European economy. This fundamental U.S.-Soviet disagreement remained one of the central points of contention throughout the Cold War. The leaders failed to reach a compromise on several issues, and the Potsdam Conference ended in deadlock.

## Transitions

Churchill was deeply affected by his loss of position in world politics. He felt frustrated because his wartime government was broken up before he had seen the war come to an end. However, it was clear that the British people had not voted against Churchill but rather against the twenty-year reign of Conservatives in Parliament. In Britain, citizens vote for parties, and the leader of the victorious party becomes the prime minister. Churchill continued to enjoy esteem as leader of the Opposition (in Britain, the “Opposition” means the political party that, at any given time, does not hold power in Parliament). He used this position as a platform for criticizing Stalin’s policies in the early Cold War years.

Churchill had begun to fear that the Soviets would spread communism throughout Europe as early as the Yalta Conference. In a speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, on March 5, 1946, he warned of an “iron curtain” that was descending across the European continent—that is, the strict communist policies that were shutting democracy and free trade out of the Soviet Union. A phrasemaker all his life, Churchill had provided a memorable symbol for the world’s next great conflict, the Cold War. An actual “iron curtain” came fifteen years later in the cement and barbed wire of the Berlin Wall, which acted as a physical barrier between East Berlin and West Berlin.

## Reelected

Churchill was elected prime minister once again in October 1951. U.S. relations remained at the center of his for-

eign policy because of his long-standing friendship with the United States; he also wanted to strengthen those ties as the Cold War continued escalating. Churchill sought U.S. cooperation in nuclear weapons research but could not be helped by President Truman because Congress had passed the McMahon Act in 1946, which prohibited the sharing of nuclear weapons research with foreign powers. Undeterred, Churchill pursued an independent atomic research program. In October 1952, Britain exploded its first atomic bomb. Churchill later authorized production of a British hydrogen bomb, which he considered a deterrent to war. Following Stalin's death in March 1953, Churchill proposed trying to improve relations with the Soviet Union.

Churchill retired as prime minister on April 5, 1955, at the age of eighty. He remained a member of Parliament until 1964, at which point he chose not to seek reelection. By this time, he no longer played a significant role in shaping world affairs. Winston Churchill died on January 24, 1965, at the age of ninety. He received a hero's funeral and was buried in St. Martin's Churchyard at Bladon, Oxfordshire, near the place of his birth.

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# Clark M. Clifford

**Born December 25, 1906**  
**Fort Scott, Kansas**  
**Died October 10, 1998**  
**Bethesda, Maryland**

**U.S. secretary of defense and counsel**



Clark M. Clifford's public career spanned the years of the Cold War (1945–91). He was an influential advisor to every Democratic president from **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry) to **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81; see entry). As a special advisor to President Truman, Clifford assisted in the formulation of the Truman Doctrine, the U.S. policy of giving aid to forces engaged in resisting communist aggression. He was a political strategist in both foreign and domestic policy and was one of the most prominent and influential members of Truman's staff.

Clark Clifford guided the merger of the military service departments into the Department of Defense under the National Security Act of 1947. The act also established the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Council. In 1968, Clifford became the secretary of defense and played a major role in persuading President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69; see entry) to de-escalate the Vietnam War (1954–75). Clifford was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest honor awarded to civilians in the United States, on January 20, 1969.

"I was part of the generation that I hold responsible for our country's getting into [the Vietnam] war. I should have reached the conclusion earlier that our participation in that war was a dead end."

**Clark M. Clifford.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

## Early life

Clark McAdams Clifford was born Christmas Day, 1906. He was the son of Frank Andrew Clifford, an official for the Missouri Pacific Railroad, and Georgia McAdams Clifford. For several years in the 1930s, his mother, a professional storyteller, had her own weekly program on the CBS Radio Network. Named for his mother's brother (Clark McAdams, a newspaper editor), Clark had one older sister, Alice.

Growing up in St. Louis, Missouri, Clark graduated early from high school and spent a year working on the railroad. In 1923, he entered Washington University in St. Louis and went on to graduate from its law school. In 1928, Clark passed the state bar exam and began working as a trial attorney, later switching to corporate and labor law. While traveling in Europe in 1929, Clifford met his future wife, Margery Pepperell Kimball, whom he married in 1931. They would have three daughters.

## Government service

During World War II (1939–45), Clark Clifford enlisted as an officer in the United States Naval Reserve. He was assigned to the White House in 1945 as an assistant to his friend James Vardaman, President Truman's naval aide, a presidential advisor who oversees activities of the navy. In 1946, Clifford replaced Vardaman, and nine weeks later Truman made Clifford his special counsel.

Initially, Truman relied on Clifford for advice on labor issues and speech writing. Soon, however, the president was turning to Clifford for advice on relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union operated under a governmental system called communism, which was very different from the capitalist democracy of the United States. Under a communist government, a single political party, the Communist Party, controls nearly all aspects of people's lives. In a communist economy, private ownership of property and business is prohibited so that goods produced and wealth accumulated can be shared equally by all. Already holding enormous influence in his position as special counsel to the president, Clifford further distinguished himself with the drafting of the Clifford-Elsey Report in 1946. It was a top-secret report to the president; its original title was

“American Relations with the Soviet Union.” Clifford coauthored the report with his assistant, George M. Elsey.

In the report, Clifford warned of Soviet expansionism, or the spread of communism into other countries, stating that the threat of Soviet aggression, described in previous reports written by others, was real. Clifford went on to state that the Soviet Union’s intention was to dominate more and more countries and spread communism worldwide. He emphasized that the United States needed to develop a clear strategy and adopt containment, a policy to restrict the territorial growth of communist rule, to deal with this communist threat.

Clifford and Elsey wrote the report before there was an open break between the United States and the Soviet Union; therefore, the report rather optimistically declared that the primary objective of U.S. policy would be to convince Soviet leaders that it was in the Soviet Union’s best interests to participate in a system of world cooperation. The report argued for cultural, intellectual, and economic interchange to promote the peaceful coexistence of communism and capitalism, an economic system where property and businesses are privately owned. However, it also argued that the United States needed to maintain sufficient military strength in order to restrain the Soviet Union. Clifford believed that military power was the only language that the Soviets would understand. He believed that the Western European nations and the United States needed to form an anti-Soviet alliance and be willing to back up any diplomatic efforts with military action. This idea led to the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a peacetime alliance of the United States and eleven other nations, and a key factor in the attempt to contain communism.

## **Cold War strategy**

The political and economic rivalry between communist and democratic countries became known as the Cold War. The two principal players were the communist Soviet Union and the democratic United States. These two countries had emerged from World War II as the world’s most powerful nations, or superpowers.

The United States devised a three-pronged strategy for winning the Cold War. Clifford played a key role in developing each part of the strategy. The first part of the strategy was the

**Clark M. Clifford consults with U.S. president-elect John F. Kennedy on November 21, 1960.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



Truman Doctrine, which further spelled out the ideas in the Clifford-Elsey Report. The Truman Doctrine was a policy President Truman announced in 1947. He declared that the United States would provide aid to any forces engaged in resisting communist aggression. Greece and Turkey, two countries devastated by World War II, both faced communist expansionism; in fact, the situation in these countries is what spurred President Truman's announcement. The desperately poor Greek and Turkish people looked to the communists to provide a better life. In the past, Great Britain had aided both countries, but after the devastating effects of World War II, Britain could no longer afford to support them. American leaders felt that the United States had to step in and help rebuild the Greek and Turkish economies before the countries turned to communism.

Clifford also was involved in the creation of the second prong in the U.S. policy of containment; this part of the Cold War strategy came to be known as the Marshall Plan. The Soviet Union had emerged from World War II in a very



strong military position. Its neighbors in Europe had not fared as well. The Marshall Plan was designed to help the European nations rebuild their economies and strengthen their military defenses and thereby protect themselves against attacks in the future. This plan was first introduced by Secretary of State **George C. Marshall** (1880–1959; see entry) in a speech at Harvard University on June 5, 1947.

The final prong in the overall plan was the formation of NATO in 1949. Twelve free, democratic nations, including the United States, formed this alliance and stated that an attack on one member of NATO would be considered an attack on all the members. This was an effective deterrent because the Soviets were unlikely to start any war that would involve the United States. Having been an ally of the United States during World War II, the Soviets were well aware of American military strength and knew that the United States had possession of nuclear weapons. NATO was an answer to Clifford's call for an anti-Soviet alliance, an idea he initially proposed in the Clifford-Elsey Report.

## **Private practice**

Clifford resigned from government service in January of 1950 in order to open a private law practice. The firm of Clifford and Miller opened up across the street from the White House. The firm represented many large corporations and continued to advise government officials. **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) used Clifford as his personal lawyer; when Kennedy was elected president in 1960, he put Clifford at the head of his transition team. Kennedy frequently enlisted Clifford's help and in 1961 appointed him to the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. The board was put in charge of supervising the CIA after the CIA botched a top-secret invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. Clifford became the chairman of the board in 1963. After Kennedy's assassination in November 1963, President Lyndon B. Johnson called on Clifford to reorganize the White House staff.

## **Secretary of defense**

In 1968, President Johnson appointed Clifford as his secretary of defense. Although Clifford held this post for only

a short time, it was an intense period in U.S. history. The controversial and unpopular Vietnam War was nearing its climax. When Clifford became secretary of defense, he supported U.S. involvement in Vietnam. However, the day before Clifford's Senate confirmation, North Vietnam launched the Tet Offensive, a massive attack on the U.S. and South Vietnamese armies. U.S. military leaders had been optimistic about their progress in the war, but this attack demonstrated once and for all that their optimism was unfounded. The Johnson administration was bitterly divided about what to do next in the war. Clifford now publicly called for an end to American involvement in the war. He persuaded President Johnson to order a total halt in bombing and to de-escalate U.S. involvement in the war from that point on. He encouraged Johnson to hand over military responsibilities to the South Vietnamese forces.

### **Return to private practice**

Clifford left office in January of 1969 to return to the legal profession. His firm, then Clifford and Warnke, represented major multinational corporations. Seeing that the Vietnam conflict had shifted from the battlefield to the conference table and that the Soviet Union was showing a new willingness to discuss arms limitations, Clifford expressed hope that international tensions would abate. He briefly returned to government service in 1977 as an advisor on several missions for President Jimmy Carter.

### **Final days**

Clifford suffered a major reversal in 1992, when he was president of First American Bankshares, a Washington, D.C., bank. A grand jury indicted, or charged, him for his role in concealing the bank's ties to the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI). BCCI was a foreign bank whose criminal activities and later collapse cost investors around the world billions of dollars. Despite Clifford's indictment, he was not required to go to trial, because he was in ill health.

In his memoirs, Clifford considered his role in helping to remove the United States from what he called the

“wretched conflict in Vietnam” to be his finest moment. The day when he was indicted and fingerprinted like a common criminal he cited as the worst. Clifford died at his home in Bethesda, Maryland, at the age of ninety-one.

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## Deng Xiaoping

**Born August 22, 1904**

**Guangan, Szechwan Province, China**

**Died February 19, 1997**

**Beijing, People's Republic of China**

**Leader of the People's Republic of China**

"Seek truth from facts."

**D**eng Xiaoping was the leader of the People's Republic of China (PRC) from 1977 until his death in 1997. Besides introducing major economic reforms, Deng strove to increase the PRC's economic ties with the West while keeping distant relations with the Soviet Union. Under former leader **Mao Zedong** (1893–1976; see entry), the PRC had operated in political and economic isolation; under Deng, the communist nation began to participate in international markets.

### Young revolutionary

Deng Xiaoping was born in August 1904 to a wealthy landowner, Deng Xixian, in the Szechwan Province of China. In 1921, he went to Paris, France, on a work-study program. There, he met future Chinese premier **Zhou Enlai** (1898–1976; see entry), and in 1922 he joined the branch of the Chinese Communist Youth League Zhou had formed. Showing strong organizational skills, Deng was soon elected to a leadership position.

In 1925, Deng went to Moscow, where he studied at the Oriental University for two years before returning to China.

**Deng Xiaoping.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

During the mid-1920s, the Chinese Communist Party had joined forces with the Chinese Nationalist army in an effort to overthrow the unpopular Manchu dynasty rulers. (Nationalism refers to the strong loyalty of a person or group to its own country.) Deng taught at the Chungshan Military Academy in 1926 and 1927 until Chinese Nationalist leader **Chiang Kai-shek** (1887–1975; see entry) abruptly purged communists from the army alliance in April 1927. At first, Deng went underground, or lived in secrecy, in Shanghai; then he joined Mao Zedong and other communists in the southern province of Jiangxi. In Jiangxi, Deng became head of the Red Army's Propaganda Bureau, which was charged with the responsibility of establishing a communist government in the province, in opposition to the Chinese Nationalist government. However, Chiang remained intent on crushing the Chinese communist movement. His forces defeated the communist Red Army in Jiangxi. The communists retreated, setting out on the Long March, a 6,000-mile (9,654-kilometer) trek from Jiangxi to northwestern China, where they hoped to establish a new base. Almost eighty-six thousand communists took part in the Long March; only nine thousand survived the grueling journey.

In 1937, the Communists and Nationalists in China once again joined forces; they were united by necessity—the Japanese had invaded China and were threatening to take over the country. With a common goal of protecting China from foreign influence, the Communists and Nationalists maintained their alliance throughout World War II (1939–45). Deng served as political officer (commissar) for the Red Army during World War II, and he remained in that position when the Chinese civil war resumed in 1946. His Second Field Army led the attack against Chiang's Nationalist government. Meanwhile, Deng moved up through the Communist Party ranks. In 1945, he joined the Central Committee, which ran the day-to-day operations of the Communist Party. The fiery Deng was only 4 feet 11 inches (1.5 meters) tall and earned the nickname "Little Cannon."

## **The Communists gain power**

In October 1949, the Chinese Communists succeeded in overthrowing Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government. Communist leader Mao Zedong established the People's Republic of China (PRC) on the Chinese mainland, and the de-

feated Chiang led a million refugees to the island of Taiwan, located off the south coast of China, where he formed the Republic of China (ROC). The United States established formal relations with the ROC and refused to recognize the Communist PRC government.

Deng was appointed head of the Communist Party in southwest China in 1949, and the following year the Red Army finally gained full control of that region. Deng busily instituted farming reform in the region and steadily climbed in influence. However, Deng at times clashed with Mao because Deng had adopted a moderate political position in contrast to Mao's more radical revolutionary agenda. Nevertheless, in 1952 Deng was summoned to Beijing and was appointed to various senior posts in the Communist Party and in Mao's government. For example, he became the Central Committee's general secretary in 1954; he also served as minister of finance and as deputy to Premier Zhou Enlai. In 1955, Deng was appointed to the Politburo, the important policy-making body of the Communist Party. In 1956, he joined the six-member Politburo Standing Committee.

As a major policy maker, Deng focused primarily on domestic economic development. One of Deng's priorities was to reduce Soviet control of PRC's railways and industry. In 1957, Deng was part of the PRC delegation to Moscow that denounced the de-Stalinization program of Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry). Khrushchev had regularly criticized the strict communist rule of his predecessor, **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry); the attempt to discredit Stalin and his policies is referred to as de-Stalinization. Deng went to Moscow again in 1960. On that visit, he denounced Khrushchev's policy of peaceful coexistence with the West. Deng traveled to the Soviet Union again in 1963, hoping to improve the PRC's relations with the Soviets, but the trip only reinforced the split between the two communist countries.

In 1958, Mao introduced the Great Leap Forward, a program designed to improve the PRC economy through agricultural reforms. The program was distinctly different from Deng's emphasis on industrial reform. Mao wanted to go back to an emphasis on agriculture and peasant farming, while Deng wanted to push China more into the industrialized age. Mao's program resulted in failure and led to increased influence for

Deng. Mao stepped down as chairman of the PRC, and Deng's associate Liu Bocheng (1892–1986) replaced Mao. Mao remained chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, the more powerful position.

In 1965, Mao launched the Cultural Revolution to regain more complete control of the nation and drive Deng and Liu from power. Mao wanted to refocus the economy on peasant farming and turn it away from the capitalist trend he saw in Deng's programs. (A capitalist economic system means prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government interference.) Mao's efforts were successful, and Deng was removed from all government and party positions in 1967. From 1967 to 1973, Deng and his family were forced to live in a rural region, where he performed manual labor.

## Rise to leadership

In April 1973, with help from Zhou Enlai, Deng suddenly reemerged in PRC politics and was made deputy premier. The Communist Party needed Deng's experience and ability, so he was placed back on the Central Committee later in the year; in 1974, he was back on the Politburo. As Zhou's health began to deteriorate, Deng took over most functions of the premier position for a two-year period, essentially running the government. During this time, he accompanied Mao at all meetings with foreign leaders. He also journeyed to France, becoming the highest-ranking PRC official to visit a Western European country. In April 1974, Deng went before the United Nations in New York to address a special session on Chinese foreign policy. His raised stature before the UN resulted in him returning home a hero.

The death of Zhou in January 1976 led to a power struggle. Mao's wife, Jiang Qing (1914–1991), and three other radical Chinese communists exerted a strong influence over Mao. This group, known as the Gang of Four, pushed Deng from power in April 1976. Mao died in September, leaving power to the Gang of Four. However, Hua Guofeng (c. 1920–), who at one time had been Mao's chosen successor, soon gained power and reinstated Deng in July 1977.



**Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping (center) walks with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa.** *Photograph by Peter Turnley. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Deng would this time rise to prominence as the PRC leader. Before proceeding with his reforms, he sought to end the stature of Mao, which Deng believed was too big, and to decrease the influence of Mao's past political doctrine. Deng believed that communism should be focused on the system and equality of all citizens (theoretically), not on the celebrity of one or a few. As part of this effort, he put the Gang of Four on public trial in November 1980 in order to discredit their earlier actions to control the country. Hua would remain prime minister, but Deng wielded actual control. In January 1979, shortly after the United States established formal relations with the PRC, it was Deng who traveled to Washington, D.C., to visit President **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81; see entry).

Even though Deng held utmost power, he preferred to exert it indirectly and not hold a top post. In 1980, a Deng associate, Zhao Ziyang (1919–), replaced Hua as prime minister. Another associate, Hu Yaobang (1915–1989), assumed the





## Tiananmen Square

While Soviet leader **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1931–; see entry) was visiting Beijing in April 1989, massive demonstrations for political reform in the People’s Republic of China (PRC) broke out. Gorbachev was introducing political reform in the Soviet Union, and many in China wanted the same to occur in their nation. The demonstrators wanted greater political freedom and a more democratic government. Demonstrations occurred in Tiananmen Square, a large public area in Beijing originally built in 1651 and traditionally the place of mass gatherings. It is one of the largest public squares in the world.

Some three thousand Chinese students went on a hunger strike on May 13 and demanded Deng’s resignation. The protests gained much international attention through televised broadcasts. Even some PRC army units showed support for the protesters. In response, the government declared martial law (when the law is administered by the military, rather than by

civilian agencies) on May 20. On June 4, the army moved in with Deng’s approval, crushing the protest. Hundreds of demonstrators were killed in Beijing, and unknown numbers of people died in other cities where similar demonstrations were occurring. The following week, protest leaders were executed in public. Deng blamed Zhao Ziyang for the demonstrations and replaced him with the more conservative Jiang Zemin. Deng also tightened controls over the Chinese people by restricting the freedom of expression, particularly in public gatherings.

Despite international protests over the Tiananmen incident, economic relations between the PRC and the West were unaffected. China was able to retain its most-favored-nation trade status despite protests from some in the U.S. Congress, and in the years that followed, trade continued to expand. However, China withdrew from international politics and became isolated once again.

Communist Party chairmanship in 1981. Deng chose to hold the top position in the Central Military Commission, through which he maintained control of the armed forces. He also held the position of deputy prime minister.

To further strengthen his power, Deng established the Central Advisory Commission in 1982 and named himself the chairman. In 1987, he retired from the Central Committee but still retained full power. Through the 1980s, Deng introduced major reforms, decentralizing various parts of the economy. This gave China’s provinces greater input in their

economic programs and also gave peasant farmers control over their production and profits. He emphasized each citizen's individual responsibility to make good decisions. He also introduced family planning to curb the country's rapid population growth. With fields leased to farm families, farmers gained greater control over their production and profits. By the early 1980s, farm production was showing a significant improvement.

For industries, Deng introduced incentive systems, rewarding industries for improved efficiency and production. Many industries and businesses were also freed from the control of the central government. Factory managers were given authority to set production levels and seek profits. Previously, the PRC's major economic emphasis was heavy industry, major businesses that demand a lot of capital investment or are labor intensive, such as steel manufacturing or industrial machinery. Deng shifted the emphasis to production of consumer goods, transportation, and energy production. He also formed groups of knowledgeable technicians and managers to lead industrial development. Deng took steps to increase trade and cultural relations with the West and to open PRC businesses to foreign investment. To sustain this economic development, Deng's reforms included sending Chinese students abroad to learn the newest technologies.

Despite the economic improvements, the citizens of the PRC strained under Deng's leadership, in part because he did not allow reforms in the political or social systems. Deng's army remained in control of the country. Though the quality of life was improving, the differences between rich and poor grew. Inflation and unemployment also began to rise during the 1980s. In addition, corruption in the government created further unrest in the population. These conditions led to massive protests by students demanding democratic reforms. In early 1989, one such protest led to bloodshed when the PRC army stepped in to respond (see box).

Jiang Zemin (1926–) replaced Deng as chairman of the Central Military Commission in 1989. Through the 1990s, Deng's direct involvement in the PRC government continued to decline, but he still remained the most influential person in China. The collapse of communism in the Soviet Union in late 1991 convinced Deng that the PRC needed

to continue with the economic reforms he had instituted, otherwise the Chinese Communist Party might also fail. By the time Deng died in February 1997, at the age of ninety-two, the PRC had achieved increased domestic stability and economic growth. The standard of living rose, and personal freedoms increased. The Chinese Communist Party remained intact as the sole political party in the nation.

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## John Foster Dulles

**Born February 25, 1888**  
**Washington, D.C.**  
**Died May 24, 1959**  
**Washington, D.C.**

**U.S. secretary of state**

“Many Europeans [saw] Dulles as a fire-and-brimstone anti-Communist fanatic who would risk the nuclear annihilation of the continent in an effort to blow a hole in the Iron Curtain.” — *Historian Richard H. Immerman*

John Foster Dulles.

**J**ohn Foster Dulles was perceived by many as cold and combative, but he served six distinguished years as secretary of state for President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61; see entry). He worked hard at protecting the West from communist expansion.

### A privileged start

John Foster Dulles was born in February 1888 in Washington, D.C., to Elizabeth Foster and the Reverend Allen Macy Dulles, a Presbyterian minister. His family had a rich history of involvement in international diplomacy and the ministry. One grandfather, John Watson Foster (1836–1917), was secretary of state for President Benjamin Harrison (1833–1901; served 1889–93). His other grandfather, John Welsh Dulles, was a prominent missionary. He also had an uncle, Robert Lansing (1864–1928), who was secretary of state for President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924; served 1913–21). A brother, Allen Dulles (1893–1969), would become director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) from 1953 to 1961.

A sister, Eleanor Dulles (1895–1996), would serve in the U.S. State Department as an expert on Central Europe.

Dulles enjoyed a privileged upbringing in Watertown, New York, and entered Princeton University in 1904. His father had always encouraged him to become a minister. However, in 1907, young Dulles traveled with his grandfather John Foster to the Second International Peace Conference in Europe. At the meeting, they served as advisors to the Chinese government. It was a impressionable experience for the nineteen-year-old Dulles, giving him a firsthand taste of international diplomacy. He would eventually choose a career in diplomacy, not ministry.

After graduating at the top of his 1908 Princeton class, Dulles entered George Washington University in Washington, D.C., to study law. While at George Washington, he freely mingled with the city's inner circle of influential people. He left George Washington before receiving a degree and passed the bar exam in 1911. Dulles joined the New York law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, beginning as a clerk, then working his way up to senior partner by age thirty-eight. Dulles specialized in international law, advising foreign clients and American companies that had foreign holdings. He was respected for his very sharp mind, but at times he oversimplified issues, sometimes to the frustration of others. On June 26, 1912, Dulles married Janet Pomeroy Avery. They had three children.

## **A search for world peace**

Dulles's first diplomatic assignment came in early 1917. President Wilson sent Dulles to Central America on a special mission. Dulles was to request the cooperation of the leaders of Panama, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua in declaring war on Germany. The United States needed these countries to protect the Panama Canal from possible German attempts to gain control of the canal or sabotage it. The United States had built the canal in the early twentieth century to improve transportation between the east and west coasts of the United States. Critical to the U.S. economy, the canal and the area immediately surrounding it were under U.S. control. (This changed in 1977, when U.S. president **Jimmy Carter** [1924–; served 1977–81; see entry] signed a treaty giving Panama control of the canal beginning on December 31, 1999.)

During World War I (1914–18), Dulles served on the War Trade Board, which was in charge of negotiating trade with other nations under wartime restrictions. Sharpening his skills in international law and finance, Dulles became highly regarded by President Wilson’s advisors. As a result, Dulles was sent to the peace treaty negotiations at Versailles, France, in 1919 to act as legal advisor to Bernard Baruch (1870–1965), the U.S. representative. The resulting treaty involved establishment of German war reparations, or payment for war damages, and creation of the League of Nations, an international organization designed to resolve disputes between nations.

Dulles became discouraged by the heavy demands the victorious European countries placed on Germany. He predicted that the demand for reparations would spur yet another war. (Dulles’s prediction came true: Germany’s bleak economic situation after the war gave rise to the extremist Nazi Party. Led by Adolf Hitler [1889–1945], the Nazis made aggressive moves to take over neighboring countries, drawing nations around the globe into World War II, which lasted from 1939 to 1945.) The U.S. Senate agreed with Dulles and refused to approve the resulting Treaty of Versailles. Dulles and Wilson, however, did support joining the League of Nations, but the Senate did not. Dulles was greatly disappointed with the U.S. decision not to join the League, which became an official entity in January 1920. However, the Versailles experience brought Dulles increased prestige and attracted new international clients to his law firm.

Though he chose a career in diplomatic relations rather than ministry, Dulles still held deep religious convictions that greatly influenced his approach to ensuring international peace. Dulles attended numerous international meetings and conferences of church leaders, primarily through his work with the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America from 1937 to 1946. This organization represented twenty-five million Protestants and one hundred twenty thousand churches. In 1940, the council established the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace and appointed Dulles as chairman. The commission developed a pamphlet titled *Six Pillars of Peace* in 1943. The pamphlet called for the creation of worldwide organizations to establish international economic and diplomatic cooperation, promote arms control, and ensure religious and political freedoms.

## Early Cold War diplomacy

By the end of World War II in 1945, Dulles was considered the top foreign affairs specialist in the Republican Party. Near the close of the war, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) had died suddenly, and **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–1953; see entry) became president. President Truman wanted to involve both Democrats and Republicans in shaping postwar U.S. foreign programs. Dulles's disappointments at Versailles after World War I made him determined to try again when postwar planning for World War II began. Truman, a Democrat, would send Dulles, a Republican, along with Secretary of State **James F. Byrnes** (1879–1972; see entry) to international meetings of top foreign policy makers. Because of the limited success of the League of Nations, Dulles was particularly interested in creating a new international organization to replace the League for the sake of securing world peace. Therefore, Dulles was also appointed as a U.S. delegate to the 1945 United Nations (UN) organizational conference in San Francisco, California.

Despite their party differences, Dulles generally supported Truman, especially as he and Truman both came to realize that the communist Soviet Union and the democratic United States were going in separate and opposing directions. The Soviets had a communist government; this meant that a single political party, the Communist Party, controlled nearly all aspects of Soviet society. Under communist economic principles, private ownership of property and businesses was prohibited so that goods produced and wealth accumulated could be shared equally by all Soviet citizens. In contrast, the United States preferred its democratic system of government consisting of several political parties whose members could be elected to various government offices by vote of the general population. The U.S. economy followed capitalist principles: prices, production, and distribution of goods were determined by competition in a market relatively free of government interference.

Dulles's prominence in the Republican Party continued. In the presidential campaigns of 1944 and 1948, Dulles served as foreign affairs advisor to Republican candidate Thomas Dewey (1902–1971), governor of New York. Dewey lost the elections but selected Dulles in 1949 to complete the term of Democratic U.S. senator Robert Wagner (1877–1953),

who had resigned because of poor health. While in the Senate, Dulles strongly promoted congressional approval of the North Atlantic Treaty, which called for the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military defense alliance consisting of the Western European nations, the United States, and Canada. However, Dulles lost his bid to be elected to the Senate on his own in November 1950.

Dulles returned to serving as an advisor to the Democratic Truman administration. Truman sent Dulles to Japan to negotiate an important peace settlement in 1951. The U.S. military had occupied Japan since the Japanese surrender in August 1945 that ended World War II. The peace settlement restored Japan's independence as a nation and established U.S. military bases in Japan to help contain communist expansion in the Far East. Dulles sought to ease the fears of other West Pacific nations that had suffered from Japanese military expansion in the 1930s and 1940s. He introduced the Australia–New Zealand–United States (ANZUS) Treaty to ensure the future security of the western Pacific region.

## The New Look

In the 1952 presidential election, Dulles acted as foreign affairs advisor to the Republican candidate, Dwight D. Eisenhower. By now, Dulles was attacking Truman's Cold War policies, which centered on containing communist expansion. (The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry between the democratic United States and the communist Soviet Union that lasted from 1945 to 1991. Containment was a key U.S. Cold War policy to restrict the territorial growth of communist rule.) Claiming that Truman's plan abandoned those already subjected to communist rule, Dulles called containment immoral. He proposed "rolling back" communism rather than just containing it.

Eisenhower won the election and appointed Dulles as his secretary of state. Dulles would become a worldwide symbol of the hard-line anticommunist approach. His dour and forbidding presence was enhanced by an eye tic (sudden muscle contraction) that he had developed after contracting malaria on a business trip to British Guiana earlier in his law career. Dulles spoke briskly and would repeatedly catch the





**U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower (left) and Secretary of state John Foster Dulles greet South Vietnamese president Ngo Dinh Diem on May 8, 1957.**  
*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

world's attention by bringing up massive nuclear retaliation as an answer to Soviet aggression. This hard-line position was called brinkmanship. The policy of brinkmanship meant that the United States was willing to push any conflict with the Soviets to the brink of nuclear war in order to deter communist expansion. The brinkmanship strategy was more formally called the "New Look." Critics of the New Look believed this policy would put the world at risk for nuclear war over relatively minor conflicts.

Eisenhower was significantly less harsh in expressing his viewpoints on foreign matters; nonetheless, he and Dulles grew closer together through the years. Despite Dulles's reputation for tough talk, the United States avoided major military conflict while Dulles was secretary of state. Dulles passed over opportunities to support Eastern European revolts against communism, such as a workers' strike against the East German communist government in 1953 and a broader rebellion in Hungary in 1956. Even though the Soviets used force

in both cases to suppress the revolts and killed thousands of Hungarians in the streets of Budapest, the United States failed to take action. Eisenhower feared that intervention could lead to a bigger conflict; it was also October, a month before his reelection bid, and he did not want to risk war at that time.

In early 1954, rather than sending U.S. support for French troops under siege in Vietnam, Dulles worked out a cease-fire with the Soviets, the People's Republic of China (PRC), and the Vietnamese rebel forces. However, Dulles was criticized for not shaking the hand of PRC representative **Zhou Enlai** (1898–1976; see entry) at the negotiations—an illustration of how tiny details loom large in foreign diplomacy. The cease-fire led to the division of Vietnam into North Vietnam and South Vietnam. Dulles then began funneling substantial U.S. aid to South Vietnam, a first step toward the later U.S. role in the costly Vietnam War (1954–75).

Dulles also promoted the creation of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in September 1954 to help contain communism in the region. Dulles continued building a system of alliances around the world, adding the Baghdad Pact in 1955. The pact was a military alliance between Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan. Using the Baghdad Pact, SEATO, ANZUS, and the treaty with Japan, Dulles had surrounded the communist world—the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and the PRC—with alliances of countries friendly to the United States.

### **Cold War hot spots**

Several limited confrontations occurred during Dulles's time as secretary of state. Two confrontations came in 1954 and 1958 between the communist PRC of Mainland China and the noncommunist Republic of China (ROC), which was located off the coast of Mainland China on the island of Taiwan. In both instances, the PRC shelled, or bombed, two small islands controlled by the ROC. President Eisenhower refused to commit the U.S. military, even though Dulles thought a PRC invasion of the ROC was imminent both times. As part of his brinkmanship philosophy, Dulles issued threats of nuclear war toward the PRC, and on each occasion, the PRC stopped the shelling after a period of time. To ease tensions in the area, Dulles obtained a guarantee from ROC leaders that they would never invade the PRC.



## A Tribute

During the first few months of 1959, John Foster Dulles sometimes experienced intense pain from his abdominal cancer. Nevertheless, he refused to take painkillers. He did not want to impair his judgment in any way while still serving as secretary of state. He took one last trip to Europe from January 30 to February 8 to meet with West German chancellor **Konrad Adenauer** (1876–1967; see entry). At that meeting, Dulles guaranteed Adenauer continued U.S. commitment to the security of West Germany. Confined to bed by late February, Dulles submitted his resignation, but President Dwight Eisenhower refused to accept it until mid-April. At that time, Eisenhower appointed Dulles as special advisor within the presidential administration.

When Dulles died in May, Eisenhower ordered a full military funeral. Dulles lay in state at the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C., and was buried in Ar-

lington National Cemetery in Virginia. Despite the cold mannerisms Dulles had displayed and the belligerent speeches he made throughout the Cold War years, the funeral was attended by almost all top U.S. government officials as well as world leaders from all the NATO countries and Japan, the United Nations secretary general, and even Soviet foreign minister **Andrey Gromyko** (1909–1989; see entry). In 1950, Congress authorized the construction of a new airport to serve the Washington, D.C., area. On November 17, 1962, President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) dedicated the newly completed Washington Dulles International Airport, named in honor of John Foster Dulles. Former president Eisenhower was also in attendance, along with many of Dulles's friends and associates. Dulles had won a deep respect from his colleagues for his years of commitment to protecting the West from communist expansion.

Another major Cold War crisis happened in the Middle East. In October 1956, Israel, Britain, and France attacked Egypt to regain control of the British-owned Suez Canal. The Suez Canal is the main shipping lane connecting the Red Sea to the Mediterranean Sea, a critical route from the Middle East oil fields to Western Europe. A few months earlier, in July, Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970) had seized control of the canal; he intended to charge fees for its use. Dulles and Eisenhower were irate over the military response, believing it would push Nasser to seek support from the Soviet Union. They believed diplomacy would have been much more appropri-

ate. In a rare instance of Cold War cooperation, the United States and the Soviet Union obtained a UN resolution for a cease-fire, and the canal was placed under UN control. Britain, France, and Israel were very upset with Dulles for not supporting their actions, and their relations with the United States became strained.

Dulles's response to the Suez Canal crisis unsettled the members of the Baghdad Pact; they were confused about what to expect from the United States. To clarify the U.S. position in the Middle East and settle their confusion, Dulles issued the Eisenhower Doctrine in January 1957. The Eisenhower Doctrine stated that, when requested, the United States would assist any Middle East nation engaged in combating armed communist aggression. This policy would lead to Dulles's only use of force as secretary of state: At the request of the Lebanese leader, he sent troops to Lebanon in the summer of 1958 to put down a rebellion thought to be supported by communists.

Yet another crisis came in November 1958, when Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry) demanded that the Western nations pull out of West Berlin. Since the end of World War II, Berlin had been divided among the victors of the war. The Western allies (the United States, France, and Great Britain) had retained control of West Berlin; the Soviets controlled East Berlin. This arrangement had been a nagging problem for the Soviets, because the entire city of Berlin was located well within Soviet-controlled East Germany. West Berlin was a capitalist island within a communist state. In his ultimatum, Khrushchev stated that if the Western allies did not leave West Berlin, he would turn over control of access to West Berlin to Communist East Germany, forcing the West to deal with a country it did not formally recognize. However, Dulles and Eisenhower refused to withdraw, and eventually Khrushchev backed down on his demand.

While fighting Cold War crises, Dulles was also fighting a personal crisis of his own. Shortly after the Suez crisis in the fall of 1956, Dulles was diagnosed with abdominal cancer. He had an operation to remove it, but the cancer returned two years later, in late 1958. Bedridden by February 1959, he finally resigned on April 15. He died the following month in Washington, D.C.

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## Dwight D. Eisenhower

**Born October 14, 1890**

**Denison, Texas**

**Died March 28, 1969**

**Washington, D.C.**

**U.S. president and army general**

“Though force can protect in emergency, only justice, fairness, consideration and cooperation can finally lead men to the dawn of eternal peace.”

**Dwight D. Eisenhower.**  
*Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

**T**hough highly respected for his key military role in guiding the U.S. armed forces to victory in Europe in World War II (1939–45), as president Dwight D. Eisenhower also skillfully guided the nation through eight years of the Cold War (1945–91), from 1953 to 1961. After reaching a truce in the Korean War (1950–53) during the early months of his first term in office, he succeeded in not sending U.S. troops into combat for the next seven and one-half years of his presidency. In his farewell speech as president in 1961 as the Cold War continued, the fabled war hero warned the nation of giving too much power and influence to the military services and the war industries that support them.

### A pacifist background

Dwight David Eisenhower was born in Denison, Texas, on October 14, 1890; he was the third of seven sons born to David J. Eisenhower and Ida Stover. When Dwight was a year old, the family moved to Abilene, Kansas, where ancestral Eisenhowers had earlier lived as part of a Mennon-

ite community. (Mennonites are members of various Protestant groups noted for their opposition to war.) Having failed financially as a shopkeeper, Dwight's father worked at a creamery. Dwight was raised in an atmosphere of hard work and strong religious tradition. The family would read from the Bible together every night.

Eisenhower had well-rounded skills. He was athletic, bright, an above-average student, and ambitious. After graduating from Abilene High School in 1909, he worked for two years at the creamery to help pay for an older brother's college education. In 1911, Eisenhower, known as "Ike," received a scholarship to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York. While at West Point, Eisenhower became a football star in his first years, but then he suffered a serious knee injury that forced him to quit sports. In 1915, he graduated and was commissioned second lieutenant in the infantry at Fort Sam Houston in Texas. There, he met Marie "Mamie" Doud, daughter of a wealthy Denver, Colorado, meat packer. They married in 1916 and would have two sons, one of whom died in infancy of scarlet fever.

During World War I (1914–18), Eisenhower was in charge of tank training camps in the United States and was about to go overseas when the war ended. Following the war, he served in several assignments and, encouraged by one of his commanders, decided to become a student of military science. In the 1920s, he attended the Army Command and General Staff School in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, graduating first in his class, and the Army War College in Washington, D.C.

## World War II supreme commander

In 1933, Eisenhower became an aide to the flamboyant General **Douglas MacArthur** (1880–1964; see entry). He accompanied MacArthur to the Philippines for several years to build up the Filipino armed forces. After the outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939, Eisenhower returned to Washington, D.C. He was promoted to full colonel in March 1941 and given an army command position. Gaining a strong reputation among his superiors in the army, he was promoted to brigadier general in September 1941. On December 12, 1941, five days after the Japanese surprise attack on U.S. mili-

tary installations at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, he was summoned to the War Department in Washington, D.C. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) put Eisenhower in charge of the army War Plans Division. Eisenhower energetically tackled the daunting task of developing a strategy for the Allied response to Germany. He promoted the “Europe first” strategy, that is, combating the Germans first, then dealing with the Japanese in the Pacific.

Eisenhower was promoted to major general in March 1942 so he could implement his “Europe first” strategy. In May, he was placed in command of U.S. forces in Great Britain. The strategy was to first defeat the German forces occupying North Africa and then invade Europe. By July, Eisenhower was promoted again, to lieutenant general, and took command of the joint U.S.-British forces gathered for the invasion of North Africa. In February 1943, Eisenhower became a four-star general. By May 1943, Eisenhower had forced the surrender of enemy forces in Tunisia. He then led amphibious (water) invasions in July 1943, landing first in Sicily and then in Italy in September.

The time had finally come to retake Western Europe from the Germans. In December 1943, President Roosevelt made Eisenhower supreme commander of the Allied forces. Eisenhower was to lead a massive European invasion, crossing the English Channel and landing on the shores of France at Normandy. On this mission, Eisenhower would demonstrate his exceptional ability to plan complex strategies and to keep the commanders under him working together toward a common objective. In June 1944, Eisenhower launched the Normandy invasion, the largest amphibious attack in history. He orchestrated the campaign of U.S. and British forces that slowly fought their way through Western Europe toward Germany. By December 1944, after liberating France from German occupation and pressing toward Germany’s border, Eisenhower was promoted to a five-star general. At that time, the German army mounted a major counteroffensive. The resulting Battle of the Bulge was the largest single battle in U.S. Army history. By the end of March 1945, the Allied forces had again gained the upper hand and were pushing into Germany.

During the final war months in Germany, Eisenhower made controversial decisions regarding the advance of Soviet





troops from the east; these decisions played a role in shaping the Cold War. Eisenhower decided to leave the capture of Berlin to the Soviet troops while he focused his forces elsewhere. He believed this would foster good relations with the Soviets and encourage postwar cooperation. His decision was also motivated by a desire to avoid some difficult fighting for his own troops. Many of Eisenhower's commanders were highly critical of his decision. They thought that the U.S. and British forces should push hard to Berlin. Instead, the Soviets took Berlin in April while Eisenhower's troops swept through southern Germany and Czechoslovakia. On May 7, Germany surrendered to the Allies. It was a crowning moment in Eisenhower's military career.

## Postwar life

Following the German surrender, Eisenhower briefly returned to the United States, where he received a hero's wel-

**U.S. general Dwight D. Eisenhower speaks to paratroopers during World War II.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*



**U.S. general Dwight D. Eisenhower sits in his jeep in 1944 during World War II.**  
*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

come complete with a ticker tape parade in New York City. Eisenhower also gave what amounted to a victory speech before an exuberant joint session of Congress. Roosevelt appointed Eisenhower head of the German zone occupied by the United States. (Immediately upon Germany's surrender, an Allied plan divided Germany into four zones. Each zone was occupied by troops from one of the Big Four countries of Britain, the United States, France, and the Soviet Union. Within a few years, the democratic U.S., British, and French zones became one, referred to as West Germany; the Soviet zone became known as East Germany.) Back in Germany, Eisenhower tried to carry out postwar Allied policies in cooperation with Soviet leader **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry). However, this turned out to be a frustrating job, because Stalin ignored key policies as well as promises the Soviets had made, including the promise to allow free elections in Eastern Europe.

In November 1945, Eisenhower returned to Washington, D.C., to replace General **George C. Marshall** (1880–1959;

see entry) as army chief of staff. Eisenhower served in that position for two years. During that period, U.S. forces were downsized from their high wartime levels, and U.S. relations with the Soviet Union continued to deteriorate. In February 1948, Eisenhower, considered the most popular World War II general, retired from the army.

Struggling financially upon his retirement, Eisenhower wrote his memoirs of World War II, titled *Crusade in Europe*. Published in 1948, the book became an instant best-seller and made Eisenhower a wealthy man. Also in 1948, Eisenhower was named president of Columbia University, where he would stay for the next two years. During this postwar period, both the Republican and Democratic parties tried to recruit him to be their candidate for president. As revealed in diaries uncovered in 2003, President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry), a Democrat, even offered to run in the 1948 election as the vice presidential candidate if Eisenhower ran for president. However, Eisenhower declined to run.

As Cold War tensions continued to build, Western Europe increasingly felt the threat of Soviet expansion. In response to this potential threat, the United States and Western Europe established a new military alliance called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In 1950, President Truman reinstated Eisenhower as supreme commander of the Allied forces in Europe, with the job of organizing NATO forces to contain possible communist aggression. Eisenhower was hugely popular in Europe, so Truman hoped Eisenhower's presence would give some degree of comfort to the region, which was still recovering from the war.

## White House years

In 1952, Republican leaders were finally able to convince Eisenhower to be their candidate for president in the fall election. Eisenhower's running mate, **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; see entry), was a young California congressman with a strong anticommunist record. Eisenhower and Nixon took a hard-line anticommunist position in their campaign, claiming that Truman was responsible for the communist takeover of China in 1949 and the failure to secure victory in

the ongoing, increasingly unpopular Korean War. At one point during the campaign, Eisenhower made the bold proposal to liberate Eastern Europe from communism.

Eisenhower easily defeated the Democratic candidate, Illinois governor Adlai E. Stevenson (1900–1965). The new president's first priority was to end the stalemate in Korea. After difficult negotiations, a cease-fire was signed in July 1953. Not another soldier was killed in combat throughout the remainder of Eisenhower's presidency. Another one of Eisenhower's goals was to balance the federal budget, which required reductions in military spending. To help achieve this goal, Eisenhower decided to emphasize the role of nuclear weapons as a deterrent to Soviet aggression rather than maintaining a large traditional force and costly conventional weapons.

In the years immediately following the end of World War II, fear of the Soviets and communism began to run high in the United States. Before Eisenhower became president, U.S. senator **Joseph R. McCarthy** (1908–1957; see entry) of Wisconsin had begun a witch-hunt for alleged communist sympathizers in the United States. McCarthy had gone so far as to accuse President Truman of harboring communists in his administration. McCarthy persisted with similar claims when Eisenhower took office. At first, Eisenhower avoided confrontation with McCarthy; however, when the senator began attacking the U.S. Army with similar communist accusations, the president responded decisively. Working behind the scenes, Eisenhower put an end to McCarthy's radical anti-communist campaign by arranging public hearings that exposed the lack of supporting evidence for McCarthy's charges against the army.

Though some Republicans wanted him to take the offensive, Eisenhower chose not to confront communism in Korea and Eastern Europe. He selected a moderate course to combat communist expansion without committing armed forces. In April 1953, shortly after the death of Stalin, the Soviet leader, Eisenhower made several attempts to ease relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. He sought to restrict the arms race and offered an "open skies" plan, which would have allowed each of the two superpowers to do overflight inspections of the other to alleviate fears of surprise attacks. Eisenhower also proposed that nations around the

world pool their atomic research information and materials, putting all of it under the control of the United Nations; this was referred to as the “Atoms for Peace” program. New Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry) and other top Soviet officials were not receptive to Eisenhower’s ideas.

Eisenhower took more aggressive action against revolutionaries in Third World countries, poor underdeveloped or economically developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Believing that the revolutions in these countries were communist-inspired, Eisenhower authorized the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to intervene with covert, or secret, operations. In 1953, the CIA overthrew the elected government of Iran, which was thought to be procommunist, and in 1954 the same thing occurred in Guatemala.

However, in 1954, when the French appealed for assistance in Vietnam, a country where communism had already taken hold, Eisenhower chose not to respond. He did not think that the American public would support commitment of U.S. troops in Asia so soon after the Korean War. The British also refused to assist France in the conflict. The French were ultimately defeated, and an agreement was reached to divide Vietnam. North Vietnam would be communist-controlled, and South Vietnam would have a pro-Western government.

Eisenhower had participated in the conference that decided Vietnam’s fate, but he refused to sign the agreement that surrendered northern Vietnam to the communists. Instead, he increased U.S. support to South Vietnam. In September 1954, Eisenhower created the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), a military alliance composed of the United States, France, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan. The purpose of SEATO was to contain further communist expansion in the region. Eisenhower also signed a 1954 treaty with the noncommunist Republic of China (ROC), located on the island of Taiwan. The treaty offered the ROC protection from communist Mainland China and included a guarantee from ROC leaders that they would make no attempt to invade the mainland.

Unexpectedly, Eisenhower suffered a heart attack in September 1955, but he was able to fully recover and resume his presidential duties in a short time. He ran for reelection in 1956 and again handily won—again over the Democratic loser

in the 1952 election, Adlai Stevenson. The economy was booming, and the United States was not at war in any region of the world. However, just before the U.S. presidential election, the Soviet Union invaded Hungary to put down an uprising against the communist government. Eisenhower again refused to militarily confront the Soviets. At the same time, Egypt had seized the Suez Canal, which connects the Red Sea with the Mediterranean Sea. The canal had been under British and French control. With Israel's cooperation, the British and French launched a surprise attack on Egypt to regain control of the canal, but they failed to advise Eisenhower of their plan beforehand.

The United States and the Soviet Union were both unhappy about the attack on Egypt, because any crisis in the oil-rich Middle East was a potential threat to their economies. In a rare instance of Cold War cooperation, the two superpowers worked together to obtain a United Nations resolution condemning the attack. Britain and France were humiliated, but the Arab nations were impressed that Eisenhower would go against longtime European friends to protect an Arab nation. However, they were also somewhat confused: First, the United States had failed to respond to Soviet aggression in Hungary; now it seemed that America was actually siding with the Soviets. To reaffirm the United States' anticommunist policy, the president announced the Eisenhower Doctrine. The doctrine stated that the United States would offer assistance to any Middle East government threatened by communist expansion. After the Hungary and Suez crises, the general public held Eisenhower in even greater esteem.

The next Cold War crisis for Eisenhower came in October 1957, when the Soviets successfully launched the first man-made satellite into orbit. (A satellite is a constructed object that orbits, in this case, the Earth.) The American public was stunned. They assumed that the Soviets had overtaken the United States in technological achievements. Through spy plane information, Eisenhower knew that was not the case, but he could not reveal this information, because the spy planes were flown in violation of international law. Under intense pressure, Congress formed committees to determine how the United States could catch up with the Soviets' technology. Much more funding was committed to science and the military. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was formed in July 1958 to guide future space research.



## "I Like Ike"

The most popular presidential campaign slogan for Dwight D. Eisenhower was simply "I Like Ike." Eisenhower was an unusually popular American leader, first as an army general and then as president. During his eight years as president, his average monthly approval rating was a remarkable 64 percent. He was intelligent and exuded warmth and sincerity with a wide friendly grin. He showed a strong love for life and people. He was described as quick to anger and quicker to forgive.

At a time when the U.S. middle class was rapidly growing, he exhibited middle-class interests, including golf, bridge, and American Western literature. For years after his presidency, he was judged more on what did not happen during his presidency than on what did. But what he *did* achieve was a cease-fire agreement in the unpopular Korean War only six months after taking office. He then successfully avoided military conflict for the remainder of his two terms, despite the escalating rivalry with the Soviet Union.

On the domestic front, the United States enjoyed a period of economic growth and prosperity during his presidency. Eisenhower added to his popularity during his last two years in office by making many public appearances worldwide; while touring in motorcades, Ike would stand up



An automobile sticker reads "I Like Ike" during the 1952 presidential election. *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

in an open car despite his advancing age, waving to cheering crowds and showing his broad grin. He also enhanced his image through televised news conferences, a new media phenomenon at that time.

Interestingly, while Americans derived great comfort from the very personable "Ike" Eisenhower, the Soviets considered Eisenhower a threatening figure. In their minds, the fact that the American public had elected a military general as president meant the United States was preparing to go to war.

The next threat of communist expansion came closer to the shores of the United States. On New Year's Day 1959, revolutionary **Fidel Castro** (1926–; see entry) captured Havana, the capital of Cuba, and overthrew the U.S.-supported

government there. Before long, Eisenhower suspected that Castro was procommunist. Eisenhower put the CIA in charge of a top-secret plan to invade Cuba. The CIA would train a group of Cuban exiles (people who had fled Cuba) living in Florida and then provide some air support while the exiles carried out the invasion. The landing point for the small invading force was to be at the Bay of Pigs on the southern coast of Cuba. As it turned out, Eisenhower never launched this invasion. That task would fall to his successor, President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry). The invasion would prove a major failure.

## The new Eisenhower

During his last year in office, President Eisenhower seemed to take on a new persona. He used a new four-engine jet, *Air Force One*, to travel the world lobbying for peace. He traveled over three hundred thousand miles and visited twenty-seven countries. Large crowds greeted him at every stop. Eisenhower invited Soviet leader Khrushchev to visit the United States in September 1959 and then proposed a summit meeting in May 1960 in Paris to discuss a nuclear test-ban treaty. Optimism was high, and Eisenhower hoped to finish his presidency on a grand note. However, on May 1, the Soviets shot down a U.S. spy plane over the Soviet Union and captured the pilot. Khrushchev, angry that the United States was spying during a period when the superpowers were working on the easing of relations, asked for an apology. Eisenhower angrily resisted giving in to a Khrushchev demand and refused to apologize. Khrushchev refused to participate in the May summit.

After a memorable farewell address, in which he urged Americans to be responsible with their economic, military, and technological power, Eisenhower retired to a farm near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. He was reinstated as a general in the army, though he only served in an advisory capacity. In his retirement, Eisenhower wrote a two-volume set of political memoirs titled *The White House Years* (1963–65). He also did oil paintings and watercolors and played golf. He died in Walter Reed Hospital in Washington, D.C., in March 1969, shortly after his former vice president, Richard Nixon, entered the



White House as president. Eisenhower was buried in a small chapel next to his boyhood home in Abilene, Kansas.

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## Mikhail Gorbachev

**Born March 2, 1931**

**Privolnoye, Stavropol province, Russia**

**General secretary and  
president of Soviet Union**

“An end has been put to the Cold War, the arms race and the insane militarization of our country, which crippled our economy, distorted our thinking and undermined our morals,” Gorbachev said. “The threat of a world war is no more.”

**Mikhail Gorbachev.**

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the Corbis Corporation.*

**M**ikhail Gorbachev spoke the following words in a televised address to the Soviet people on December 25, 1991, when he resigned as president of the Soviet Union, “Fate had decided that, when I became head of state, it was already obvious that there was something wrong in this country. We had plenty of everything: land, oil, gas and other natural resources, and God has also endowed us with intellect and talent—yet we lived much worse than people in other industrialized countries and the gap was constantly widening.”

Gorbachev rose within the Communist Party the only way possible, by holding to the strict party line. But once he reached its highest office, he began to reform the system with an intensity and boldness that amazed all around him. Two words will be forever linked to his reform of the Soviet Union’s political and economic line of command: *perestroika*, meaning restructuring, and *glasnost*, meaning openness, as opposed to secrecy and cover-up.

## Growing up under Stalin's rule

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was born March 2, 1931, in the village of Privolnoye to Sergei Andr and Maria Panteleyevna. Privolnoye, where peasant families worked the land, was located in southern Russia in the Stavropol province. The Stavropol province was a multiethnic society where young Mikhail, as he recalled in his *Memoirs*, learned “tolerance and consideration and respect toward others.”

The hardship of Gorbachev's early childhood and teen years left permanent impressions, marking his character and view of the world around him. Before he entered school, Gorbachev lived mainly with his maternal grandfather, Pantelei Yefimovich Gopkalo, and grandmother, Vasilisa Lukyanoona. A highly respected village member, Gopkalo had joined the Communist Party in 1928 and became chairman of a collective farm in the area. The few books in his hut were those by Karl Marx (1818–1883), Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), V. I. Lenin (1870–1924), and **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry), all early influences on the communist system. Gorbachev's grandmother was deeply religious and kept a religious icon (picture) along with pictures of Lenin and Stalin in a corner of the room.

The first of several occurrences that Gorbachev would remember the rest of his life happened at his grandparents' home during the Stalin-driven purge of 1937 and 1938. The purge, when thousands were arrested and many murdered for little or no cause, reached into the peasants' village. Gopkalo was arrested in 1937 and taken away in the middle of the night on made-up charges that he was a member of an organization opposed to Stalin. He was deemed an “enemy of the people,” and neighbors avoided the house. Gorbachev's young friends ignored him, for those who continued to associate with the family of an “enemy” could also be arrested. Gopkalo was released from prison in December 1938. Gorbachev remembers sitting around the fire with family as a seven-year-old listening to his grandfather recall his arrest and torture to attempt to make him “confess.”

Although he had been too young to remember, Gorbachev also was told how his paternal grandfather, Andrei Moiseyevich Gorbachev, met a similar fate under the brutal Stalin rule. There was a terrible famine in 1932 and 1933 in the

Stavropol area. Authorities arrested Gorbachev's grandfather in the spring of 1934 for not planting enough, even though there was no seed available. Three-year-old Mikhail's father Sergei was Andrei's eldest son. Gorbachev's father took over all farming duties, providing not only for his wife and son but for his mother Stepanida and two sisters. Grandfather Andrei was released from a work camp in 1935, returned to the village, and soon managed a collective pig farm that won awards for the region.

## World War II

By 1938, with both grandfathers back home, Gorbachev recalled that life, although at a poverty level by any standards, returned to normal. It had even improved. Gorbachev occasionally got to see a silent movie and delighted in ice cream that was brought to the village. Families took Sundays off, picnicking, playing, and visiting. Then on one Sunday morning on June 22, 1941, terrifying news reached the village and the Gorbachevs and Gopkalos. The Germans had invaded Soviet territory, and the Soviets were suddenly drawn into World War II (1939–45). By August, men in the village headed to the war. Ten-year-old Gorbachev took over farm duties to provide for him and his mother. In *Memoirs*, Gorbachev observed, "Our way of life had changed completely. And we, wartime children, skipped from childhood directly into adulthood." Over the next three years, Gorbachev watched refugees pass by, saw tired, worn Red Army soldiers in disarray, stumbled on a site with friends in the spring-time where remains of soldiers killed in battle were left unburied, and endured German occupation of his village for four-and-a-half months in late 1943.

Happier moments also occurred during the war years, thanks to Gorbachev's paternal grandfather, who looked after the growing boy. However, in August 1944, the family received word that Gorbachev's father had been killed, only to learn soon after that he was actually alive and would return to them. Gorbachev never forgot the hardships of the time.

## A life back to normal

In 1944, Gorbachev was able to return to school. His learning depended on teachers and his own resourcefulness.



## Middle School and High School Experiences

Unlike previous Soviet leaders, Mikhail Gorbachev had fully grown up in the well-established Soviet communist system. His school experiences in the early twentieth century differ markedly from what U.S. schoolchildren experienced in the early twenty-first century. In his book *Memoirs*, Gorbachev describes his school experiences:

*The school of that time, its teachers and its pupils, defies unemotional description. As a matter of fact, it was not even a school. Aside from being housed in various village buildings built for completely different purposes, it possessed only a handful of textbooks, a few maps and visual aids and some chalk, an item not obtained without some effort. That was virtually all we had. The rest was up to the teachers and pupils. We made our ink ourselves. The school had to bring in firewood, and therefore it kept horses and a car. Our teachers, too, had a hard life during the war, what with the cold, the hunger, the anguish. But to do them justice: even then they tried (and one can only*

*guess how hard it must have been) to do their job conscientiously, exerting every effort imaginable. Our village school had eight grades. For the ninth and tenth grades we had to attend the district secondary school some twenty kilometres away. With the other children from my village I rented a room in a flat at the district centre and once a week had to return to the village to get some food. Nobody supervised my studies. My parents considered me responsible enough to work on my own.*

*I studied zealously. My interest emanated [came] from my inquisitive mind and the desire to get to the bottom of things. I enjoyed physics and mathematics. History fascinated me, while literature made me oblivious to anything else.*

*In those years everybody was keen to participate in amateur theatre, and loved athletics, although there were virtually no facilities for these activities. Once our drama group went on a tour of the district villages giving paid performances. The money we collected was used to buy thirty-five pairs of shoes for children who had nothing to wear to school.*

Few books or supplies were available. In summer, he worked up to twenty hours a day with his father, who had started operating a combine harvester on the farm. The two had long conversations about life, duty, family, work, and country.

Young Gorbachev had a bright, quick mind and noted how hard the peasant families worked yet could never improve their impoverished life. Every household had to deliver much of what they produced to the government. Yet in 1947, when Gorbachev was seventeen, he and his father produced a very large amount of grain with their combine and were rewarded. His father received the Order of Lenin award, and young Gorbachev received the Order of the Red Banner of

Labor. Gorbachev's honor at seventeen remained his most prized award over all those he received as an adult.

### **Continuing education and party participation**

Gorbachev finished secondary school in 1950 with a silver medal, the award for second best student in the graduating class. About the same time, he became a "candidate" member of the Communist Party. His Red Banner award, work record, party status, and "worker peasant" background helped him to be accepted into Moscow State University law school. Gorbachev quickly developed an interest in politics and became active in the Komsomol, the Young Communist League. In 1952, he became the Komsomol leader for the entire law school and also was admitted as a full member to the Communist Party. Although he proclaimed the Stalin propaganda, Gorbachev's personal decency was evident to his fellow students.

Gorbachev had arrived in Moscow in 1950 at the height, at least to date, of the Cold War (1945–91). The Cold War was a prolonged conflict for world dominance between the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats. Both the Soviets and the United States possessed the atomic bomb and were busily developing the more powerful hydrogen bomb, or H-bomb. The Korean War (1950–53) had broken out. Communism and U.S. capitalism were presented by his professors as totally incompatible systems, one of which would eventually win over the other. (Communism is a system in which the government or state controls production and there is no private ownership of property, whereas in capitalism there is corporate or private ownership of goods, where competition and a free market are emphasized.)

As a law student, Gorbachev was a disciplined hard worker. He read the works of many authors and particularly liked a two-year course on the history of political ideas. In the midst of Gorbachev's university years, Stalin died in 1953. He had doubts about Stalin's approach to leadership which held that anyone against his ideas was a criminal. Yet Gorbachev kept those views to himself. Stalin was replaced by **Nikita**

**Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry), and soon Gorbachev heard the words “peaceful coexistence” with the United States. This turn-about in philosophy impressed Gorbachev. Classmates recall he enjoyed attending various lectures and art exhibitions and was always ready to discuss his latest intellectual experience. However, it was Raisa Maximovna Titorenko who greatly expanded Gorbachev’s interests. Gorbachev met Titorenko, his future wife, at the university.

## Raisa

Raisa Titorenko was born in the Siberian town of Rubtsovsk. All through school, she was an outstanding student, graduating with the gold medal, first in her class. Not only intelligent, Raisa was quite a beauty. At the university, she studied philosophy and, like Gorbachev, loved to soak in all the cultural experiences available in Moscow. They were soon inseparable and married on September 25, 1953. After graduation in June 1955, the young couple went back to Stavropol, where Gorbachev became an organizer for the Komsomol. Much as Khrushchev had done, Gorbachev returned to his home to begin a rapid climb through party ranks. Their only child, Irina, was born in 1956.

The capital of the Stavropol province was the city of Stavropol, with a population of 130,000. Here, Gorbachev established relationships with other young Komsomol members including **Eduard Shevardnadze** (1928–; see entry), whom one day Gorbachev would appoint as Soviet foreign minister. Between 1956 and 1958, Gorbachev was first secretary (chief officer) of the city of Stavropol’s Komsomol.

By 1961, Gorbachev was first secretary for the Komsomol of the larger Stavropol province. In 1962, he jumped from Komsomol to the party and also enrolled in the Stavropol Agricultural Institute’s department of agricultural economy. Gorbachev realized that agricultural successes in his area might translate into a job in Moscow.

During this time, Raisa Gorbachev also continued her work on a doctoral dissertation. The topic was changes in peasant life on the collective farms of the Stavropol area. She received her candidate of science degree in philosophy, the

equivalent of a Ph.D. in the United States. She authored a book based on her dissertation and taught at the same institute where her husband was working on his second degree.

## Rising through the party

Gorbachev continued his rise in the party ranks. He became first secretary of the party for the city of Stavropol, then first secretary of Stavropol province. The first secretary of a province held the power of the region firmly in his hands. Gorbachev managed all the party affairs for the area. Most members of the Communist Party Central Committee were first regional secretaries, to which post Gorbachev was elected in 1971. The Central Committee was the main administrative body of the Communist Party. Their votes elected the general secretary of the Communist Party, who held the highest position of power in the Soviet Union.

During the early and mid-1970s, Gorbachev was able to travel to countries in both Western and Eastern Europe, considerably broadening his view of European politics. He also caught the attention of Yuri Andropov (1914–1984), chairman of the KGB, the Soviet secret police, which was also the most powerful Soviet intelligence agency. Andropov often vacationed in Stavropol. He was highly impressed with Gorbachev and became a mentor to him. Then on November 27, 1978, much to Gorbachev's surprise, General Secretary **Leonid Brezhnev** (1906–1982; see entry) appointed him secretary of the Central Committee in charge of agriculture, no doubt based on Andropov's recommendation. Gorbachev and his wife moved from Stavropol, where they had lived for twenty-three years, to Moscow. By October 1980, Gorbachev had been promoted to full member of the Politburo. The Politburo was a group of select people in the Central Committee that directed policy.

The party experienced a rapid succession of leaders between 1983 and 1985. Brezhnev died in 1983, and Andropov became general secretary. However, Andropov died in 1984 and was replaced by another aged and ill hard-line communist, Konstantin Chernenko (1911–1985). Chernenko died in 1985. The vigorous fifty-four-year-old Mikhail Gorbachev became the new general secretary of the Communist Party on March 11, 1985. **Andrey Gromyko** (1909–1989; see entry),



veteran Soviet foreign minister and a leader in the Politburo, enthusiastically nominated Gorbachev for the position. In Gromyko's nomination speech, he characterized Gorbachev by saying, "This man has a nice smile, but he has teeth of iron." At last, Gorbachev was in position to bring reform.

## A changing nation

Gorbachev had long exhibited a can-do attitude. He was a man of action and wasted no time setting a tone in the country to expect change. One immediate outward example of the change was seen with Raisa. Unlike any general secretary's wife before, she accompanied her husband on travels around the Soviet Union and to foreign countries. She became a partner and ally in her husband's initiatives. She also took up the cause of conservation and promotion of the Russian cultural heritage. Gorbachev began an antialcohol campaign that proved very unpopular. At first, he held a tight line but was forced to abandon the campaign a few years later. Nevertheless, he had indicated to the people of the Soviet Union that he would be a leader for change.

The nuclear reactor disaster of Chernobyl occurred on April 26, 1986. Still under the old communist system of not disclosing internal problems to the outside world, Gorbachev did not publicly respond to the disaster quickly. He first spoke on television about the disaster on May 14. However, that was the last time Gorbachev would use secrecy and cover-up. Almost immediately, he instituted the official government policy of *glasnost*, or openness, and *perestroika*, or restructuring. Gorbachev saw that for the Soviet Union to survive in the late twentieth century world marketplace of ideas and goods, it would have to completely reform its cumbersome political and economic chain of command. Glasnost showed the horrors the Soviets had lived under through the decades and the corruption of the huge government system.

Gorbachev set into motion the most radical domestic reforms of the Soviet political system since it was first established in 1917. Most reforms were started in 1989 and 1990. Gorbachev moved the center of political power away from the Communist Party and into a government structure. The party was no longer manager of the country. He decided the Soviets

needed an executive presidency much like the French and American presidencies. So he introduced to the Constitution the word “president,” taking the place of the position of chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, also known as the head of state. Supreme Soviet was the Communist Party’s legislature. Under the presidency, he established two executive councils, the Presidential Council, like the U.S. president’s cabinet, and the Council of the Federation, which brought together the top representatives of the Soviet republics. The Presidential Council took over most duties of the Politburo.

On the legislative side of government, he introduced competitive elections to the Soviet Congress of the People’s Deputies that comprised 2,250 positions. In 1988, Gorbachev got approval for the first multicandidate elections since the 1920s. However, 750 places were reserved for organizations such as the Communist Party (100 seats). In turn, Congress elected from its members a Supreme Soviet—a two-part body made of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. These were similar to genuine Western-style debating bodies and parliaments. In 1988, Gorbachev got rid of many of the old party faithfuls and replaced them with those whose ideas were like his.

## **Cold War ends**

Gorbachev also undertook a radical restructuring of the economy. He took the party out of detailed management of the economy by slashing the Central Committee from twenty departments to nine. The essence of Gorbachev’s economic restructuring was decentralization, giving more control to localities. Although he pushed the economy toward a real marketplace competition, he had to walk a fine line between moving too fast and too slow. Commercial banks and trading associations were not yet well organized. Gorbachev laid out plans to drastically increase production of consumer goods and services between 1985 and 2000.

To ease the difficult economic transition, Gorbachev knew the Soviet Union needed to halt its all-out Cold War arms race with the United States. In July 1985, he replaced Gromyko with Shevardnadze as foreign minister to help in easing Cold War tensions with the United States.

The relaxing of tensions between the two superpowers would allow Gorbachev to devote energy and resources to domestic issues. The Soviet Union had no economic means to continue matching the relentless American missile buildup. U.S.-Soviet arms control talks had stalled in 1983 due to stubborn nonproductive Cold War hard-line diplomacy between Andropov and U.S. president **Ronald Reagan** (1911–; served 1981–89; see entry). Reagan was the most intensely anti-Soviet American president to date. Gorbachev was determined to show a new look of flexibility in negotiations and to eventually win over Reagan. When Gorbachev came into office, he inherited a U.S.-Soviet impasse over Reagan's proposed "Star Wars" program, an elaborate system to defend the United States from missile attacks. The Soviets had demanded Star Wars and all research toward it be canceled. Gorbachev considered this an unnecessarily tough stance. In October 1986, Gorbachev met with Reagan in Reykjavik, Iceland. There, he proposed a grand compromise, the eventual elimination of intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) in exchange for withdrawal and destruction of U.S. missiles deployed in Europe in 1983 and aimed at the Soviet Union. Furthermore, he proposed to make deep cuts in offensive missiles, if Star Wars was confined to laboratory research only.

Although the talks fell apart, the precedent of better cooperation was set, and Gorbachev began altering his position on Star Wars more and more. In December 1986, Gorbachev in a brilliant political move released Nobel Peace Prize-winning physicist **Andrey Sakharov** (1921–1989; see entry) from exile in Gorky. This won worldwide approval. Sakharov had fallen out of favor with the Soviets because of his outspokenness and went into exile in early 1980. He had long advocated control of nuclear weapons, and now Gorbachev spoke of a need only for a sufficient defensive position and "mutual security" for the Soviets and America. Gorbachev was laying the groundwork for the end of the Cold War. His new thinking was tremendously intriguing for western strategists.

By 1987, some Western European polls showed Gorbachev as more popular than Reagan. In December 1987, Gorbachev visited Reagan in Washington, D.C., for another summit. Gorbachev quickly became a local and national television media celebrity. Delighted to visit America, he exhibit-



**U.S. president Ronald Reagan (left) and his wife Nancy walk with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa at a Washington, D.C., function in 1987. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.**

ed enthusiasm and goodwill and even stopped his motorcade to get out and shake hands with Washingtonians on the street. Clearly, Gorbachev was a new kind of Soviet leader.

In January 1988, Gorbachev announced plans to withdraw Soviet troops from the decade-long costly war in Afghanistan that further showed a dramatic change in Soviet thinking. The next two years saw an impressive amount of interaction between Gorbachev and U.S. leaders. In response, Reagan went to Moscow in May for yet another U.S.-Soviet summit. Then Gorbachev returned to the United States the following winter. On December 7, 1988, Gorbachev made his famous speech to the United Nations in New York City in which he called for an end to the Cold War. By the end of 1989, Gorbachev had allowed the people of Eastern European states to remove communist dictatorships and regain independence. He watched the toppling of the Berlin Wall, which had kept people from fleeing from communist East Germany to non-communist West Berlin since 1961, and later saw the reunifica-

tion of East and West Germany. In 1990, the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Gorbachev. In March 1990, the Congress of People's Deputies elected Gorbachev as president of the Soviet Union. He met with the new U.S. president, **George Bush** (1924–; served 1989–93; see entry) in Washington in June 1990.

## The fall of Gorbachev

All of the initiatives made Gorbachev extremely popular in the West, but in the Soviet Union major problems existed. The combination of raised economic expectations coupled with continuing shortages of basic goods and growing unemployment caused Gorbachev's popularity at home to drop significantly. Also, many old-time party hard-liners were aghast watching their former satellite countries break away. The old-line conservatives wanted the reforms to slow or even stop. Liberals wanted much faster progress in reform. Gorbachev briefly turned to some of the hard-liners for support. But on August 18, 1991, while on a vacation in the Crimea (a peninsula reaching into the Black Sea), a coup was attempted. Gorbachev and his wife were held at their villa for several days. The coup collapsed thanks to resistance by the people of Moscow led by Russian president Boris Yeltsin (1931–). Gorbachev returned to Moscow but never gained back any real authority. Yeltsin would essentially become the most influential Soviet leader. In a last effort to distance himself from the Communist Party, Gorbachev resigned from the party on August 24, 1991. However, power formally shifted to Russian president Yeltsin on November 7, 1991. He banned the Communist Party in Russia.

Gorbachev resigned as Soviet president on December 25, 1991. The Soviet Union ended its existence on December 31, 1991. Gorbachev kept a residence in Moscow and bought a villa in Finland. He made a run for election as Russian president in 1996 against Yeltsin but garnered less than 1 percent of the vote. In 1999, Raisa Gorbachev died of leukemia, a blood disease. Gorbachev founded several organizations including the International Organization for Soviet Socioeconomic and Political Studies (Gorbachev Foundation), based in Moscow, and Green Cross International, headquartered in Geneva. He also lectures extensively abroad.

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# Andrey Gromyko

**Born July 18, 1909**

**Staroye Gromyki, Belorussia (now Belarus)**

**Died July 2, 1989**

**Moscow, Russia**

**Soviet foreign minister and president**

**F**or over forty years, Andrey Gromyko was a skilled representative and spokesman for the Soviet Union while serving in a number of positions under various Soviet leaders. He maintained a persistent loyalty to official Soviet perspectives in its prolonged Cold War rivalry with the United States. To many in the West, his was the most familiar face of the communist-ruled superpower.

## **Making use of the new communist system**

Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko was born to Russian peasant farmers in the Belorussian village of Old Gromyki. Residents of that region would traditionally adopt the name of their village, so most inhabitants had the same last name: Gromyko. The Bolshevik Revolution occurred in 1917, when Gromyko was only eight years old. The Bolsheviks, mostly Russian peasants and workers rising in revolt against the Russian ruling class, professed the communist ideology of Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924), who established the Communist Party in Russia. Communism is a governmental system in



which the Communist Party controls nearly all aspects of citizens' lives. In a communist economy, private ownership of property is banned, and accumulated wealth is, in theory, shared equally by all. The Bolsheviks prevailed over the ruling classes and established communist rule throughout the country. The new communist system gave rural peasant youths new educational opportunities, and the intellectually gifted Gromyko would later take full advantage of them. In the meantime, to help support his family, fourteen-year-old Gromyko began working with his father, Andrey Matveyevich, at various jobs, including timber-cutting in the forests surrounding his village.

After completing his secondary education, Gromyko attended the Economics Institute in the city of Minsk and studied agricultural economics. In 1931, at age twenty-two, he joined the Communist Party. He married Lydia Dmitrievna Grinevich that same year; they would have two children. Continuing in the Soviet educational system, Gromyko completed a graduate program in economics and English in 1936 at the Minsk Agricultural Technical School. Moving to Moscow's Institute of Economics of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Gromyko completed a doctoral dissertation on U.S. agricultural mechanization. He remained at the institute until 1939 as a senior researcher and lecturer specializing in the American economy. In later years, he would publish three Russian-language books on U.S. economics. Gromyko also worked as a staff member on an economics journal through the late 1930s.

From 1936 to 1938, while Gromyko was completing his higher education, Soviet premier **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry) carried out massive purges of Communist Party leaders as well as ordinary party members; this period of purging is referred to as the Great Terror. Millions of Stalin's opponents—and even some of his supporters—were executed or exiled. Young party members of Gromyko's generation suddenly saw great opportunities open up in the Soviet government; after all, those who had been purged needed to be replaced. As a result, in 1939, Gromyko was recruited into the Soviet Diplomatic Service. Apparently making a quick and highly favorable impression, Gromyko was sent to work in the Soviet embassy in Washington, D.C. He became a favorite of Soviet foreign minister **Vyacheslav Molotov** (1890–1986; see entry), and by 1943 Gromyko, only thirty-three years old at



the time, was appointed Soviet ambassador to the United States. By then, he had become fluent in English.

During the mid-1940s, Gromyko became a prominent presence at meetings with world leaders. With his solemn facial expressions, Gromyko personified the long-term chilly relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Gromyko was nicknamed “Old Stone Face,” “Grim Grom,” and “Mr. Nyet.” (*Nyet* means “no” in Russian.)

## A rapid rise to foreign minister

In 1943, Gromyko traveled to Tehran, Iran, to attend the first meeting of Allied leaders during World War II (1939–45). The Allied leaders were Great Britain’s **Winston Churchill** (1874–1965; see entry), the United States’ Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1932–45), and the Soviet Union’s Stalin. The meeting focused on plans for postwar Europe. Gromyko then led the Soviet delegation at the 1944 Dumbarton Oaks conference in Washington, D.C.; at this meeting, world leaders discussed proposals for the creation of the United Nations (UN), an international organization created to resolve disputes among nations. Gromyko traveled to San Francisco in April 1945 to write the UN charter. He assisted Stalin and Molotov at two other important meetings in 1945, the first at the Crimean resort of Yalta and the second in Potsdam, Germany. Negotiating with Allied wartime leaders from the United States and Great Britain, Gromyko managed to keep Poland under Soviet control and keep Germany a divided nation, two important goals for the Soviet government. In return, the Soviets agreed to help the United States in its continuing war with Japan.

In 1946, Gromyko was named Soviet representative to the newly formed UN Security Council. Because of Gromyko’s earlier involvement in writing the UN charter, the Soviets received veto power over any proposals they found disagreeable; proposals posed by the United States and other Western countries were the most frequent offenders. Gromyko used his veto power freely while serving in the UN, casting twenty-six vetoes to prevent adoption of resolutions. He also dramatically stormed out of one Security Council session in protest over discussions of attempted Soviet expansion into Iran.



## Structure of the Communist Party

Andrey Gromyko served as a top leader in the Soviet government for decades; he also held various positions of influence in the Soviet Communist Party. Communism is a system of government in which national leaders are selected by a single political party, the Communist Party, which controls almost all aspects of society. No other political parties are allowed. Therefore, the Soviet Communist Party held more power than the government of the Soviet Union. The Party provided political and social guidance and handled foreign relations, while the government existed for administrative purposes for public works and social services. The head of the Communist Party is the most powerful person in a Communist nation.

The structure of the Communist Party was very different from that of U.S. political parties. Party leadership was divid-

ed into several bodies: the Central Committee, the Secretariat of the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Council of Ministers. The Central Committee was the administrative body of the Communist Party; it consisted of about one hundred of the party's leading figures. The general secretary (also called the first secretary between 1953 and 1966) was head of the Central Committee and top officer of the Communist Party. The Secretariat of the Central Committee consisted of about eleven members; this group of leaders ran the day-to-day activities of the Central Committee, such as keeping the numerous Party positions filled around the Soviet Union, making sure local Party officials were properly carrying out policy, and resolving Party disputes. The Central Committee's executive body was the Politburo (known as the Presidium between 1953 and 1966). It

In 1949, Gromyko was promoted to deputy foreign minister under Molotov, a rather rapid rise since entering the diplomatic field just ten years earlier. His work in the foreign minister's office was briefly interrupted in 1952 and 1953 because Molotov had fallen out of favor with Stalin. During this time, Gromyko was Soviet ambassador to Britain. However, immediately after Stalin's sudden death in 1953, Gromyko returned to Moscow to work as assistant foreign minister under Molotov once again. Making a break from past Stalin policies, new Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry) replaced Molotov with Gromyko as foreign minister in 1957. Gromyko served in that post for the next twenty-eight years. Gromyko was moving up rapidly in the Soviet Communist Party as well. In 1952, he had become a candidate member in

was a small body that directed party policy. The Politburo had no chairman, operating on the communist principle that all the members were equal. Therefore, the general secretary held top power in the country. Another body, the Council of Ministers, was in charge of economic issues.

The Soviet national government was separate from the Communist Party structure but totally subordinate to it. The legislative body of the Soviet government was the Supreme Soviet. The head of state and head of the Supreme Soviet was the premier. The person holding the position of premier was essentially a figurehead and served as the chief administrative officer of the Soviet government. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, composed of forty-two members, was in charge of passing Soviet legislation.

In actuality, the division of functions and responsibilities between the Central Committee, the Politburo, the Council of Ministers, and the Supreme Soviet was not distinct. The system was greatly dependent on individual personalities and how much support they could gain from others of influence. Therefore, no set path for selecting leaders existed. Anyone who had ambitions to lead the Communist Party needed to gather a personal following. Such a leader could come from any of the ruling bodies of the party. There were no set terms of office, so a leader was vulnerable to personal rivalries, conflicts over policy, and the rise of influential people. The system was ripe for and always suffered from corruption and secret deals.

the Central Committee of the Communist Party. He gained full membership in the Central Committee in 1956.

## Man of influence

By 1957, Gromyko was well known worldwide for his extensive knowledge of international affairs; he was also highly respected for his negotiating skills. His fellow Soviets trusted him as their sole representative on major diplomatic missions and as their chief foreign policy advisor.

During his career as foreign diplomat and foreign minister, Gromyko would meet with every U.S. president from Franklin D. Roosevelt to **Ronald Reagan** (1911–; served

1981–89; see entry). Gromyko accompanied many different Soviet leaders, from Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) to **Leonid Brezhnev** (1906–1982; see entry), on foreign visits. Gromyko was very intelligent and able to adapt his philosophies to the particular Soviet leader he was serving. He was the person Khrushchev sent to Washington, D.C., to meet with President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Gromyko's role as foreign minister would change over time. Khrushchev's flamboyant personal style kept the much more reserved Gromyko in the background for his first seven years in the post. When Brezhnev replaced Khrushchev as Soviet leader in October 1964, Brezhnev kept Gromyko as foreign minister. Under Brezhnev, Gromyko's influence and power grew significantly, and he regained his previous visibility in world affairs. Gromyko even met with Pope Paul VI (1897–1978) in 1966 while visiting Rome, Italy. Gromyko was one of the few Soviet officials to meet with a pope during the Cold War. His visit to the leader of one of the major world religions was notable because a key aspect of communism was the belief in no God and the discouragement of religious practices.

When meeting with world leaders, Gromyko made efforts to keep relations open and honest, but he was nevertheless staunchly dedicated to preserving Soviet communist rule. In 1968, when Czechoslovakia began to reform communist policies and introduce greater freedoms, Gromyko urged Brezhnev to respond with force. Gromyko also charted an aggressive course in Third World, or underdeveloped, countries. During the 1970s, he supported an overthrow of the Angolan government in Africa and encouraged Soviet leaders to provide aid to a procommunist government in Ethiopia. He also pushed for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 to support a pro-Soviet government there. The invasion led to a prolonged and costly war.

Much of Gromyko's career was spent negotiating arms control agreements. He played a key role in negotiating the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) with U.S. president **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74; see entry) in the early 1970s, including final negotiations. SALT I was the first treaty to set limits on some nuclear weapons and eliminate antiballistic missile (ABM) systems. Gromyko



proved a quick learner in the technical aspects of ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons. Impressing the negotiators from other nations, Gromyko often negotiated without the immediate need of technical advisors.

As Gromyko's influence in foreign affairs increased, so did his standing in the Soviet Communist Party. In 1973, Gromyko became a member of the Communist Party's policy-making committee, the Politburo. Through his Politburo position and foreign ministry post, Gromyko was a key force in the Soviet Union's efforts to ease tensions with the West; this new policy of promoting better relations was known as *détente*. Gromyko wanted the Soviet Union to have access to new advanced technologies of the West. In order to gain such access, Gromyko helped negotiate various agreements with Western nations to improve relations. His efforts led to agreements with West Germany addressing central European relations and to the Helsinki Accords of 1975, which made the postwar political boundaries in Eastern Europe permanent, a

**Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko (left) shakes hands with U.S. president Richard Nixon at a SALT I signing ceremony in October 1972.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

key to maintaining gains in Soviet influence in the region. In November 1974, Gromyko and Brezhnev met with U.S. president Gerald Ford (1913–; served 1974–77) in Vladivostok to begin discussions on another nuclear arms treaty, SALT II. SALT II was eventually signed on June 18, 1979, in Vienna, Austria, by President **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81; see entry) and Brezhnev. Gromyko and U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance (1917–2002) had been the main negotiators.

Gromyko's influence within the Soviet Union expanded further in 1983 when he became first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers controlled Soviet economic and cultural life. Brezhnev became increasingly feeble during his last years of power, and his immediate successors, Yuri Andropov (1914–1984) and Konstantin Chernenko (1911–1985), both suffered from ill health during their short terms in office. As a result, Gromyko was the person who actually ran Soviet foreign affairs in the early 1980s. For example, in 1982, he spoke before the United Nations in opposition to U.S. deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe. It was clear to those in attendance that Gromyko was speaking from a position of great authority. During this period, Soviet foreign policy became much more aggressive. In 1981, Gromyko supported the Polish government in crushing strikers who were protesting increased food prices. He also took a tough stance against President Reagan, who was threatening a renewed arms race. Gromyko later met with U.S. secretary of state George Shultz (1920–) in Geneva, Switzerland, in early 1985 to discuss arms control.

By 1985, Gromyko was the senior member of the Politburo and had great influence in the Soviet Communist Party. After the death of Chernenko, Gromyko proposed that **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1931–; see entry) be the next general secretary. Gorbachev did in fact become the new head of the Communist Party; he was the first of a new generation of Soviet leaders. Stressing much-needed economic reform, Gorbachev appointed **Eduard Shevardnadze** (1928–; see entry) to replace the old-guard Gromyko as foreign minister in June 1985, ending Gromyko's twenty-eight years in that position. However, out of respect for Gromyko and gratitude for his personal support, Gorbachev made him chairman of the Supreme Soviet, a position of prestige rather than power. Gorbachev shook up Soviet leadership again in 1988. Gromyko fell victim to this change

and resigned from his Politburo position. By April 1989, he was removed from the Central Committee as well.

Gromyko died of a stroke only a few months after leaving the Central Committee. He had been one of the last remaining members of the old-time hard-line Communist Party generation; indeed, despite Gromyko's long service to the Soviet Union, only one Politburo member attended his funeral. Just before his death, Gromyko published memoirs he had been compiling since 1979. However, for historians, the memoirs revealed few new insights about Gromyko's decades in the Soviet foreign ministry department. Instead Gromyko's writings reflected the traditional, rigid, hard-line communist interpretation of the Cold War.

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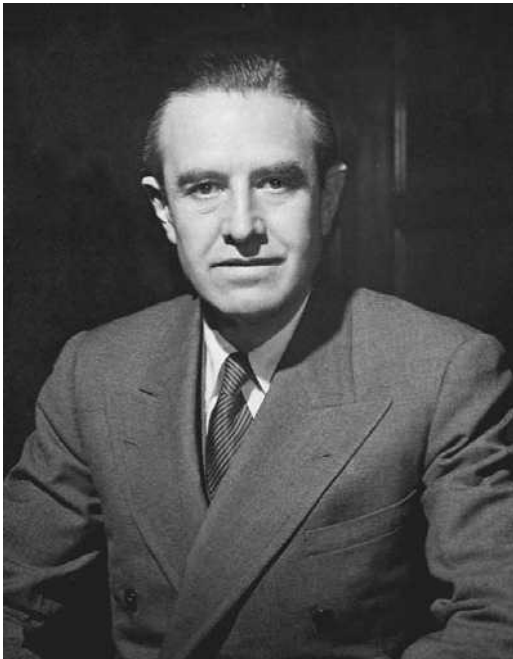
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## W. Averell Harriman

**Born November 15, 1891**

**New York, New York**

**Died July 26, 1986**

**Yorktown Heights, New York**

**U.S. secretary of commerce,  
statesman, industrialist**

“Conferences at the top level are always courteous. Name-calling is left to the foreign ministers.”

**W. Averell Harriman.**  
*Courtesy of the Library  
of Congress.*

**W**. Averell Harriman played a key role in many important political events of the twentieth century, including events during the Cold War. Born to privilege, Harriman believed passionately in public service; he believed in his ability—and obligation—to make the world better. He exercised his influence in major negotiations of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

Harriman is often considered the architect of the Cold War policy of containment, the strategy of keeping communist influence within the borders of existent communist nations. Communism is a political and economic system in which the Communist Party controls nearly all aspects of citizens' lives and private ownership of property is banned. It is not compatible with American political and economic values. Harriman had a strong, long-term relationship with the Soviet Union, but he came to believe that communism, the Soviet form of government, was a threat to the United States and to democracies around the world. Harriman advised U.S. presidents accordingly; he also negotiated with dictators. Putting his beliefs into action, he helped craft the Cold War.



## **“To whom much is given, much is expected”**

William Averell Harriman was born on November 15, 1891, the son of wealthy railroad baron E. H. Harriman, who built and owned the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific railways. He imparted his ideals of hard work and obligation to his children. Harriman’s father cautioned his children that possessing wealth creates a personal obligation to give back something meaningful to the nation and world. The Harriman children took this to heart, believing in their obligation to contribute to the world around them.

Harriman, who went by his middle name, Averell, was not a talkative child, but he was candid and thoughtful. Throughout his life he was often described as methodical. In 1899, his father was instructed by doctors to take time off to relax. So E. H. Harriman organized a ship of scientists to travel along the Alaskan coast, studying the animals and plants. The ship ventured as far as Siberia in eastern Russia. Young Averell went along on this journey, the first of his many trips to Russia.

Harriman attended Groton, a strict New England boarding school modeled after an English public school. He was not an excellent student, but he was well respected by his classmates. Just as Harriman was entering Yale University, his father died. Harriman’s mother received the family fortune, and Harriman was set to assume a key role in the family’s railroad business. By his senior year at Yale, he had been elected to the board of directors of the Union Pacific Railroad, appearing at his first board meeting with a textbook in hand.

At the beginning of World War I (1914–18), Harriman was a new husband and father and was playing an increasingly influential role in the family business. Harriman determined that the best way he could serve the country during the war was by building much-needed ships. So he built a shipyard, and after the war he increased production and expanded the business into a shipping empire. At the same time, he founded an investment-banking firm to fund marine securities (stocks and bonds).

## **Early negotiator with the Soviets**

The Harriman family had traditionally voted Republican, but Averell Harriman was drawn to the Democrats. The

Republican Party generally advocated isolationism, a policy of national isolation that would have the United States withdraw from the rest of the world in order to avoid war and economic entanglements. However, Harriman began to see isolationism as a disastrous foreign policy. In addition, Harriman felt the influence of his sister, Mary Harriman, who had developed a close relationship with Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962). Harriman's sister had announced that she was supporting Eleanor's husband, Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45), in his bid for the presidency in 1932. Harriman joined his sister in supporting Roosevelt, and Roosevelt won the election. Thus began Harriman's lifelong relationship with Democratic administrations.

In the late 1930s, as World War II (1939–45) loomed over Europe, President Roosevelt appointed Harriman to a unique position, the Lend-Lease administrator in England. The Lend-Lease program was established to provide England, which by now was broke, with supplies to fight the war against Germany, in exchange for leases to military bases throughout the remaining British empire around the world. Roosevelt directed Harriman while in London to determine everything that the United States could do to aid Britain, short of going to war. It was a position perfectly suited to Harriman, and he served effectively in the post, using his best facilitating and negotiating skills. Later, as the United States was beginning to form an alliance with the Soviet Union, Harriman approached Soviet leader **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry) about what equipment would help the Soviets. What the Soviet Union really wanted was for the United States to fight Germany from Western Europe, drawing some German forces away from the battle with Soviet troops in the east. Stalin was initially less than gracious regarding the U.S. offer of equipment and weapons, but the United States soon became a major supplier to the Soviet Union.

In 1943, Roosevelt appointed Harriman to the position of ambassador to the Soviet Union. Though Harriman was initially optimistic that the United States and the Soviet Union could have a good relationship after the war, he came to believe that this was not possible. Harriman began to fear that the Soviet Union would try to dominate Europe after the war. From his post in the Soviet Union, he sent memos communicating these thoughts to President Roosevelt. However,

Roosevelt was not open to hearing Harriman's predictions about the possible disintegration of the Western alliance. He did not want to play hardball with Stalin at this early time; he wanted to give prospects of a postwar alliance every chance to succeed.

One of the first clear signs that the Western alliance would not survive the war was the Soviet invasion of Poland in 1944. Initially invaded by Germany in 1939, Poland was then liberated by Soviet troops. The United States demanded that Poland be allowed to hold free and fair elections to form a new government. However, it quickly became clear that this was not the Soviet Union's intention. The Soviet Union claimed that Poland was crucial to its security. Stalin wanted a sphere, or ring, of friendly countries (communist or, at least, strong socialist) surrounding him.

## The Cold War begins

After the Soviets invaded Poland, Harriman began to believe that the United States must be increasingly firm with the Soviet Union. Harriman thought that the Soviets' goal of building a sphere of friendly states in Eastern Europe was an excuse for continuing communist expansion; he thought it was up to the United States to prevent such expansion. Furthermore, Harriman believed that the best protection for the United States was not the development of new weapons, but the establishment of democracies all around the world.

When President Roosevelt died suddenly in April 1945, **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry) took over as president. Truman was much more responsive to Harriman's concerns about the Soviets. Harriman recommended an increasingly hard-line approach in dealing with the Soviet Union; Truman agreed. For example, Harriman encouraged Truman to terminate the Lend-Lease program. As World War II



## The Special Skills of a Master Negotiator

Averell Harriman was a skilled negotiator who worked closely with the world leaders of his day, including British prime minister **Winston Churchill** (1874–1965; see entry), Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, Soviet foreign minister **Vyacheslav Molotov** (1890–1986; see entry), Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry), and Soviet leader Yuri Andropov. Harriman's negotiating skills were exceptional; so, apparently, was his skill at reading upside down. Near the time of his death, Harriman revealed a favorite negotiating strategy: "I always read everything on the desks of people I went to see in Moscow, London, Paris ... I found it quite useful."

ended and the Soviet Union began to expand its control over much of Eastern Europe, Truman announced what became known as the Truman Doctrine. The Truman Doctrine promised that the United States would provide aid to any nation in the world where free peoples were threatened by the spread of communism, especially in areas where poverty was threatening to undermine capitalist institutions. With that warning to the Soviets, the Cold War essentially began.

In 1946, President Truman appointed Harriman as the secretary of commerce. At the time, there was considerable debate regarding what to do about the postwar devastation of the European economies. The Soviet Union wanted to take Germany's industrial equipment and raw materials to rebuild the Soviet economy. However, Harriman believed that a rebuilt Germany would be an important buffer against potential Soviet communist expansion. As secretary of commerce, Harriman helped pass the Marshall Plan, a U.S. financial aid program designed to help rebuild postwar Europe. The plan would strengthen all the Western European countries and undermine any Soviet attempt to dominate the continent.

The Soviet Union continued to press for expansion. It refused to withdraw from the parts of Iran it had occupied during the war. It also pressured Turkey, demanding access to the shipping straits between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. Many of President Truman's advisors became increasingly concerned. Along with others in the U.S. government, Harriman believed that the first objective of communism was to extend itself to other parts of the world. This belief gave rise to the policy of containment, the attempt to resist Soviet aggression and thereby stop the further spread of communist influence. Harriman became a chief proponent of the idea that the United States must stop communism from infiltrating other countries.

As secretary of commerce, Harriman claimed that the Soviet Union had declared ideological warfare on the Western world. He believed the United States needed to maintain a strong military, especially a large and impressive air force, in order to keep communism away. At the same time, Harriman was not concerned about the anticommunist hysteria that began to sweep the country at the end of the 1940s, which he felt was unproductive and unnecessary.

## Governor Harriman

When Republican **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61; see entry) took office as president in 1953, Truman and his advisors, including Harriman, all left office. Harriman's influence on international events decreased. From this point on, his influence would seesaw as Democrats gained and lost power. He was influential under Democrats Roosevelt and Truman and later under Democratic presidents **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) and **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69; see entry). Harriman lost influence during the Republican administrations of Eisenhower and **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74; see entry).

During the 1950s, Harriman ran for the Democratic presidential nomination twice, in 1952 and 1956, losing both times to Adlai E. Stevenson (1900–1965). In 1954, Harriman ran for governor of New York and won, serving just four years before he lost his reelection race in 1958 to Republican Nelson A. Rockefeller (1908–1979). Harriman's career in elected office was not long, but people often called him "Governor" even after his term was over.

## The Vietnam War

In the 1960s, the new Democratic administrations called Harriman back to public service. In 1963, at more than seventy years of age, he became undersecretary for political affairs under President Kennedy. Harriman headed the U.S. team that negotiated the 1963 Limited Test-Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union. The treaty banned aboveground testing of nuclear weapons.

Harriman originally attempted to negotiate for a total ban on the testing of nuclear weapons. However, the Soviets had some practical concerns about such an arrangement: Aboveground testing could be easily monitored, but there was no way to monitor underground testing unless there were observers present in the facilities. The Soviet Union did not want Western observers in its nuclear weapons facilities. Therefore, the two countries could only agree on a limited ban on nuclear testing.



**Undersecretary of State W. Averell Harriman (left) confers with President John F. Kennedy in July 1963.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Vietnam was one of the hot spots in the Cold War. After the Vietnamese defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, Harriman favored U.S. military intervention in the region, because communist-controlled North Vietnam was trying to take over noncommunist South Vietnam. However, as Harriman aged, his position changed. By the time Lyndon Johnson became president, Harriman was a voice of moderation in discussions about the war, arguing for negotiation and

an end to the bombing of North Vietnam. President Johnson appointed Harriman as chief of the U.S. delegation to the Paris peace talks with the North Vietnamese in 1968.

When President Nixon took office in 1969, Harriman infuriated Nixon by calling for a fixed timetable for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. He also recommended putting increased pressure on the South Vietnamese to assume greater responsibility in conducting the war. Americans who were protesting U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War (1954–75) were pleased by Harriman's viewpoint, even though Harriman was not aligned with the peace movement and did not support the protesters' efforts.

## Last years

Harriman continued trying to improve U.S.-Soviet relations until the end of his life. He visited Soviet leader Yuri Andropov (1914–1984) in 1983 as a private citizen. Convinced that the Soviet Union wanted peace, Harriman encouraged the administration of President **Ronald Reagan** (1911–; served 1981–89; see entry) to return to a policy of peaceful co-existence. Over the years, Harriman also authored several books, including *Peace with Russia* (1959), *America and Russia in a Changing World* (1971), and *Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin, 1941–1946* (1975). William Averell Harriman died in 1986 at the age of ninety-four.

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## Ho Chi Minh

**Born May 19, 1890**

**Nghe An Province, Vietnam**

**Died September 3, 1969**

**Hanoi, North Vietnam**

**President of the Democratic  
Republic of Vietnam**

“Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom.”

**H**o Chi Minh was a leading figure in the international communist movement and the principal force behind the Vietnamese struggle against French colonial rule. Founder of the Vietnamese Communist Party and its chief strategist, Ho became president of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Today, he remains the symbol of national pride in Vietnam. One of the most influential political figures of the twentieth century, Ho Chi Minh had magnetic appeal as well as practical leadership skills.

At a time when most of his Vietnamese colleagues were trained only in China or the Soviet Union, Ho Chi Minh traveled extensively and developed a broad world view. Ho spoke and wrote a number of languages, including English, French, Chinese, and Russian, as well as his native Vietnamese.

### Colonial child

Ho Chi Minh's birth name was Nguyen Sinh Cung. The youngest of three children, he was born in 1890 in a rural

Ho Chi Minh.



hamlet in central Vietnam. Along with Cambodia, Laos, and several other countries, Vietnam forms a peninsula called Indochina, which extends from the southeastern border of China into the South China Sea. Rich in natural resources, especially rubber and rice, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam became French colonies in the nineteenth century before Ho Chi Minh was born. His mother was Hoang Thi Loan; his father, Nguyen Sinh Sac, was a teacher and a Confucian scholar who opposed France's presence in Vietnam. (Confucian scholars study the teachings of the Chinese philosopher Confucius, who was born in 551 B.C.E.) In keeping with Vietnamese tradition, Sinh Cung's parents gave him a new name when he reached adolescence. The new name was to reflect the parents' aspirations for their child and was recorded at the village registry. Sinh Cung's father assigned him the name Nguyen That Thanh, meaning "he who will succeed." In 1907, young Nguyen was enrolled at the National Academy, a prestigious school for students wishing to become administrative officials.

Sinh Sac had moved his family to the city of Hue in 1895. Later, Sinh Sac and his family moved to the town of Kim Lien, where he was an associate of the well-known scholar and revolutionary patriot Phan Boi Chau (1867–1940), who often visited their home. Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary outlook may have been inspired by these sessions with Phan Boi Chau and then intensified by his later experiences in France.

## Leaving home

In 1911, Nguyen That Thanh sailed from Saigon to France, working aboard the French passenger liner *Admiral LaTouche-Treville*. In order to pursue his political interests without placing his family back in Vietnam in danger, he traveled under the assumed name Nguyen Van Ba. Nguyen saw vast areas of the world, including Latin America and the United States, before he arrived in Paris. At that time, Paris had become the worldwide center for anticolonial groups to debate the issue of colonialism. Colonialism is the policy or practice of controlling a dependent country or people—for example, a Western European nation controlling an underdeveloped and economically dependent nation in Asia or Africa. The French colonized Indochina (Laos, Cambodia, and Viet-



**A young Ho Chi Minh.**  
*Reproduced by permission of  
Getty Images.*

nam) primarily for its rice and rubber resources. Their rule of the economy drained the countries of their wealth since profits went to farm and plantation owners in France, not the Indochinese. Vietnam wanted to gain control of its economy and raise the country's standard of living.

In Paris, using the name Nguyen Ai Quoc, or "Nguyen the Patriot," Nguyen engaged in radical activities and was one of the founding members of the French Communist Party. Communism is a system of government in which a single political party, the Communist Party, controls nearly all aspects of people's lives. In a communist economy, private ownership of property and business is prohibited so that goods produced and wealth accumulated can be shared equally by all. In 1919, as Nguyen Ai Quoc, he presented a petition to democratic leaders at the Versailles Peace Conference. In

this petition, titled "The Demands of the Annamite [Vietnamese] People," he outlined French colonial abuses in Vietnam: plantation owners ruling the local workers harshly, taking profits out of the country, and keeping a tight control on society to quell any rebellions. The French had established the colony through force in the first place in the 1850s and 1860s and maintained it with force. Nguyen also proposed that Vietnam would be governed by Vietnamese and would control its own economy. Not many nations wanted to challenge France because of long ties, but Nguyen's petition served as an important call to action among the Vietnamese.

Like many Asian leaders of that era, he had not had a happy experience with capitalism. Capitalism is an economic system where property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention. Nguyen had personally observed the brutalities perpetuated by Western colonialism, and those experiences

had led him to embrace the concept of a future global federation of communist societies, an idea proposed by the Russian communist leader Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924).

The following years of Nguyen's life were spent in the Soviet Union, China, and Indochina. In China, he learned guerrilla warfare, or irregular and independent attacks, from **Mao Zedong** (1893–1976; see entry), the future leader of the Communist People's Republic of China. After founding the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) among Vietnamese exiles in Canton, China, Nguyen was arrested by the British for adopting radical politics and threatening the colonial countries, and spent two years in prison. After his release, he returned to the Soviet Union and spent several years recovering from several illnesses.

## The Vietminh

In 1940, as part of their military expansion throughout Asia, Japanese troops swept into Indochina to gain control of natural resources for their own industries. Nguyen resumed contact with Indochinese Communist Party leaders and announced the formation of the League for the Independence of Vietnam, popularly known as the Vietminh. The Vietminh's purpose was to fight French rule and the Japanese occupation. In 1942, Nguyen was arrested in China by Chinese leader **Chiang Kai-shek** (1887–1975; see entry) who despised communists and was fending off Mao within China. Nguyen was falsely charged with being a spy, which Chiang believed would tarnish his reputation back home in Vietnam and undercut his power. After spending thirteen months in jail, Nguyen returned to Vietnam in 1944, where he continued his resistance.

From the Vietminh, Nguyen derived his final and most famous alias, Ho Chi Minh. The name means "enlightener" or "bringer of light." When the Japanese surrendered in 1945 at the end of World War II (1939–45), the Vietminh seized power in Vietnam and proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV); the DRV's capital city was Hanoi. After approximately thirty years as a revolutionary, Ho Chi Minh was about to become the first president of the new communist republic.



## Names and Aliases

The Vietnamese people, like the Chinese, place their surnames first and their given names second. For example, Ho Chi Minh's surname was Ho, so he was called President Ho or Chairman Ho. Ho Chi Minh spent many years in exile, and at times he lived in hiding in his own country. Ho lived and traveled under a variety of aliases (assumed names). It is estimated that he adopted more than fifty assumed names during his lifetime. Many of his writings were also under assumed names, including several flattering biographies that he penned for himself.

## A changing world

After the bloody battles of World War II, the world found itself engaged in a different kind of conflict—the so-called Cold War. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry between the world's two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—that lasted from 1945 to 1991. The Cold War rivalry would eventually lead to the collapse of colonialism. Both sides advocated the liberation of their former colonies in order to win those colonies over and make them allies in the Cold War struggle for domination.

As a relatively small player in the global Cold War drama, France did not stand to gain much by liberating its colonies. Therefore, the French were unwilling to grant independence

to their colonial subjects in Indochina, and in late 1946 war broke out in Vietnam. For eight years, Vietminh guerrillas fought French troops in the mountains and rice paddies of Vietnam. The Vietminh finally defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954; they then established North Vietnam as an independent country. However, South Vietnam remained out of Ho's grasp. The terms of the peace agreement would keep Vietnam a divided country. After his victory over the French, Ho returned to Hanoi. He devoted his efforts to constructing a communist society in North Vietnam but did not give up on his vision of a unified Vietnam under his leadership.

## A simple man

Ho appeared rather humble in his threadbare bush jacket and frayed rubber sandals. When surrounded by luxury, he often seemed uncomfortable; he preferred to live in a stilt house built in the style used by citizens who lived in the mountains. He once vetoed a proposal to construct a small museum that was meant to commemorate his life. Ho argued that the funds could be better used to build a school. The

Western powers sometimes suspected that Ho cultivated this image of simplicity to more easily gain popularity. Ho did openly enjoy the adulation that he received from his compatriots, but in the final analysis there is little doubt that Ho Chi Minh actually preferred to live in simple, unpretentious surroundings. He sought to portray himself as a loyal adherent of the communist teachings of German political philosopher Karl Marx (1818–1883). However, Ho also made an effort to soften communism’s strict policies in order to ease the lives of Vietnam’s citizens.

## The U.S. viewpoint

The United States was concerned about the situation in Indochina for a combination of reasons. Indochina had raw materials that the world needed, especially tin and tungsten; therefore, the United States wanted to continue free trade with Indochina. U.S. leaders saw Ho Chi Minh’s communist victory over the French as a potential threat to free trade, because the new communist economy of Vietnam would be closed to all capitalist nations. The Americans feared that other nations in Indochina would fall to communism and that trade with the entire region would cease. There was a real concern among all the Western capitalist nations that the existence of a communist government in one country would cause neighboring countries to fall to communism. This idea was referred to as the “domino theory.” In the view of the Western world, countries falling in succession to communist influence would be the beginning of the end for free trade.

Even within the United States, people feared the infiltration of communist influence, both in the U.S. government and in broader American society. Communism itself was the enemy, and top U.S. leaders, including President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61; see entry), sincerely believed in the domino theory; they thought that any communist victory was a threat to U.S. democracy and capitalism. Ironically, Ho Chi Minh had an honest respect for the United States. He incorporated many of its ideals in his Vietnamese Declaration of Independence. One of Ho’s slogans was “Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom.” (This slogan is still seen on billboards in Viet-

nam.) Despite his admiration for the United States, Ho knew that the U.S. government would not grant legitimacy to his communist government in Hanoi. In fact, by the late 1950s and early 1960s, the United States would send a considerable number of military advisors to South Vietnam to help resist any communist advances orchestrated by Ho.

## **A hot war**

In foreign policy, Ho adopted a practical attitude and moved slowly in order to adjust his communist goals to the conditions of the world at the moment. The Vietnam War (1954–75) involved U.S. efforts to protect noncommunist South Vietnam from being taken over by Ho’s communist-ruled North Vietnam. U.S. aid to South Vietnam began as early as January 1955. Steadily, U.S. military support escalated until hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops were in Vietnam by 1967. As American casualties mounted, U.S. president **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69; see entry) was increasingly anxious to arrange peace negotiations with North Vietnam. However, Ho made it clear to Johnson that North Vietnam would never negotiate. Even as the war physically destroyed his country, Ho remained committed to Vietnam’s independence. Millions of Vietnamese fought and died to attain the same goal. Ho saw communism as a means to reach independence.

During the war, Ho was frequently ill or in China for medical treatment. He died of heart failure in 1969 at the age of seventy-nine. He did not live to see the unification of Vietnam that occurred six years later when North Vietnam and South Vietnam joined together to form the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV). But the final communist triumph—the capture of Saigon, South Vietnam’s capital city, in 1975—was the result of Ho Chi Minh’s lifelong revolutionary efforts. After the fall of Saigon, Ho’s colleagues renamed the city Ho Chi Minh City in his honor.

## **Last will and testament**

Upon Ho’s death, an official statement from Moscow lauded the Vietnamese leader as an important communist

leader and friend of the Soviet Union. The reaction from Western capitals was more muted. Some U.S. news media that had protested U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War memorialized Ho as a worthy adversary and a defender of the weak and oppressed. Even those who opposed Ho's regime respected Ho himself as someone who had dedicated his life to the independence and unification of his country. Ho's critics, on the other hand, refused to overlook his long record as a follower of **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry), the brutal communist dictator of the Soviet Union. This group felt that Ho's decades of service to the communist world revolution had done irreparable damage to the cause of democracy.

Ho Chi Minh's last will and testament contained his wish to be cremated; it also indicated that he wanted his ashes deposited at three unnamed locations in the northern, central, and southern sections of Vietnam. Ho intended this to be a symbolic act that would express his devotion to the cause of national reunification. However, Communist Party leaders ignored Ho's request for a simple funeral ceremony and cremation. They decided to erect a mausoleum (a building where bodies are entombed aboveground) to display his embalmed body for future generations.

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## The Tet Offensive

Tet is the Vietnamese New Year, which is celebrated at the turning of the lunar year (the appearance of the first new moon after January 20). During the Vietnam War, it was customary for both sides to observe a truce during the Tet celebrations. However, in 1968, Vietcong guerrilla fighters (rebel forces within South Vietnam who supported Ho's Communist forces) violated the temporary truce and surged into more than one hundred towns and cities, including Saigon, South Vietnam's capital city and the center of operations for U.S. and South Vietnamese forces. This surprise attack, known as the Tet Offensive, was the final turning point in the Vietnam War. When communist forces seized the U.S. embassy in Saigon, the American public's opinion about the war shifted; it no longer seemed that the United States was winning—or could ever win—the war. Only a few months later, President Lyndon B. Johnson cut back on U.S. bombing of North Vietnam, and eventually the United States withdrew from the war in defeat.

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# J. Edgar Hoover

**Born January 1, 1895  
Washington, D.C.  
Died May 2, 1972  
Washington, D.C.**

**Director of the  
Federal Bureau of Investigation**



J. Edgar Hoover joined the Bureau of Investigation (later called the Federal Bureau of Investigation) in 1917 and became its director in 1924. He would remain in that position for the next forty-eight years until his death in 1972, serving under both Democratic and Republican presidents. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Hoover transformed the organization from a scandal-ridden agency into an elite corps of highly regimented special agents. The American public was hungry for a return to law and order. Its confidence in law enforcement was badly shaken by the lawlessness of the Prohibition Era (1920–33), a period when liquor was illegal and organized crime grew wealthy by supplying Americans with various forms of alcohol. Then, just as Prohibition ended, outlaws began sweeping across America’s Midwest, robbing banks and terrifying citizens. Hoover’s agency ended the crime wave and restored public confidence in law enforcement.

During the later 1930s, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45), along with many Americans, increasingly feared that the fascism taking hold in Germany and Italy and the communism of the Soviet Union could gain a

“Truth-telling, I have found, is the key to responsible citizenship. The thousands of criminals I have seen in 40 years of law enforcement have had one thing in common: Every single one was a liar.”

**J. Edgar Hoover.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

foothold in the United States. Fascism is a political movement or regime characterized by dictatorship, militarism, and racism. Communism is a political and economic system in which the Communist Party controls almost all aspects of citizens' lives and private ownership of property is banned. U.S. leaders wanted American businesses to be able to compete and profit on a global scale. Therefore, neither fascism nor communism was compatible with America's democratic or capitalist values.

Roosevelt relied on Hoover to oversee the national security of the United States. Following World War II (1939–45), the democratic United States and the communist Soviet Union fought each other with words and threats. During this so-called Cold War (1945–91), Hoover and his agency staunchly guarded against the spread of communism to American soil. Preaching law and order, Hoover assumed the role of protector of America's democratic values. The legality of the FBI's activities, particularly undercover surveillance, or spying, was sometimes questioned. However, Hoover himself was esteemed for single-handedly establishing an internationally respected law enforcement agency.

## **Early life**

John Edgar Hoover was the last of four children born to Dickerson Naylor Hoover and Annie Scheitlin Hoover; he arrived on New Year's Day in 1895 in Washington, D.C. The Hoover home was located on Capitol Hill, within blocks of the Library of Congress. Those who lived in the neighborhood, which was known as Seward Square, were predominantly white, middle-class Protestants who held government jobs. Hoover's father was a printer with the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Hoover was a frail child, so his mother paid careful attention to him. She was his moral guide and disciplinarian. Hoover remained very close to his mother, living with her in the house where he was born for forty-three years until her death in 1938.

## **Efficient and effective**

Hoover was very bright and graduated at the top of his class from the prestigious Central High School in 1913.

After high school, Hoover worked as a file clerk at the Library of Congress and attended night classes at National University Law School, which later became part of George Washington University. He received his law degree in 1916 and a graduate degree in law in 1917. That same year, the United States entered World War I (1914–18). The Alien Enemy Bureau in the Department of Justice hired twenty-two-year-old Hoover to process newly arriving German and Austro-Hungarian immigrants; his job was to determine whether any of them might pose a threat to America.

Besides the world war, another event held America's attention in 1917: A revolution in Russia brought the communists to power. This heightened U.S. government leaders' fears that communist influence might also be growing in the United States. To alleviate these fears, the U.S. attorney general, A. Mitchell Palmer (1872–1936), put Hoover in charge of the Justice Department's General Intelligence Division (GID). The GID's job was to track down, arrest, and deport alien radicals, citizens of other countries living in the United States who advocated extreme change. Hoover also became assistant to the attorney general in November 1918. In that position, Hoover planned and directed raids (known as the Palmer Raids) on foreign radicals in three U.S. cities in November 1919 and January 1920. The raids resulted in mass arrests and the deportation of some well-known anarchists. (Deportation is the act of sending illegal aliens out of the country. Anarchists are people who reject governmental authority.) Hoover's investigations for the GID made him the nation's premier expert in communist activities on the home front. The antiradical campaign ordered by Attorney General Palmer ended amid charges from the Justice Department that the civil liberties, or freedom from governmental interference, of those arrested had been disregarded. Nevertheless, through each assignment he undertook, Hoover had gained a reputation for being extremely efficient and effective.

## **Director of the Bureau of Investigation**

In 1921, the attorney general placed the GID within the Bureau of Investigation (BOI) and appointed Hoover as the assistant director of BOI. Congress charged the agency with investigating federal crimes such as bank robberies, kid-

napping, and car thefts. On May 10, 1924, at the age of twenty-nine, Hoover was appointed director of the BOI. The BOI was full of scandal and corruption. As director, Hoover worked diligently to improve the image and effectiveness of the organization. He raised the standards for agents and fired many whom he considered unqualified. He replaced them with an elite group of men who were mostly young, white, and college-educated. Hoover demanded total conformity and a strict moral code among his agents.

Hoover also brought scientific law enforcement techniques to the agency. He established a fingerprint identification department, modern investigation laboratories, and a system for maintaining comprehensive crime statistics. As a result, the BOI gained more importance and responsibility. Still, neither Hoover nor the BOI was well known outside government circles. Furthermore, the law placed severe limitations on the types of activities BOI agents could carry out. Agents could not make arrests or even carry guns. Often they found themselves assigned to trailing prostitutes or petty criminals. However, the role and activities of the BOI would change dramatically in the mid-1930s.

### **“G-Men”**

The economic hard times of the Great Depression (1929–41) spawned the rise of notorious outlaws in the Midwest in 1933 and 1934. Driving fast cars and carrying machine guns, they robbed isolated banks and service stations at will, leaving a bloody trail behind. Among the outlaws were Bonnie and Clyde, “Ma” Barker (1871–1935), “Machine Gun” Kelly (1895–1954), “Pretty Boy” Floyd (1901–1934), John Dillinger (1903–1934), and “Baby Face” Nelson (1908–1934). Seeking to raise the public’s awareness of the BOI, Hoover targeted these high-profile criminals for maximum publicity benefit. BOI agents, who had only recently been authorized to carry weapons and make arrests, gunned down five of these outlaws in 1934: Bonnie and Clyde in May, Dillinger in July, Floyd in October, and Nelson in November. They shot and killed “Ma” Barker in 1935.

The BOI agents, including Hoover, became national heroes and received considerable media attention. The box of-

fiction hit *G-Men* was released in 1935 (The term *G-men* was thought to stand for “government men.”) Popular actor James Cagney (1899–1986) played a character who was patterned after Hoover. That same year, the BOI was renamed the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and its “G-men” became known as FBI agents. The FBI’s successes and related publicity restored the public’s confidence in law enforcement. To maintain his heroic image, Hoover would sometimes personally lead raids with the news media on hand. For example, a classic case of Hoover heroics occurred in 1937 when a top New York City criminal surrendered personally to Hoover. Reporters and photographers captured the entire event. To Americans, Hoover and his agents became larger-than-life heroes.

Despite his success against the Midwest outlaws and individual criminals, Hoover chose not to battle organized crime. By illegally supplying alcohol to Americans during Prohibition, organized crime had become incredibly wealthy and powerful. Hoover did not want to risk a poor showing in a battle against organized crime; this would have damaged the new positive image of the FBI. Instead, Hoover preferred to hunt down lawless individuals, who were much easier targets. Throughout his career, Hoover denied the existence of organized crime in the United States. This denial contributed to the rapid growth of organized crime, which continued to grow and prosper through the mid-twentieth century. The FBI did not earnestly enter the battle against organized crime until after Hoover’s death.

## Threats during World War II

In the 1930s, tensions in Europe rose as Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), leader of the Nazi Party, became the dictator of Germany. Fascism had taken hold in Germany and in Italy as well. Along with communism in the Soviet Union, fascism was seen as a threat to America’s democratic principles. In the late 1930s and throughout World War II, President Roosevelt assigned the FBI to secretly monitor the activities of any communists or fascists in the United States. Hoover rose in prominence as the head of U.S. domestic counterintelligence (stopping enemies from spying or gathering secret information) and countersabotage (preventing enemy destruction of U.S. facilities). He compiled information on the daily habits and



**FBI director J. Edgar Hoover stands directly behind U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt (seated) as he signs a bill. Also standing with Hoover are (from left to right) Attorney General Homer S. Cummings, U.S. senator Henry F. Ashurst of Arizona, and Assistant Attorney General Joseph B. Keenan.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

organizational memberships of numerous people, searching for those who might turn into enemies of democracy. He kept lists of the names of “questionable” individuals. In 1942, FBI agents captured would-be criminals from Germany who had landed in a submarine on Long Island. Their capture received extensive coverage in the media; because of such coverage, the public believed that the FBI was on top of threats to the United States.

### **Protecting America in the Cold War**

At the end of World War II, the Cold War began. The Cold War was a prolonged battle for world dominance between the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. Threats and propaganda were the chief weapons used in the conflict. The campaign against communism dominated Hoover’s life, and in the late 1940s uncovering communist infiltration of the U.S. federal government was



## How to Fight Communism

As director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) for almost thirty Cold War years, J. Edgar Hoover was charged with gathering information on possible communist influences within the United States, including people who were spying for communist countries. In 1947, Hoover wrote an article titled “How to Fight Communism,” which was published in *Newsweek* magazine’s June 9 issue. The article contains a list of “Ten ‘Don’ts’ by Mr. Hoover.” A few of the “don’ts” included:

*Don’t let Communists in your organization or Labor union out-work, out-vote or out-number you.*

*Don’t be hoodwinked by Communist propaganda that says one thing but means destruction of the American Way of Life. Expose it with the truth.*

*Don’t give aid and comfort to the Communist cause by joining front organizations [groups that hide the identity of the actual cause], contributing to their campaign chests or by championing their cause in any way, shape or form.*



**Political cartoon about the FBI, entitled “Sees all—Knows all.”** Cartoon by Fred Graf. Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.

*Don’t let Communists infiltrate into our schools, churches and [molders] of public opinion, the press, radio and screen.*

a high priority. Hoover’s FBI investigated the backgrounds of numerous government employees. The Republican Party in particular supported these investigations and revived the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in Congress. The HUAC was a congressional group established to investigate and root out any communist influences within the United States. Intent on exposing communists in such organizations as labor unions, Hoover eagerly supplied HUAC with information. Scoring yet another high-visibility case, Hoover and his FBI agents uncovered information on a spy ring that had funneled secret information from the Manhattan Project, the United States’ secret atomic bomb project, to the Soviets.

“Atomic spy” Klaus Fuchs (1911–1988) was exposed. Arrests in the case led to the conviction and execution of Julius Rosenberg (1918–1953) and Ethel Rosenberg (1915–1953), a husband and wife who were members of the spy ring.

To educate the public about the domestic threat of communism, Hoover authored a widely read book called *Masters of Deceit* (1958). The book sold 250,000 copies in hardback and 2 million in paperback (through twenty-nine printings, ending in 1970). Loving the spotlight and publicity, Hoover also worked with the national media on the production of radio and television programs and Hollywood movies. These productions included *The FBI Story* (1959), starring Jimmy Stewart (1908–1997), and a popular television series, *The FBI*, which ran from 1965 to 1974.

Impressed with Hoover’s success in combating all manner of criminal activities, President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) asked Hoover to investigate the Ku Klux Klan, an antiblack hate group in the United States. However, Hoover had his own ideas of whom to target next. More and more groups caught his attention as potential threats to traditional middle-American values. For example, Hoover targeted black American organizations such as the militant Black Panthers, as well as people protesting U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War (1954–75). Hoover also waged a smear campaign, in which one attempts to tarnish another’s reputation, against civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968). Claiming that King had communist ties, Hoover tried to destroy King’s credibility and career. Hoover continued his warnings about communists through the 1960s, but by then the American Communist Party had ceased to have any real influence in the United States. To many Americans, Hoover’s warnings began to seem irrational and misplaced; Hoover no longer projected the calm, cool image of America’s chief law enforcer.

## Methods questioned

In his forty-eighth year as director of the FBI (fifty-five years total working in the bureau), Hoover died in his sleep in Washington, D.C., his hometown. His body lay in state in the Capitol’s Rotunda; one of only several dozen Americans who



have received this honor. Throughout his career as head of the FBI, Hoover had worked hard to maintain a clean public reputation. However, casting a shadow of suspicion over his activities, Hoover ordered his personal secretary to destroy all his personal files upon his death. His tactics of surveillance, wiretapping (secretly listening to telephone conversations), and keeping detailed files on innocent citizens he deemed suspicious violated the civil liberties of many Americans.

After his death, Hoover became the subject of a Senate investigative committee in 1975 and 1976. The Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities determined that Hoover had greatly abused his governmental authority and had violated the First Amendment rights of free speech and free assembly (freedom to meet with others) by harassing those he considered a threat. Yet Hoover's positive contributions could not be overlooked. He organized and led an effective, elite federal law enforcement agency through nearly half a century of U.S. history.

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## Lyndon B. Johnson

**Born August 27, 1908**  
**Gillespie County, Texas**  
**Died January 22, 1973**  
**San Antonio, Texas**

**U.S. president, vice president, senator**

"If one morning I walked on top of the water across the Potomac River, the headline that afternoon would read 'President Can't Swim.'"

**Lyndon B. Johnson.**  
*Photograph by Arnold Newman. Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

**L** yndon B. Johnson suddenly became president during one of the darkest times in U.S. history—following the assassination of the popular **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry). Johnson proceeded to fight hard for the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, but is best remembered for serving during the tumultuous period of the Vietnam War (1954–75). In his 1986 book *Big Daddy from the Pedernales: Lyndon Baines Johnson*, historian Paul K. Conkin said Johnson “was confused and almost helpless.” The personal toll on the president “was almost overwhelming. He had aged ten years in only two and was now visibly an old man, shaken, ineffective, almost beleaguered in a White House surrounded daily by angry protesters.”

During Johnson’s presidency, the Cold War (1945–91) grew increasingly violent in Vietnam. The Vietnam experience caused major social upheaval in the United States and would end public support for U.S. efforts to contain communism in faraway places.

## Rapid rise from humble beginnings

Lyndon Baines Johnson was born August 27, 1908, in a three-room house in the hills of southwest Texas near the town of Stonewall. He was the oldest of five children born to Sam Ealy Johnson Jr., a businessman and a member of the Texas legislature, and Rebekah Baines, a schoolteacher. One grandfather, Joseph Baines, was also a state legislator. Johnson grew up listening to lively political discussions at home.

Because of poor investments, the Johnson family struggled financially. Johnson often wore homemade clothing as a young boy, and he felt greatly embarrassed about it. Because of these early experiences, he would always have sympathy for ordinary people, particularly those who were struggling financially. Johnson graduated from high school in 1924. After working at odd jobs for three years, he entered Southwest Texas State Teachers College at San Marcos. To help pay for his studies, Johnson took a teaching job during the 1928–29 school year in a predominantly Mexican American school in Cotulla. He was profoundly impressed by the extreme poverty of the area. During Johnson's presidency, easing poverty would be one of his top priorities.

Johnson graduated in 1930 and briefly taught debate and public speaking at a Houston high school. Also in 1930, he took part in the successful congressional campaign for Democrat Richard Kleberg (1887–1955). Leaving his teaching job in early 1931, Johnson accompanied Kleberg to Washington, D.C., as a legislative assistant. Johnson found the Washington political scene captivating and worked tirelessly. Youthful and energetic, he soon caught the attention of Texas congressman Sam Rayburn (1882–1961), who became his mentor.

In 1934, Johnson met Claudia Alta Taylor (1912–), better known as “Lady Bird,” of San Antonio, Texas. Within twenty-four hours, he proposed marriage to her. They would have two daughters, Lynda Bird and Luci. Lady Bird proved a shrewd judge of people and would be an invaluable stabilizing factor for the often feisty Johnson throughout his political career. In 1935, Johnson was appointed director of the National Youth Administration (NYA) in Texas, where he served for two years. The NYA was a federal agency created in 1935 to provide job training and education to unemployed youths

during the Great Depression (1929–41), the worst financial crisis in American history. Johnson proved an exceptionally able administrator.

## **A life in Congress**

Encouraged by Rayburn and others, Johnson decided to enter politics himself and ran successfully for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1936. Returning to Washington, D.C., he would serve in the House for twelve years. When the United States entered World War II (1939–45) in December 1941, Johnson became the first member of Congress to enter the armed services in active duty. With the rank of lieutenant commander, he served in the navy for six months in the Pacific. Johnson flew in one combat mission in a patrol bomber over New Guinea and came under attack by Japanese fighters. He was awarded the Silver Star, which he proudly wore the rest of his political career. After Johnson's six months of service, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) called all congressmen back to fill their political roles. Johnson happily returned. It was also at this time that the Johnsons spent Lady Bird's inheritance to purchase a radio and television station in Austin, Texas. This investment would become very profitable for them, gaining in worth by several million dollars.

In 1948, Johnson ran for the U.S. Senate. Amidst charges of ballot-stuffing and after legal battles to determine the victor in the Democratic primary, Johnson won by only eighty-seven votes out of almost one million cast. He went on to handily win the fall election in the heavily Democratic state of Texas. Johnson would serve in the Senate for twelve years. He was a shrewd legislator capable of swinging deals to pass legislation. Known for being both tactful and ruthless, he would psychologically strong-arm his fellow legislators, giving them what came to be known as the "Johnson treatment." He became minority leader of the Senate in 1953, and when the Democrats became the majority party in the Senate in 1955, he became the youngest majority leader in U.S. history at age forty-six. A severe heart attack in 1955 did little to impede his career or effectiveness. In 1957, Johnson guided the Civil Rights Act of 1957 through Congress, the first since the 1870s.

## The presidency

In 1960, Johnson hoped to gain the Democratic presidential nomination. However, U.S. senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts won the party's nomination instead. In a surprise move, Kennedy offered the vice presidential running mate position to the man he had just defeated—Johnson. In another surprise, Johnson in essence settled for second place—and accepted. Kennedy, a Roman Catholic from the East Coast, was greatly aided by Johnson's Protestant Texas background; it gave the campaign some balance. Having Johnson as a running mate probably made the difference in Kennedy's narrow victory over the Republican candidate, Vice President **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; see entry).

Johnson's time as vice president, from 1961 to 1963, was very unsatisfying. For the six years prior to becoming vice president, he was used to being in a position of power as Senate majority leader. But Kennedy largely ignored Johnson's ability to work with Congress. With his Texas country upbringing, Johnson felt inferior to the polished, educated New Englanders who controlled the White House. In contrast to Kennedy's easy, witty style, Johnson had a tendency to appear stiff and speak too loudly in front of television cameras. He suffered a degree of deafness that he never publicly acknowledged. Johnson was clearly outside the inner circle.

This all changed on the afternoon of November 22, 1963. While traveling with Johnson on a political tour in Texas, President Kennedy was assassinated as he rode through the streets of Dallas. Johnson took the oath of office on *Air Force One*, the presidential plane, minutes after leaving the Dallas airport. The transition in power needed to be rapid and smooth to show the world, particularly the Soviet Union, that the United States remained prepared for any confrontation.

Immediately focusing on domestic issues, Johnson pressed a major legislative agenda that Kennedy had been unsuccessful in passing. Passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 was Johnson's greatest achievement. The act banned racial segregation, or separation of the races, in public places such as schools and in the workplace. Johnson then declared a war on poverty. He established a number of federal programs that greatly expanded the U.S. government's responsibility to assist the poor. These programs included Job Corps for training the

unemployed; Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), a domestic volunteer organization to help impoverished areas; and Head Start, a preschool program for children living in poverty. In 1965, another major piece of civil rights legislation, the Voting Rights Act, prohibited federal, state, and local governments from using racial discrimination to restrict voting rights. The Johnson administration also established health care programs, including Medicare for the elderly and Medicaid for the poor. Other programs and legislation ensured federal funding for education, low-income housing, urban renewal, transportation improvements, and environmental conservation. Johnson called his domestic program the Great Society.

## The Vietnam War

Johnson's attention was soon drawn away from his domestic agenda to Cold War foreign policy—namely, containing communism around the world. Vietnam in particular dominated Johnson's presidency. The situation in Vietnam was a longstanding, complicated problem. Former presidents Kennedy and **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61; see entry) had made commitments to defend the government of South Vietnam against the communist forces of North Vietnam and the Vietcong, guerrilla forces within South Vietnam who supported the communist cause. (Communist-supported revolutionaries had earlier revolted against French colonial rule until a 1954 peace settlement was reached in Geneva, Switzerland. The settlement partitioned Vietnam into North Vietnam, controlled by the communists, and South Vietnam, supported by the United States.) U.S. officials feared that if South Vietnam fell to communism, other countries in the region would follow; this idea was called the domino theory. U.S. assistance to South Vietnam began in January 1955, and by 1960 there were seven hundred U.S. military advisors in the country.

In May 1961, Johnson personally visited South Vietnam as U.S. vice president. He became convinced that full U.S. backing was the right thing to do. At the time of Kennedy's death in November 1963, there were sixteen thousand military advisors in Vietnam. By early 1964, Johnson and his aides were secretly planning an increased military ef-



fort in Vietnam. However, they needed to build congressional support to finance the military buildup.

In August 1964, two U.S. destroyers off the coast of North Vietnam were allegedly attacked by North Vietnamese gunboats in the Gulf of Tonkin. This was the evidence Johnson needed to persuade Congress to support his military plan; the alleged attack could be presented as a threat to American interests. With congressional support, Johnson ordered U.S. planes to bomb North Vietnamese naval ports in retaliation. Though Johnson promised on national television that there would be no further escalation in the war, Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution two days later, giving the president broad powers to conduct a war in Vietnam and surrounding countries.

Ironically, during the presidential campaign of 1964 against Republican candidate Barry Goldwater (1909–1998), Johnson accused Goldwater of being a reckless warmonger who would readily resort to nuclear weapons in combating

**U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson (far right) confers with (from left to right) Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, and CIA director John McCone following McNamara's five-day tour of Vietnam in March 1964.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



**A-4 Skyhawk bomber jets sit on the USS *Kitty Hawk* aircraft carrier in the Gulf of Tonkin in 1967. Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.**

communism. Representing himself as the peace candidate, Johnson pledged not to commit U.S. ground troops to Vietnam. He resisted any military buildup through the fall of 1964. With the U.S. economy flourishing, Johnson won a record landslide victory, receiving over 61 percent of the popular vote.

In February 1965, only three months after the election victory, Johnson ordered massive bombing raids on North



Vietnamese industrial and military sites in response to the death of eight U.S. soldiers at a U.S. military base in South Vietnam. He also sent 3,500 marines to protect the air base; they were the first U.S. combat troops to be sent to Vietnam. In July, Johnson sent another 50,000 troops to begin the ground war in South Vietnam. By the end of 1965, 200,000 U.S. troops were in South Vietnam. Johnson steadily increased their number to 536,000 in 1968. The steady escalation failed to bring North Vietnam to the negotiating table; instead, North Vietnam met each U.S. escalation with an escalation of its own. Johnson refrained from invading North Vietnam because Chinese troops were stationed there. He did not want to bring communist China, a powerful rival, into the conflict.

## **Growing social unrest in America**

U.S. casualties in Vietnam climbed at an alarming rate, amounting to five hundred a week by late 1967. Public support for the war began to crumble. Student antiwar demonstrations grew on college campuses in 1965. By 1967, the antiwar movement spread into other segments of society. In October 1967, a mass demonstration against the war was held in Washington, D.C. Eventually, in 1968, Congress began opposing further escalation of the war. Making grim matters worse, the financial costs of waging war were high: In 1967, the United States spent \$25 billion on the conflict in Vietnam. Protesters confronted Johnson everywhere he traveled, and he eventually became isolated in the White House. Critics claimed that the United States was wrongfully involved in a Vietnamese civil war. However, Johnson and his closest advisors, such as Secretary of State Dean Rusk (1909–1994), remained convinced that they were in the right, fighting a broad global communist movement.

Johnson's cherished Great Society programs were a major casualty of the war; with billions of dollars being spent in South Vietnam, funding for domestic programs was scarce. Johnson began reducing funding for his antipoverty program in 1965. From 1964 to 1967, Johnson had spent over \$6 billion in his war on poverty, with only limited successes to show. Inner-city black Americans were frustrated by the lack of improvement in their neighborhoods, and soon blacks rioted in one city after another across the nation—New York



## Dean Rusk

Secretary of State Dean Rusk was a key advisor to President Lyndon Johnson, guiding the president's decisions on the Vietnam War and other Cold War issues. Rusk was an ardent anticommunist and consistently took a hard-line approach in using U.S. military might. Like Johnson, he became a target for antiwar protesters in the United States.

Born in rural Georgia in 1909, Rusk was a Rhodes scholar and attended St. John's College in Oxford, England. Rusk began his career as a college professor, teaching political science at Mills College in Oakland, California, from 1934 to 1940. During World War II, he served as deputy chief of staff in Far Eastern matters. After the war, he joined the State Department as an East Asian expert. President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry) appointed Rusk as assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern affairs in March 1950, just before the outbreak of the Korean War (1950–53). Rusk played an important role in guiding U.S. strategy in the war. He also argued for the first U.S. support to South Vietnam in the mid-1950s.

In 1961, President John F. Kennedy named Rusk as his secretary of state. Under Kennedy, Rusk would play a fairly restricted role in foreign policy development. Howev-



**Dean Rusk.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

er, when Johnson assumed the presidency in November 1963 after Kennedy's assassination, Rusk's influence increased. From 1964 to 1968, he defended heavy U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. He also argued against formal U.S. recognition of communist China. His characteristic cool and restrained manner proved an inviting target for war protesters. Nevertheless, Rusk vigorously defended U.S. war policy and continued to do so even after major setbacks in 1968. Rusk retired from government service in 1969 and resumed his teaching career. After his final retirement, he published his memoirs, titled *As I Saw It* (1990). He died in 1994.

City in 1964; Los Angeles, California, in 1965; Cleveland, Ohio, in 1966; Newark, New Jersey, and Detroit, Michigan, in 1967; and Washington, D.C., in 1968. A backlash of rioting

by white Americans followed, and it seemed that the United States was on the brink of a race war.

## **Cold War conflicts around the world**

As the war raged in Vietnam, other Cold War conflicts erupted in Latin America, the Middle East, and Korea. In April 1965, Johnson sent thirty thousand U.S. troops to the Dominican Republic to protect the ruling military dictatorship from communist-supported revolutionaries. The international community criticized this U.S. action; even Britain, America's closest ally, complained that the United States was interfering in the internal affairs of the smaller country. Another Cold War confrontation came in the Middle East in June 1967, when Israel launched a surprise attack on Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. In this conflict, known as the Six-Day War, the Soviets accused Israel of ignoring United Nations resolutions for a cease-fire. Johnson moved the U.S. Sixth Fleet closer to the Syrian coast to respond to any potential Soviet military involvement. The Soviets made no further moves.

Another incident brought Korea, the center of a Cold War conflict in the early 1950s, back to the forefront. On January 23, 1968, North Korea seized the USS *Pueblo*, an intelligence-gathering ship. Eight men were captured and imprisoned. Johnson sent a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier to the area. However, North Korea would hold the crew for eleven months until the United States finally apologized for spying. The apology was retracted immediately after the release of the U.S. prisoners.

## **The end of a presidency**

One week after North Korea seized the *Pueblo*, communist North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces unleashed the Tet Offensive, a massive attack that occurred during the national celebrations of Tet, the Vietnamese lunar New Year. Numerous South Vietnamese cities were temporarily overrun. Intense fighting spread through South Vietnam's capital city, Saigon, and into the U.S. embassy building. Though the communist forces were soon beaten back, they had accomplished

a major psychological victory. The Vietnam War no longer seemed winnable to the United States.

After reassessing the U.S. war commitment, Johnson decided to change course. In a televised speech to the nation on March 31, 1968, he announced major reductions in the bombing of North Vietnam and a renewed offer to North Vietnam to begin peace talks. He also stunned the nation by announcing that he would neither seek nor accept the Democratic nomination to run for reelection that fall. Three days later, the North Vietnamese agreed to begin peace talks in May. During 1968, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to begin strategic arms limitation talks; the talks would lead to the 1972 treaty known as SALT I. Negotiations were scheduled to begin in late September in Leningrad. However, in August, Soviet-led forces invaded Czechoslovakia, crushing a popular movement to introduce democratic reforms in Czechoslovakia's communist government. Johnson pulled out of the arms control talks to protest the heavy-handed actions of the Soviets.

The American home front was turbulent in 1968. In April, civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968) was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee; in June, U.S. senator Robert Kennedy (1925–1968) of New York, the late president's brother and the front-runner in the race for the Democratic presidential nomination, was assassinated in Los Angeles. Lyndon Johnson was so embattled as president that he did not even attend the Democratic National Convention that summer in Chicago, where antiwar protesters clashed violently with local police. In the presidential election that fall, the Republican candidate, former vice president Richard Nixon, representing himself as the peace candidate, narrowly defeated the Democratic candidate, incumbent (current) vice president Hubert Humphrey (1911–1978). However, the Vietnam War would continue for another seven years and become the most unpopular war in U.S. history. Besides the major loss of life, Vietnam left a legacy of spiraling inflation, which would undermine the U.S. economy through the 1970s.

Johnson retired to his Texas ranch in January 1969. There, he wrote his memoirs and worked on plans for his presidential library at the University of Texas in Austin. The library was dedicated in May 1971. Johnson died of a heart

attack on his ranch in January 1973, only days before a peace agreement was reached in the war. Johnson believed he was a victim of history and poor advice. His dream of helping the underprivileged had been crushed by Cold War world events seemingly out of his control. His presidency represents a tragic period in U.S. history.

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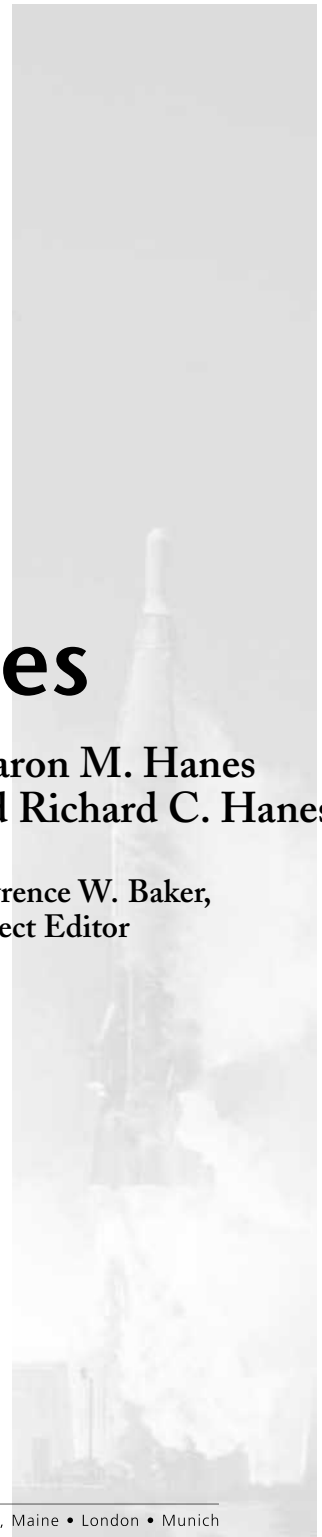
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# Introduction

Sometimes single events alter the course of history; other times, a chain reaction of seemingly lesser occurrences changes the path of nations. The intense rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that emerged immediately after World War II (1939–45) followed the second pattern. Known as the Cold War, the rivalry grew out of mutual distrust between two starkly different societies: communist Soviet Union and the democratic West, which was led by the United States and included Western Europe. Communism is a political and economic system in which the Communist Party controls all aspects of citizens' lives and private ownership of property is banned. It is not compatible with America's democratic way of life. Democracy is a political system consisting of several political parties whose members are elected to various government offices by vote of the people. The rapidly growing rivalry between the two emerging post-World War II superpowers in 1945 would dominate world politics until 1991. Throughout much of the time, the Cold War was more a war of ideas than one of battlefield combat. Yet for generations, the Cold War affected almost every aspect of American life and those who lived in numerous other countries around the world.



The global rivalry was characterized by many things. Perhaps the most dramatic was the cost in lives and public funds. Millions of military personnel and civilians were killed in conflicts often set in Third World countries. This toll includes tens of thousands of American soldiers in the Korean War (1950–53) and Vietnam War (1954–75) and thousands of Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. National budgets were stretched to support the nuclear arms races, military buildups, localized wars, and aid to friendly nations. On the international front, the United States often supported oppressive but strongly anticommunist military dictatorships. On the other hand, the Soviets frequently supported revolutionary movements seeking to overthrow established governments. Internal political developments within nations around the world were interpreted by the two superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States—in terms of the Cold War rivalry. In many nations, including the Soviet-dominated Eastern European countries, basic human freedoms were lost. New international military and peacekeeping alliances were also formed, such as the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization of American States (OAS), and the Warsaw Pact.

Effects of the Cold War were extensive on the home front, too. The U.S. government became more responsive to national security needs, including the sharpened efforts of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Created were the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the National Security Council (NSC), and the Department of Defense. Suspicion of communist influences within the United States built some individual careers and destroyed others. The national education priorities of public schools were changed to emphasize science and engineering after the Soviets launched the satellite *Sputnik*, which itself launched the space race.

What would cause such a situation to develop and last for so long? One major factor was mistrust for each other. The communists were generally shunned by other nations, including the United States, since they gained power in Russia in 1917 then organized that country into the Soviet Union. The Soviets' insecurities loomed large. They feared another invasion from the West through Poland, as had happened through the centuries. On the other hand, the West was highly suspicious of the harsh closed society of Soviet



communism. As a result, a move by one nation would bring a response by the other. Hard-liners on both sides believed long-term coexistence was not feasible.

A second major factor was that the U.S. and Soviet ideologies were dramatically at odds. The political, social, and economic systems of democratic United States and communist Soviet Union were essentially incompatible. Before the communist (or Bolshevik) revolution in 1917, the United States and Russia competed as they both sought to expand into the Pacific Northwest. In addition, Americans had a strong disdain for Russian oppression under their monarchy of the tsars. Otherwise, contact between the two growing powers was almost nonexistent until thrown together as allies in a common cause to defeat Germany and Japan in World War II.

It was during the meetings of the allied leaders in Yalta and Potsdam in 1945 when peaceful postwar cooperation was being sought that the collision course of the two new superpowers started becoming more evident. The end of World War II had brought the U.S. and Soviet armies face-to-face in central Europe in victory over the Germans. Yet the old mistrusts between communists and capitalists quickly dominated diplomatic relations. Capitalism is an economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention. A peace treaty ending World War II in Europe was blocked as the Soviets and the U.S.-led West carved out spheres of influence. Western Europe and Great Britain aligned with the United States and collectively was referred to as the "West"; Eastern Europe would be controlled by the Soviet Communist Party. The Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellite countries were collectively referred to as the "East." The two powers tested the resolve of each other in Germany, Iran, Turkey, and Greece in the late 1940s.

In 1949, the Soviets successfully tested an atomic bomb and Chinese communist forces overthrew the National Chinese government, and U.S. officials and American citizens feared a sweeping massive communist movement was overtaking the world. A "red scare" spread through America. The term "red" referred to communists, especially the Soviets. The public began to suspect that communists or communist sympathizers lurked in every corner of the nation.

Meanwhile, the superpower confrontations spread from Europe to other global areas: Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. Most dramatic were the Korean and Vietnam wars, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the military standoffs in Berlin, Germany. However, bloody conflicts erupted in many other areas as the United States and Soviet Union sought to expand their influence by supporting or opposing various movements.

In addition, a costly arms race lasted decades despite sporadic efforts at arms control agreements. The score card for the Cold War was kept in terms of how many nuclear weapons one country had aimed at the other. Finally, in the 1970s and 1980s, the Soviet Union could no longer keep up with the changing world economic trends. Its tightly controlled and highly inefficient industrial and agricultural systems could not compete in world markets while the government was still focusing its wealth on Cold War confrontations and the arms race. Developments in telecommunications also made it more difficult to maintain a closed society. Ideas were increasingly being exchanged despite longstanding political barriers. The door was finally cracked open in the communist European nations to more freedoms in the late 1980s through efforts at economic and social reform. Seizing the moment, the long suppressed populations of communist Eastern European nations and fifteen Soviet republics demanded political and economic freedom.

Through 1989, the various Eastern European nations replaced long-time communist leaders with noncommunist officials. By the end of 1991, the Soviet Communist Party had been banned from various Soviet republics, and the Soviet Union itself ceased to exist. After a decades-long rivalry, the end to the Cold War came swiftly and unexpectedly.

A new world order dawned in 1992 with a single superpower, the United States, and a vastly changed political landscape around much of the globe. Communism remained in China and Cuba, but Cold War legacies remained elsewhere. In the early 1990s, the United States was economically burdened with a massive national debt, the former Soviet republics were attempting a very difficult economic transition to a more capitalistic open market system, and Europe, starkly divided by the Cold War, was reunited once again and sought to establish a new union including both Eastern and Western European nations.

## Reader's Guide

**C***old War: Biographies* presents biographies of fifty men and women who participated in or were affected by the Cold War, the period in history from 1945 until 1991 that was dominated by the rivalry between the world's superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. These two volumes profile a diverse mix of personalities from the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Great Britain, and other regions touched by the Cold War. Detailed biographies of major Cold War figures (such as Fidel Castro, Winston Churchill, Mikhail Gorbachev, John F. Kennedy, Nikita Khrushchev, and Joseph R. McCarthy) are included. But *Cold War: Biographies* also provides biographical information on lesser-known but nonetheless important and fascinating men and women of that era. Examples include nuclear physicist Igor Kurchatov, the developer of the Soviet atomic bomb; U.S. secretary of state George C. Marshall, a former Army general who unveiled the Marshall Plan, a major U.S. economic aid program for the war-torn countries of Western Europe; Kim Il Sung, the communist dictator of North Korea throughout the Cold War; and Condoleezza Rice, the top U.S. advisor on the Soviet Union when the Cold War ended in November 1990.



*Cold War: Biographies* also features sidebars containing interesting facts about people and events related to the Cold War. Within each full-length biography, boldfaced cross-references direct readers to other individuals profiled in the two-volume set. Finally, each volume includes photographs and illustrations, a “Cold War Timeline” that lists significant dates and events of the Cold War era, and a cumulative subject index.

## **U•X•L Cold War Reference Library**

*Cold War: Biographies* is only one component of the three-part U•X•L Cold War Reference Library. The other two titles in this set are:

- *Cold War: Almanac* (two volumes) presents a comprehensive overview of the period in American history from the end of World War II until the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and the actual dissolution of the Soviet Union itself. Its fifteen chapters are arranged chronologically and explore such topics as the origins of the Cold War, the beginning of the nuclear age, the arms race, espionage, anticommunist campaigns and political purges on the home fronts, détente, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Berlin Airlift and the Berlin Wall, the Korean and Vietnam wars, and the ending of the Cold War. The *Almanac* also contains more than 140 black-and-white photographs and maps, “Words to Know” and “People to Know” boxes, a timeline, and an index.
- *Cold War: Primary Sources* (one volume) tells the story of the Cold War in the words of the people who lived and shaped it. Thirty-one excerpted documents provide a wide range of perspectives on this period of history. Included are excerpts from presidential press conferences; addresses to U.S. Congress and Soviet Communist Party meetings; public speeches; telegrams; magazine articles; radio and television addresses; and later reflections by key government leaders.
- A cumulative index of all three titles in the U•X•L Cold War Reference Library is also available.

## **Acknowledgments**

Kelly Rudd and Meghan O’Meara contributed importantly to *Cold War: Biographies*. Special thanks to Catherine

Filip, who typed much of the manuscript. Much appreciation also goes to copyeditors Christine Alexanian, Taryn Benbow-Pfalzgraf, and Jane Woychick; proofreader Wyn Hilty; indexer Dan Brannen; and typesetter Marco Di Vita of the Graphix Group for their fine work.

## **Dedication**

To Aaron and Kara Hanes, that their children may learn about the events and ideas that shaped the world through the latter half of the twentieth century.

## **Comments and suggestions**

We welcome your comments on *Cold War: Biographies* and suggestions for other topics to consider. Please write: Editors, *Cold War: Biographies*, U•X•L, 27500 Drake Rd., Farmington Hills, Michigan 48331-3535; call toll free: 1-800-877-4253; fax to 248-699-8097; or send e-mail via <http://www.gale.com>.

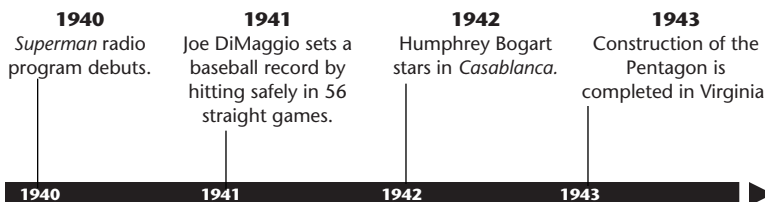
# Cold War Timeline

**September 1, 1939** Germany invades Poland, beginning World War II.

**June 30, 1941** Germany invades the Soviet Union, drawing the Soviets into World War II.

**December 7, 1941** Japan launches a surprise air attack on U.S. military installations at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, drawing the United States into World War II.

**November 1943** The three key allied leaders—U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister **Winston Churchill**, and Soviet premier **Joseph Stalin**—meet in Tehran, Iran, to discuss war strategies against Germany and Italy.



**August-October 1944** An international conference held at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., creates the beginning of the United Nations.

**February 1945** The Yalta Conference is held in the Crimean region of the Soviet Union among the three key allied leaders, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin to discuss German surrender terms, a Soviet attack against Japanese forces, and the future of Eastern Europe.

**April-June 1945** Fifty nations meet in San Francisco to write the UN charter.

**April 12, 1945** U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt dies suddenly from a brain hemorrhage, leaving Vice President **Harry S. Truman** as the next U.S. president.

**April 23, 1945** U.S. president Harry S. Truman personally criticizes Soviet foreign minister **Vyacheslav Molotov** for growing Soviet influence in Eastern Europe, setting the tone for escalating Cold War tensions.

**May 7, 1945** Germany surrenders to allied forces, leaving Germany and its capital of Berlin divided into four military occupation zones with American, British, French, and Soviet forces.

**July 16, 1945** The United States, through its top-secret Manhattan Project, successfully detonates the world's first atomic bomb under the leadership of nuclear physicist **J. Robert Oppenheimer**.

**July-August 1945** The Big Three—U.S. president Harry S. Truman, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin meet in Potsdam, Ger-

**1944**  
Franklin D. Roosevelt is elected to an unprecedented fourth term as U.S. president.

**1945**  
The United States drops two atomic bombs on Japan.

**1945**  
George Orwell's *Animal Farm* is published.

1944

1945

1945

many, to discuss postwar conditions. On August 2, newly elected **Clement R. Attlee** replaces Churchill.

**August 14, 1945** Japan surrenders, ending World War II, after the United States drops two atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

**November 29, 1945** **Josip Broz Tito** assumes leadership of the new communist government in Yugoslavia.

**December 1945** U.S. secretary of state **James F. Byrnes** travels to Moscow to make a major effort to establish friendly relations with the Soviets, making agreements regarding international control of atomic energy and the postwar governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Japan; the agreements proved highly unpopular in the United States.

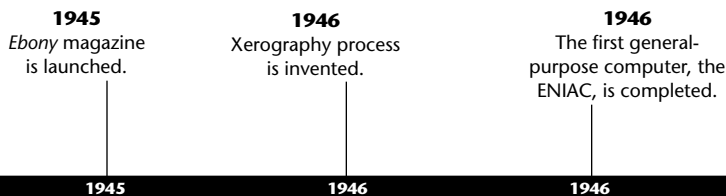
**January 12, 1946** Nuclear physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer is awarded the “United States of America Medal of Merit” for his leadership on the Manhattan Project.

**February 9, 1946** Soviet leader Joseph Stalin delivers the “Two Camps” speech, declaring the incompatibility of communist Soviet Union with the West.

**February 22, 1946** U.S. diplomat **George F. Kennan** sends the “Long Telegram” from Moscow to Washington, D.C., warning of the Soviet threat.

**March 5, 1946** Former British prime minister Winston Churchill delivers the “Iron Curtain Speech” at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri.

**September 1946** **Clark M. Clifford**, special counsel to U.S. president Harry S. Truman, coauthors an influential secret report titled “American Relations with the Soviet Union,” warning of the threat of Soviet aggression





and calling for a policy of containment of further communist expansion.

**September 6, 1946** U.S. secretary of state James F. Byrnes announces in a major speech that it is now U.S. policy to reestablish an independent Germany, something the Soviets strongly opposed; many consider this speech the end of the wartime alliance between the West and the Soviet Union.

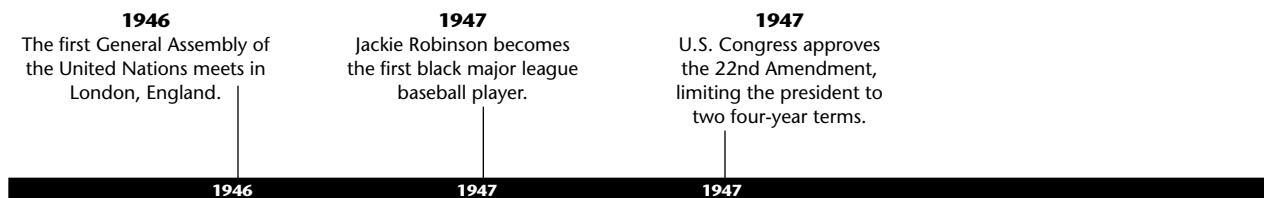
**October 7, 1946** **W. Averill Harriman** begins a stint as secretary of commerce, a position in which Harriman greatly influences later passage of the Marshall Plan, a plan to rebuild European economies devastated by World War II.

**December 2, 1946** The United States, Great Britain, and France merge their German occupation zones to create what would become West Germany.

**February 1947** After British foreign minister **Ernest Bevin** announces the withdrawal of long-term British support for Greece and Turkey, he approaches the U.S. government to seek its expansion in its international commitment to European security.

**March 12, 1947** U.S. president Harry S. Truman announces the Truman Doctrine, which states that the United States will assist any nation in the world being threatened by communist expansion.

**June 5, 1947** U.S. secretary of state **George C. Marshall** announces the Marshall Plan, an ambitious economic aid program to rebuild Western Europe from World War II destruction.



**July 1947** U.S. diplomat George F. Kennan introduces the containment theory in the “X” article in *Foreign Affairs* magazine.

**July 26, 1947** Congress passes the National Security Act, creating the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Council (NSC).

**October 1947** Actor **Ronald Reagan** and author **Ayn Rand** testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), a congressional group investigating communist influences in the United States.

**December 5, 1947** The Soviets establish the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) to promote the expansion of communism in the world.

**February 25, 1948** A communist coup in Czechoslovakia topples the last remaining democratic government in Eastern Europe.

**March 14, 1948** Israel announces its independence as a new state in the Middle East.

**June 24, 1948** The Soviets begin a blockade of Berlin, leading to a massive airlift of daily supplies by the Western powers for the next eleven months.

**January 21, 1949** At the beginning of his second term of office, President Harry S. Truman appoints **Dean G. Acheson** secretary of state.

**April 4, 1949** The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance involving Western Europe and the United States, comes into existence.

**May 5, 1949** The West Germans establish the Federal Republic of Germany government.

**1947**

Tennessee Williams’s *A Streetcar Named Desire* opens on Broadway.

**1948**

The Baskin-Robbins ice cream chain opens.

**1949**

The first Emmy Awards ceremony is held.

1947

1948

1949

**May 12, 1949** The Soviet blockade of access routes to West Berlin is lifted.

**May 30, 1949** Soviet-controlled East Germany establishes the German Democratic Republic.

**August 1949** **Konrad Adenauer** becomes the first chancellor of West Germany in the first open parliamentary elections of the newly established Federal Republic of Germany (FRG).

**August 29, 1949** Under the leadership of Soviet nuclear physicist **Igor Kurchatov**, the Soviet Union conducts its first successful atomic bomb test at the Semipalatinsk Test Site in northeastern Kazakhstan.

**October 1, 1949** Communist forces under **Mao Zedong** gain victory in the Chinese civil war, and the People's Republic of China (PRC) is established, with **Zhou Enlai** its leader.

**January 1950** Former State Department employee Alger Hiss is convicted of perjury but not of spy charges.

**February 3, 1950** Klaus Fuchs is convicted of passing U.S. atomic secrets to the Soviets.

**February 9, 1950** U.S. senator **Joseph R. McCarthy** of Wisconsin publicly claims in a speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, to have a list of communists working in the U.S. government.

**March 1, 1950** **Chiang Kai-shek**, former leader of nationalist China, which was defeated by communist forces, establishes the Republic of China (ROC) on the island of Taiwan.

**April 7, 1950** U.S. security analyst Paul Nitze issues the secret National Security Council report 68 (NSC-68), calling

**1949**

Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* opens on Broadway in New York City.

**1950**

The first Xerox copy machine is produced.

**1950**

The comic strip *Peanuts* debuts in U.S. newspapers.

1949

1950

1950

for a dramatic buildup of U.S. military forces to combat the Soviet threat.

**June 25, 1950** North Korean communist leader **Kim Il Sung** launches his armed forces against South Korea in an attempt to reunify Korea under his leadership, leading to the three-year Korean War.

**October 24, 1950** U.S. forces push the North Korean army back to the border with China, sparking a Chinese invasion one week later and forcing the United States into a hasty retreat.

**April 11, 1951** U.S. president Harry S. Truman fires General **Douglas MacArthur**, the U.S. military commander in Korea, for publicly attacking the president's war strategy.

**April 19, 1951** General Douglas MacArthur delivers his farewell address to a joint session of Congress.

**June 21, 1951** The Korean War reaches a military stalemate at the original boundary between North and South Korea.

**September 1, 1951** The United States, Australia, and New Zealand sign the ANZUS treaty, creating a military alliance to contain communism in the Southwest Pacific region.

**October 25, 1951** Winston Churchill wins reelection as British prime minister over Clement R. Attlee.

**October 3, 1952** Great Britain conducts its first atomic weapons test.

**November 1, 1952** The United States tests the hydrogen bomb on the Marshall Islands in the Pacific Ocean.

**1950**

The Korean War begins.

**1951**

*I Love Lucy* debuts on CBS-TV.

**1952**

NBC-TV's *The Today Show* debuts.

1950

1951

1952

**November 4, 1952** Former military general **Dwight D. Eisenhower** is elected U.S. president.

**March 5, 1953** After leading the Soviet Union for thirty years, Joseph Stalin dies of a stroke; Georgy Malenkov becomes the new Soviet leader.

**June 27, 1953** An armistice is signed, bringing a cease-fire to the Korean War.

**August 12, 1953** The Soviet Union announces its first hydrogen bomb test.

**May 7, 1954** The communist Viet Minh forces of **Ho Chi Minh** capture French forces at Dien Bien Phu, leading to a partition of Vietnam and independence for North Vietnam under Ho's leadership.

**June 29, 1954** Nuclear physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer's security clearance is not renewed due to his opposition of the development of the hydrogen bomb; his stance leads anticommunists to question his loyalty to the United States.

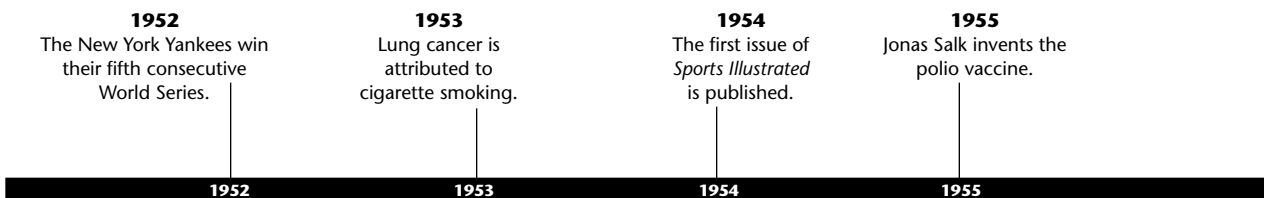
**September 8, 1954** The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is formed.

**December 2, 1954** The U.S. Senate votes to censure U.S. senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin after his communist accusations proved to be unfounded.

**January 12, 1955** U.S. secretary of state **John Foster Dulles** announces the "New Look" policy, promoting massive nuclear retaliation for any hostile actions.

**February 8, 1955** Nikolai Bulganin replaces Georgy Malenkov as Soviet premier.

**May 14, 1955** The Warsaw Pact, a military alliance of Soviet-controlled Eastern European nations, is established;



the countries include Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania.

**November 22, 1955** Under the guidance of nuclear physicist **Andrey Sakharov**, the Soviets detonate their first true hydrogen bomb at the Semipalatinsk Test Site; Sakharov would be awarded several of the Soviet Union's highest honors.

**February 24, 1956** Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** gives his "Secret Speech," attacking the past brutal policies of the late Soviet leader Joseph Stalin.

**October 31, 1956** British, French, and Israeli forces attack Egypt to regain control of the Suez Canal.

**November 1, 1956** In Hungary, the Soviets crush an uprising against strict communist rule, killing many protestors.

**January 10, 1957** **Harold Macmillan** becomes the new British prime minister.

**February 1957** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev appoints **Andrey Gromyko** foreign minister, replacing Vyacheslav Molotov; Gromyko will hold the position for the next twenty-eight years.

**March 7, 1957** The Eisenhower Doctrine, offering U.S. assistance to Middle East countries facing communist expansion threats, is approved by Congress.

**October 5, 1957** Shocking the world with their new technology, the Soviets launch into space *Sputnik*, the first man-made satellite.

**1958** FBI director J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972) writes *Masters of Deceit*, a book that educates the public about the threat of communism within the United States.

**1955**

The Disneyland amusement park opens in California.

**1956**

President Dwight D. Eisenhower is reelected.

**1957**

*West Side Story* opens on Broadway.

1955

1956

1957

**March 27, 1958** Nikita Khrushchev replaces Nikolai Bulganin as Soviet premier while remaining head of the Soviet Communist Party.

**November 10, 1958** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev issues an ultimatum to the West to pull out of Berlin, but later backs down.

**January 2, 1959** Revolutionary **Fidel Castro** assumes leadership of the Cuban government after toppling pro-U.S. dictator Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar.

**September 17, 1959** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev arrives in the United States to tour the country and meet with U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower.

**May 1, 1960** The Soviets shoot down a U.S. spy plane over Russia piloted by Francis Gary Powers, leading to the cancellation of a planned summit meeting in Paris between Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower.

**November 8, 1960** U.S. senator **John F. Kennedy** of Massachusetts defeats Vice President **Richard M. Nixon** in the presidential election.

**January 1961** **Robert S. McNamara** becomes secretary of defense in the new Kennedy administration, a position he would hold until 1968 throughout the critical years of the Vietnam War.

**March 1, 1961** U.S. president John F. Kennedy establishes the Peace Corps.

**April 15, 1961** A U.S.-supported army of Cuban exiles launches an ill-fated invasion of Cuba, leading to U.S. humiliation in the world.

**1958**  
The United States launches its first satellite.

**1959**  
Alaska and Hawaii become the 49th and 50th U.S. states.

**1960**  
The metric system is adopted by most nations.

1958

1959

1960

1961

**June 3, 1961** U.S. president John F. Kennedy meets with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev at a Vienna summit meeting to discuss the arms race and Berlin; Kennedy comes away shaken by Khrushchev's belligerence.

**August 15, 1961** Under orders from Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, the Berlin Wall is constructed, stopping the flight of refugees from East Germany to West Berlin.

**October 1962** The Cuban Missile Crisis occurs as the United States demands the Soviets remove nuclear missiles from Cuba.

**1963** Longtime U.S. diplomat W. Averell Harriman heads the U.S. team for negotiating with the Soviet Union the Limited Test Ban treaty, which bans above-ground testing of nuclear weapons.

**January 1, 1963** Chinese communist leaders Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai denounce Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's policies of peaceful coexistence with the West; the Soviets respond by denouncing the Chinese Communist Party.

**August 5, 1963** The first arms control agreement, the Limited Test Ban Treaty, banning above-ground nuclear testing, is reached between the United States, Soviet Union, and Great Britain.

**November 22, 1963** U.S. president John F. Kennedy is assassinated in Dallas, Texas, leaving Vice President **Lyndon B. Johnson** as the new U.S. president.

**August 7, 1964** U.S. Congress passes the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, authorizing U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson to conduct whatever military operations he thinks appropriate in Southeast Asia.

**1961**

Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin becomes the first man to orbit Earth.

**1962**

Jim Beatty becomes the first person to run the mile in less than four minutes.

**1963**

Civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. delivers his "I Have a Dream" speech.

1961

1962

1963



**October 15, 1964** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev is removed from Soviet leadership and replaced by **Leonid Brezhnev** as leader of the Soviet Communist Party and **Aleksey Kosygin** as Soviet premier.

**October 16, 1964** China conducts its first nuclear weapons test.

**November 3, 1964** Lyndon B. Johnson is elected U.S. president.

**March 8, 1965** U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson sends the first U.S. ground combat units to South Vietnam.

**June 23, 1967** U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson and Soviet premier Aleksey Kosygin meet in Glassboro, New Jersey, to discuss a peace settlement to the Vietnam War.

**January 23, 1968** Forces under the orders of North Korean communist leader Kim Il Sung capture a U.S. spy ship, the USS *Pueblo*, off the coast of North Korea and hold the crew captive for eleven months.

**January 31, 1968** Communist forces inspired by the leadership of the ailing Ho Chi Minh launch the massive Tet Offensive against the U.S. and South Vietnamese armies, marking a turning point as American public opinion shifts in opposition to the Vietnam War.

**July 15, 1968** Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev announces the Brezhnev Doctrine, which allows for the use of force where necessary to ensure the maintenance of communist governments in Eastern European nations.

**August 20, 1968** The Warsaw Pact forces a crackdown on a Czechoslovakia reform movement known as the "Prague Spring."

**1964**  
The musical *Fiddler on the Roof* opens.

**1965**  
Demonstrations against the Vietnam War occur in forty U.S. cities.

**1966**  
The National Organization for Women (NOW) is established.

**1967**  
*Rolling Stone* magazine is first published.

1964

1965

1966

1967

**August 27, 1968** Antiwar riots rage in Chicago's streets outside the Democratic National Convention.

**November 5, 1968** Richard M. Nixon defeats Vice President Hubert Humphrey in the U.S. presidential election.

**March 18, 1969** The United States begins secret bombing of Cambodia to destroy North Vietnamese supply lines.

**July 20, 1969** The United States lands the first men on the moon.

**October 15, 1969** Former West Berlin mayor Willy Brandt is elected chancellor of West Germany.

**April 16, 1970** Strategic arms limitation talks, SALT, begin.

**April 30, 1970** U.S. president Richard M. Nixon announces an invasion by U.S. forces of Cambodia to destroy North Vietnamese supply camps.

**May 4, 1970** Four students are killed at Kent State University as Ohio National Guardsmen open fire on antiwar demonstrators.

**November 3, 1970** **Salvador Allende** becomes president of Chile.

**October 20, 1971** West German chancellor Willy Brandt is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for seeking greater political and military stability in Europe.

**October 25, 1971** The People's Republic of China (PRC) is admitted to the United Nations as the Republic of China (ROC) is expelled.

**February 20, 1972** U.S. president Richard M. Nixon makes an historic trip to the People's Republic of China to discuss renewing relations between the two countries.

**1968**

Civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. is assassinated.

**1969**

The Woodstock music festival takes place.

**1970**

*Monday Night Football* debuts on ABC-TV.

**1971**

The legal U.S. voting age is lowered to eighteen.

1968

1969

1970

1971

**May 26, 1972** U.S. president Richard M. Nixon travels to Moscow to meet with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev to reach an agreement on the strategic arms limitation treaty, SALT I.

**January 27, 1973** After intensive bombing of North Vietnamese cities the previous month, the United States and North Vietnam sign a peace treaty, ending U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

**June 27, 1973** Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev journeys to Washington, D.C., to meet with U.S. president Richard M. Nixon to pursue détente.

**August 22, 1973** U.S. national security advisor **Henry Kissinger** is nominated by U.S. president Richard M. Nixon to also serve as secretary of state.

**September 11, 1973** Chilean president Salvador Allende is ousted in a coup and is replaced by pro-U.S. dictator Augusto Pinochet Ugarte.

**May 16, 1974** Helmut Schmidt becomes the new West German chancellor.

**June 27, 1974** U.S. president Richard M. Nixon travels to Moscow for another summit conference with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

**August 9, 1974** Under threats of impeachment due to a political scandal, U.S. president Richard M. Nixon resigns as U.S. president and is replaced by Vice President Gerald R. Ford.

**September 4, 1974** **George Bush** is sent as an envoy to the People's Republic of China.

**1972**  
The Watergate scandal begins.

**1973**  
U.S. troops pull out of Vietnam.

**1974**  
Hank Aaron passes Babe Ruth as baseball's all-time home run hitter.

1972

1973

1974

**November 23, 1974** U.S. president Gerald R. Ford and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev meet in the Soviet city of Vladivostok.

**1975** Nuclear physicist Andrey Sakharov receives the Nobel Peace Prize for his brave opposition to the nuclear arms race in the Soviet Union.

**April 30, 1975** In renewed fighting, North Vietnam captures South Vietnam and reunites the country.

**August 1, 1975** Numerous nations sign the Helsinki Accords at the end of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

**January 27, 1976** George Bush is confirmed by the U.S. Senate as the director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

**September 9, 1976** Mao Zedong dies and Hua Guofeng becomes the new leader of the People's Republic of China.

**November 2, 1976** Former Georgia governor **Jimmy Carter** defeats incumbent U.S. president Gerald R. Ford in the presidential election.

**December 16, 1976** U.S. president-elect Jimmy Carter names Zbigniew Brzezinski as the new national security advisor.

**June 16, 1977** Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev is elected president of the Soviet Union in addition to leader of the Soviet Communist Party.

**December 25, 1977** Israeli prime minister Menachim Begin and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat begin peace negotiations in Egypt.

**February 24, 1978** **Deng Xiaoping** is elected head of the Chinese Communist Party.

**1975**  
The video cassette recorder (VCR) is invented.

**1976**  
The first personal computer (PC) is developed.

**1977**  
Rock and roll singer Elvis Presley dies in Tennessee.

1974

1975

1976

1977

- September 17, 1978** Israeli prime minister Menachim Begin and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, meeting with U.S. president Jimmy Carter at Camp David, reach an historic peace settlement between Israel and Egypt.
- January 1, 1979** The United States and the People's Republic of China (PRC) establish diplomatic relations.
- January 16, 1979** The shah of Iran is overthrown as the leader of Iran and is replaced by Islamic leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.
- May 4, 1979** **Margaret Thatcher** becomes the new British prime minister.
- June 18, 1979** U.S. president Jimmy Carter and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev sign the SALT II strategic arms limitation agreement in Vienna, Austria.
- July 19, 1979** Sandinista rebels seize power in Nicaragua with Daniel Ortega becoming the new leader.
- November 4, 1979** Islamic militants seize the U.S. embassy in Tehran, Iran, taking U.S. staff hostage.
- December 26, 1979** Soviet forces invade Afghanistan to prop up an unpopular pro-Soviet government, leading to a decade of bloody fighting.
- January 1980** Nuclear physicist Andrey Sakharov is seized by the secret police, sentenced, and sent into exile to the closed city of Gorky for the next six years.
- April 24, 1980** An attempted military rescue of American hostages in Iran ends with eight U.S. soldiers dead.
- August 14, 1980** The Solidarity labor union protests the prices of goods in Poland.
- November 4, 1980** Former California governor Ronald Reagan is elected president of the United States.

**1978**

Pope John Paul II begins reign as the leader of the Catholic Church.

1978

**1979**

The Three Mile Island nuclear reactor accident occurs in Pennsylvania.

1979

**1980**

Former Beatle John Lennon is murdered.

1980

**January 20, 1981** Iran releases the U.S. hostages as Ronald Reagan is being sworn in as the new U.S. president.

**January 29, 1981** U.S. president Ronald Reagan appoints **Jeane Kirkpatrick** as U.S. representative to the United Nations where she acts a key architect of Reagan's strong anticommunist position early in his presidency.

**October 1, 1982** **Helmut Kohl** is elected West German chancellor.

**November 12, 1982** Yuri Andropov becomes the new Soviet leader after the death of Leonid Brezhnev two days earlier.

**March 8, 1983** U.S. president Ronald Reagan calls the Soviet Union the "Evil Empire."

**March 23, 1983** U.S. president Ronald Reagan announces the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

**September 1, 1983** A Soviet fighter shoots down Korean Airlines Flight 007 as it strays off-course over Soviet restricted airspace.

**October 25, 1983** U.S. forces invade Grenada to end fighting between two pro-communist factions.

**February 13, 1984** Konstantin Chernenko becomes the new Soviet leader after the death of Yuri Andropov four days earlier.

**May 2, 1984** Nuclear physicist Andrey Sakharov begins a hunger strike.

**February 1985** The United States issues the Reagan Doctrine, which offers assistance to military dictatorships in defense against communist expansion.

**1980**  
The CNN cable TV network debuts.

**1981**  
Great Britain's Prince Charles marries Lady Diana Spencer.

**1982**  
The compact disc (CD) is introduced.

**1984**  
Apple introduces a new personal computer called the Macintosh.

1980

1981

1982

1984

**March 11, 1985** Mikhail Gorbachev becomes the new Soviet leader after the death of Konstantin Chernenko the previous day.

**July 2, 1985** Eduard Shevardnadze is named the new foreign minister by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, replacing Andrey Gromyko.

**October 11–12, 1986** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. president Ronald Reagan meet in Reykjavik, Iceland, and agree to seek the elimination of nuclear weapons.

**October 17, 1986** Congress approves aid to Contra rebels in Nicaragua.

**November 3, 1986** The Iran-Contra affair is uncovered.

**June 11, 1987** Margaret Thatcher wins an unprecedented third term as British prime minister.

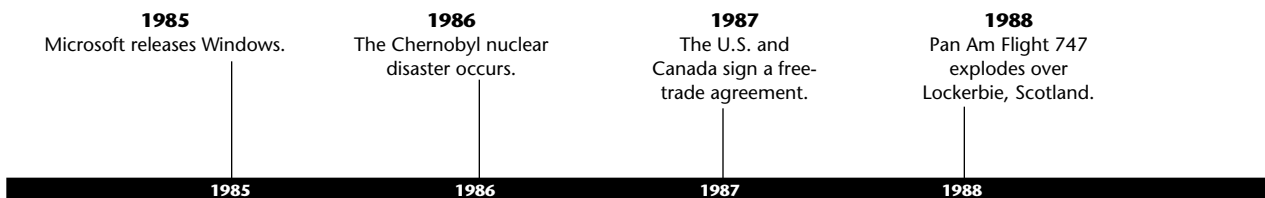
**December 8–10, 1987** U.S. president Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev meet in Washington to sign the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), removing thousands of missiles from Europe.

**February 8, 1988** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announces the decision to begin withdrawing Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

**May 29, 1988** U.S. president Ronald Reagan journeys to Moscow for a summit meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

**November 8, 1988** U.S. vice president George Bush is elected president of the United States.

**January 11, 1989** The Hungarian parliament adopts reforms granting greater personal freedoms to Hungarians, including allowing political parties and organizations.



**January 18, 1989** The labor union Solidarity gains formal acceptance in Poland.

**March 26, 1989** Open elections are held for the new Soviet Congress of People's Deputies, with the communists suffering major defeats; Boris Yeltsin wins the Moscow seat.

**May 11, 1989** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announces major reductions of nuclear forces in Eastern Europe.

**June 3–4, 1989** Chinese communist leaders order a military crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square, leading to many deaths.

**June 4, 1989** The first Polish free elections lead to major victory by Solidarity.

**October 7, 1989** The Hungarian communist party disbands.

**October 23, 1989** Massive demonstrations begin against the East German communist government, involving hundreds of thousands of protesters and leading to the resignation of the East German leadership in early November.

**November 10, 1989** East Germany begins dismantling the Berlin Wall; Bulgarian communist leadership resigns.

**November 24, 1989** Czechoslovakia communist leaders resign.

**December 1, 1989** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. president George Bush, assisted by **Condoleezza Rice** of the National Security Council, begin a three-day meeting on a ship in a Malta harbor to discuss rapid changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

**December 20, 1989** Lithuania votes for independence from the Soviet Union.

**1989**  
The Exxon Valdez oil tanker accident occurs.

**1989**  
Wayne Gretzky becomes professional hockey's all-time leading scorer.

**1989**  
A major earthquake hits San Francisco, California.

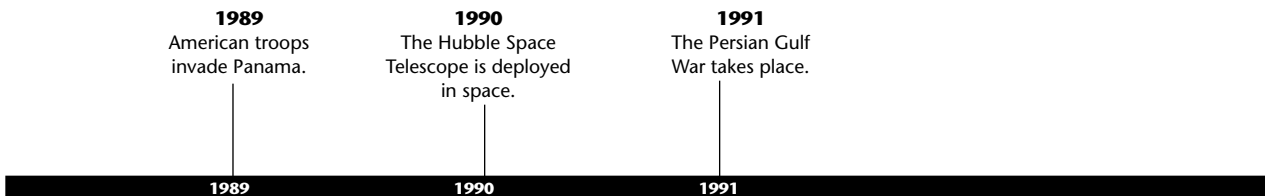
1989

1989

1989



- December 22, 1989** Romanian communist leader Nicolae Ceausescu is toppled and executed three days later.
- March 1990** Lithuania declares independence from Moscow.
- March 14, 1990** Mikhail Gorbachev is elected president of the Soviet Union.
- March 18, 1990** Open East German elections lead to a major defeat of Communist Party candidates.
- May 29, 1990** Boris Yeltsin is elected president of the Russian republic.
- May 30, 1990** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev begins a summit meeting with U.S. president George Bush in Washington, D.C.
- June 1990** Russia declares independence as the Russian Federation.
- October 15, 1990** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his reforms that ended the Cold War.
- November 14, 1990** Various nations sign the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, ending the economic and military division of Europe created by the Cold War.
- July 1, 1991** The Warsaw Pact disbands.
- August 19, 1991** Soviet communist hardliners attempt an unsuccessful coup of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, leading to the banning of the Communist Party in Russia and other Soviet republics.
- August 20–September 9, 1991** The various Soviet republics declare their independence from the Soviet Union, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kirgizia, and Tadzhikistan.



**October 3, 1991** East and West Germany reunite as one nation.

**December 8, 1991** Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia create the Commonwealth of Independent States organization as an alliance replacing the Soviet Union.

**December 25, 1991** Mikhail Gorbachev resigns as the Soviet president, and the Soviet Union ceases to exist.

**January 28, 1992** In his State of the Union Address, U.S. president George Bush declares victory in the Cold War.

**1991**  
Clarence Thomas  
becomes a U.S.  
Supreme Court justice.

**1992**  
Hurricane Andrew  
causes \$15 billion  
in damage  
in Florida.

1991

1992

# Cold War Biographies

# George F. Kennan

Born February 16, 1904  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

**U.S. diplomat, historian, and author**



**G**eorge F. Kennan is considered one of the greatest diplomats and statesmen of the United States. Kennan played a major role in formulating U.S. foreign policy, especially on the issue of Soviet-U.S. relations during the early stages of the Cold War. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that lasted from 1945 to 1991. After World War II (1939–45), Kennan was the person who first suggested the policy of containment to control Soviet expansion. Kennan continued to have an important impact on foreign policy into the 1980s. His ideas frequently spurred considerable public debate. A historian, he authored many books of exceptional scholarly standards.

## Princeton grad

George Frost Kennan was born into an affluent family on the east side of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. His father was a prosperous lawyer of Scotch-Irish descent, and his mother's heritage was German. George's mother died shortly after his birth, and his relationship with his father was not close.

"Russia, Russia—  
unwashed, backward  
appealing Russia, so  
ashamed of your own  
backwardness, so  
orientally determined to  
conceal it from us by  
clever deceit."

**George F. Kennan.**

*Reproduced by permission of  
the Corbis Corporation.*

George, a quiet and bookish child, was enrolled in St. John's Military Academy in 1916 at the age of twelve; he graduated in 1921. He entered Princeton University that same year and chose to major in history, specializing in modern European diplomacy and international relations. He graduated in 1925 with a bachelor of arts degree.

## Foreign service

Young Kennan had been a mediocre student at Princeton, but in 1926 he managed to score high marks on the newly instituted exams for entrance into the Foreign Service diplomatic corps, which was part of the U.S. State Department. Thrilled at being selected by the Foreign Service, Kennan drew his first posting in Geneva, Switzerland. This posting began a career that would span decades of American diplomacy. Between 1927 and 1953, and again from 1961 to 1963, Kennan served in many European nations. By the fall of 1927, he was off to Hamburg, Germany; next, he went to Tallinn, Estonia; and in early 1929, he left for Riga, Latvia. At the time, the United States had no official foreign ministry in the Soviet Union, but the proximity of Latvia to Russia allowed the United States to be involved with diplomatic efforts with the Soviet Union.

Kennan already had a special interest in Russia through his grandfather's cousin, also named George Kennan (1845–1924). The earlier George Kennan first experienced the Russian culture in 1865 as a member of the Russian-American Telegraph Expedition, which was sponsored by Western Union, an American communication company. The goal of the expedition was to establish telegraph service between the United States and Russia. This cousin made numerous visits to Russia through 1901 and wrote about his experiences. He became the foremost American expert on Russian life before the Russian Revolution of 1917. To honor this man, the later George Kennan helped establish the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies in 1974. The institute is located in the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C.

Hoping for a future assignment in the Soviet Union, young George Kennan seized the opportunity to learn the Russian language at Berlin Seminary for Oriental Languages in Germany. He received his diploma in 1930. In Berlin, he met and married Annelise Sorenson, and they returned to Riga in 1931.

## To Moscow

President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) decided shortly after taking office that the United States needed to formally recognize the government of the Soviet Union; he soon announced that a U.S. embassy would be established in Moscow. The United States had gone sixteen years with no representation in the Soviet Union because the United States had refused to extend diplomatic relations to the new Soviet government following the communist takeover in 1918. Roosevelt appointed William C. Bullitt (1891–1967) as America's first ambassador to Moscow, and Bullitt chose Kennan to serve on the embassy staff.

Kennan's three-year stay in Moscow allowed him to assess the character of Soviet leader **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry) and observe the terror tactics Stalin used against the Soviet people. Kennan expanded his knowledge of Russian language, history, and culture, all of which helped him communicate with and understand Soviet leadership. In an interview in 1996 for the CNN "Cold War" series, Kennan described the Stalin he witnessed in the 1930s as a man with several faces: "Stalin was an excellent actor, and when he did meet with leading people at these various conferences, he was magnificent: quiet, affable, reasonable. He sent them all away thinking, 'This really is a great leader.' And yes, but behind that there lay something entirely different." Kennan related that when Stalin was displeased with the actions of his assistants, "he turned on them and then the yellow eyes lit up—you suddenly realized what sort of animal you had by the tail there." Kennan realized that Stalin was doing away with, or purging, many of his own people in government positions. Describing a 1937 Soviet purge trial that he attended, Kennan related, "I could see [purge trial defendants] there, and their pale faces, their twitching lips, their evasive eyes. These were the faces of men who had been, if not tortured, then terrified in many ways, and often by threats to take it out on their families if they didn't confess."

Because he had an up-close understanding of the Stalin regime, Kennan urged President Roosevelt's administration to be tough and firm with the Soviet leader. He was dismayed when Ambassador Bullitt was replaced in 1937 by Joseph Davies (1876–1958), who had been instructed to develop

goodwill with Stalin. U.S. leaders thought this was the safest strategy in case they needed Soviet support in future alliances. (As it turned out, the Soviet Union did join the United States and the rest of the Allies in fighting Germany during World War II.) Unwilling to support this strategy, Kennan resigned and was sent to a post in Prague, Czechoslovakia. In the 1996 CNN interview, Kennan remarked, “I don’t think FDR [President Roosevelt] was capable of conceiving of a man of such profound iniquity [wickedness], coupled with enormous strategic cleverness, as Stalin. He [Roosevelt] had never met such a creature.”

## World War II

In 1939, World War II began in Europe. Kennan was transferred to the U.S. wartime embassy in Berlin, the capital of Germany. The United States did not enter the war until December 1941; at that point, Germany and the United States formally became enemies. Kennan briefly found himself a detainee and was unable to leave Germany until May 1942. After a short posting to Lisbon, Portugal, in 1943, Kennan joined the European Advisory Commission in London; this group was in charge of creating a plan to deal with postwar Germany. In 1944, Kennan was reassigned to Moscow as an aide to Ambassador **W. Averell Harriman** (1891–1986; see entry). Kennan urged the United States not to form too close an alliance with the Soviet Union. He was dismayed as he watched the United States make concession after concession to the Soviet government for wartime reasons. Kennan fretted that his country was entirely too eager to please Stalin.

After the war, when the Soviets occupied Eastern European countries with the apparent intention of staying there indefinitely, Kennan pushed for the United States to cut off all economic aid to the Soviets to force them to withdraw. Almost no other U.S. official agreed with Kennan—but then none of them understood Stalin as Kennan did.

## The “Long Telegram”

In February 1946, Stalin made a speech the night before elections of the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet legislative

body. The speech denounced capitalism, the economic system of the United States and Western Europe. Capitalism is based on private ownership of property. Prices—and individual profits—are determined by competition in a free market, with relatively little government intervention. In contrast, the Soviets had a communist economy and government. Private ownership of property was not allowed. Instead the government controlled all economic production, ensuring that goods and profits would be divided equally among all Soviet citizens. Stalin's pronouncements strongly suggested that a war between communist and capitalist countries was inevitable.

Confused American officials turned to their embassy in Moscow, hoping someone there could explain what the Soviets were thinking. The task fell to Kennan. He sent his response, an eight-thousand-word telegram, to Washington, D.C., on February 22, 1946. In the now famous "Long Telegram," Kennan took U.S. leaders back to step one in understanding the Soviets. He spoke of Moscow's traditional "neurotic view of world affairs" and "instinctive Russian sense of insecurity." He asserted that Stalin intended to occupy countries surrounding the Russian homeland to provide a security buffer between Russia and its traditional enemies, the capitalist Western European nations. Then, according to Kennan, the Soviet communists hoped to overthrow those Western European nations. This would eventually leave the United States politically and economically isolated.

In the telegram, Kennan went on to state that for the Soviet Union it was "desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our [U.S.] society be disrupted, our traditional way of life be destroyed, the international authority of our state be broken." This, Kennan said, was the only way the Soviet Union would ever feel secure. Kennan noted that the Soviet Union was in a weakened state, but he also remarked that the resolve and strength of the Western world would determine the fate of capitalism. Kennan stressed that the United States must abandon any isolationist attitudes (policies of avoiding official agreements with other nations in order to remain neutral) and take a strong, active position on the international political stage.

The telegram was quickly circulated throughout the State Department and all the important political circles of Washington, D.C. The press caught hold of it, and the



telegram was widely distributed. Although it was both criticized and praised, the message was clearly one that rang true to government officials, U.S. foreign policy makers, and everyday Americans. Lost amid urgent discussions of the telegram was at least one important point: Kennan's position on atomic weapons. In the telegram, he urged President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry) not to relentlessly pursue development of such weapons, because, as Kennan saw it, atomic bomb development was a dangerous and unnecessary path to take.

The Long Telegram became a cornerstone of President Truman's foreign policy; the U.S. position regarding the Soviet Union immediately became much tougher. Introducing the Truman Doctrine, the president promised U.S. aid to all countries that were engaged in resisting communist influence or invasion. This announcement created more animosity between the United States and the Soviet Union. Though it was never declared or officially launched, the Cold War had begun.

## Containment policy

In the fall of 1946, Kennan accepted a lecturer's position at the Naval War College, but in the spring of 1947, Secretary of State **George C. Marshall** (1880–1959; see entry) made Kennan director of the new Policy Planning Staff (PPS), a group whose chief focus was U.S. diplomacy. In the July 1947 issue of *Foreign Affairs* an article titled "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" appeared; it was written by "X." "X" was Kennan; he did not want to reveal his identity, because he was part of the State Department and what he had written did not conform with U.S. foreign policy on the Soviet Union. At the time, officially, the U.S. policy was not anti-Soviet. Nevertheless, Kennan's article expanded on ideas in the "Long Telegram" and developed the idea of "containing" Soviet expansion. The policy of containment involved drawing geographic lines to establish a boundary beyond which Soviet influence would not be tolerated but rather confronted.

## Containment misunderstood

Kennan soon realized that his containment ideas had been misunderstood by U.S. government officials and military

leaders. As he later explained in a PBS interview with David Gergen, editor-at-large for the magazine *U.S. News and World Report*, it was Kennan's fault that containment was misunderstood. "It all came down to one sentence in the 'X' article where I said that wherever these people, meaning the Soviet leadership, confronted us with dangerous hostility anywhere in the world, we should do everything possible to contain it and not let them expand any further. I should have explained that I didn't suspect them of any desire to launch an attack on us. This was right after the war, and it was absurd to suppose that they were going to turn around and attack the United States. I didn't think I needed to explain that, but I obviously should have done it." In the interview, Kennan stressed that he had meant *political* containment, not military containment. He knew the Soviets would use political subversion to try to shift other countries to communism, but he never thought they would use military action. Stalin and his communist loyalists were a crafty and dangerous group, but they did not have the military strength after World War II to fight new wars.

Kennan believed that the United States could contain the Soviets with tough diplomacy. He knew that Stalin tended to back down when confronted with firm warnings. However, Kennan also predicted that a major U.S. atomic weapons development program and weapons buildup would cause extreme insecurity in the Soviet Union and probably lead to an arms race. Historians look back at Kennan's 1947 assessments and note that events proceeded much as Kennan warned: Because the United States continued to pursue atomic weapons, the Soviets felt they had to do the same. Because the United States maintained a military force in Japan, the Soviets wanted a communist presence in Korea. As the Cold War continued, this competition and military maneuvering overshadowed Kennan's original idea of containment.

## Ambassador to the Soviet Union

Kennan left the Policy Planning Staff in June 1950, and that fall he moved to Princeton, New Jersey, to join the Institute for Advanced Study (IAS). **J. Robert Oppenheimer** (1904–1967; see entry), the U.S. atomic physicist who successfully coordinated the development of the U.S. atomic bomb,



**U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia George Kennan (left) meets with Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito in May 1961.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

headed this new research organization. By this time, Oppenheimer had come to believe that atomic energy should only be used for peaceful purposes.

In December 1951, not long after Kennan joined the IAS, Secretary of State **Dean G. Acheson** (1893–1971; see entry) appointed him as ambassador to the Soviet Union. He took this position at a time when anticommunist hysteria consumed the United States, and in the Soviet Union, an aging Stalin became ever more paranoid. Kennan was restricted to the Moscow area. He protested to Soviet officials, and he criticized the internal politics of Stalin. By October 1952, Kennan was forced to leave Moscow.

### **Writer, lecturer, commentator**

Kennan retired from government service at the end of 1952 and returned to the IAS, which would remain his home



## The Writings of George Kennan

George Frost Kennan was a prolific writer on U.S. history. Two of his books received the Pulitzer Prize:

*Soviet-American Relations, 1917–1920*. Vol. 1. *Russia Leaves the War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1956.

*Memoirs, 1925–1950*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1968.

Some of Kennan's other articles and books include the following:

"Sources of Soviet Conduct." *Foreign Affairs* 25 (July 1947): 566–82 (written under the name "X").

*American Diplomacy, 1900–1950*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951.

*Soviet-American Relations, 1917–1920*. Vol. 2. *The Decision to Intervene*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958.

*Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1961.

*Memoirs, 1950–1963*. New York: Pantheon, 1973.

*The Nuclear Delusion: Soviet-American Relations in the Atomic Age*. New York: Pantheon, 1984.

*Sketches from a Life*. New York: Pantheon, 1989.

*At a Century's Ending: Reflections, 1982–1995*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1996.

base for decades to come. He was made the Permanent Professor in the School of Historical Studies. There, he found a supportive environment and resources in which to write and develop lectures and commentary on global issues. He opposed the nuclear arms buildup during the administration of President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61; see entry). Kennan advocated mutual disengagement of U.S. and Soviet forces in Europe and the abolishment of nuclear weapons by both powers. Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, he staunchly criticized nuclear weapons stockpiling as immoral and counterproductive to diplomacy.

Kennan returned to government one last time in 1961. When **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) became president in January 1961, he appointed Kennan as ambassador to Yugoslavia. There, Kennan developed a political relationship with Yugoslav leader **Josip Broz Tito** (1892–1980; see entry), a communist who had successfully broken away from Soviet domination. Disregarding Tito's relatively indepen-

dent communist position, the U.S. Congress passed legislation denying Yugoslavia most-favored-nation trade status. (Most-favored-nation trade status lowers taxes on goods exported to the United States, making it much easier for a foreign country to sell goods to American consumers and U.S. businesses.) In disgust, Kennan resigned in 1963 and returned to the IAS. He also spent time at his Pennsylvania farm. He concentrated on traveling and writing numerous books and articles.

Throughout the 1960s, Kennan was an outspoken opponent of America's involvement in Vietnam. He argued that participating in the Vietnam War (1954–75) was causing a greater rift between the United States, the Soviet Union, and communist China and that European diplomacy was being ignored. However, when Soviet communist forces suppressed a political reform movement in communist Czechoslovakia in 1968, he favored sending additional U.S. troops to West Germany, so that soldiers would be as near the Soviet communist forces in Eastern Europe as possible to perturb and distract the Soviets. Some officials charged Kennan with focusing on Europe to the exclusion of the rest of the world.

Between 1965 and 1969, Kennan served as a university fellow at Harvard. During the 1970s and 1980s, he continued to lecture and write, always emphasizing U.S.-Soviet relations. From 1974 to 1975, Kennan was a fellow of the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, D.C. Also in 1974, he became a professor emeritus at the IAS. In 1981, he was awarded the Albert Einstein Peace Prize of \$50,000 for his work in U.S.-Soviet relations.

In the 1980s, Kennan strongly criticized the policies of President **Ronald Reagan** (1911–; served 1981–89; see entry) toward the Soviet Union; Kennan thought the policies were extreme and not based on the reality of the situation inside the Soviet Union. However, in retrospect, Kennan said that the two individuals who contributed most to the end of the Cold War were Reagan and former Soviet leader **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1931–; see entry). In his PBS interview, Kennan stated, “I would put first of all Gorbachev ... but also Ronald Reagan, who was, in his own inimitable [incapable of being copied] way, probably not even quite aware of what he was really doing! He did what few other people would have been able to do in breaking this logjam [in U.S.-Soviet relations].

## Celebration of stature

As Kennan grew older, his stature as a former statesman continued to grow. Gorbachev greeted Kennan warmly at their only meeting, which occurred in Washington, D.C., in 1987. Gorbachev expressed his admiration for Kennan, saying that Kennan understood that it was possible to embrace other peoples and still remain a devoted American. Honor and recognition culminated in 1989, when President **George Bush** (1924–; served 1989–93; see entry) awarded Kennan the Presidential Medal of Freedom. In the late 1990s, Kennan, by then in his nineties, continued to write and comment on U.S. history. He is widely recognized as one of America's great statesmen.

## For More Information

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## John F. Kennedy

**Born May 29, 1917**  
**Brookline, Massachusetts**  
**Died November 22, 1963**  
**Dallas, Texas**

**U.S. president, senator**

“All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words ‘Ich bin ein Berliner.’”

**John F. Kennedy.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

**I**n 1960, John F. Kennedy became the youngest person elected to the presidency of the United States. He was forty-three years old. He assumed the office in the midst of the Cold War, an intense political and economic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that lasted from 1945 to 1991. Kennedy successfully led the country through two of the most alarming Cold War crises: the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Soviet construction of the Berlin Wall. The Kennedy administration also crafted sweeping civil rights legislation that was signed into law in 1964. Kennedy’s presidency came to a shocking end on November 22, 1963, when he was assassinated in Dallas, Texas.

### Young Kennedy

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was the second of nine children born to Joseph Patrick Kennedy (1888–1969) and Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy (1890–1995); he was born at the family home, 83 Beals Street in Brookline, Massachusetts. The Kennedys were a politically prominent Irish Catholic family. John’s grandfather on his father’s side was a state senator and ac-

tive in Boston political circles. His grandfather on his mother's side had served as mayor of Boston, state senator, and U.S. congressman. John's father was a tough, successful businessman.

Kennedy attended elementary schools in Brookline and then in Riverdale, New York, where his prosperous family had moved. He attended high school at the private Choate Academy in Wallingford, Connecticut. Kennedy was not an outstanding student, but he had many friends and in his senior year was voted the student "most likely to succeed" in the future.

Kennedy entered Harvard University in 1936 and graduated with honors in 1940. In the spring and summer of 1939, between his junior and senior years, his father sent him on a tour of Europe and put him in touch with various government officials. The young Kennedy carefully studied the conflicts that were building in Europe as Germany's Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and his Nazi Party (known primarily for its brutal policies of racism) grew more and more threatening. In young Kennedy's view, England was not well prepared for war; when he returned to Harvard, he wrote his senior thesis on this subject. The thesis later became a best-selling book titled *Why England Slept* (1940).

Kennedy, who loved the sea and sailing, joined the U.S. Navy as a seaman in 1941. When Pearl Harbor, a U.S. naval base in Hawaii, was bombed on December 7, 1941, the United States entered World War II (1939–45). In the war, Kennedy commanded a boat known as PT-109. Kennedy and his crew were patrolling near the Solomon Islands on August 2, 1943, when a Japanese destroyer sliced right through PT-109. Two of the crew were killed, but Kennedy managed to rescue the others—some injured—and get them to a nearby island. He then swam to other nearby islands for help. He and his crew were rescued on August 7. Kennedy received the Purple Heart because his back had been injured in the incident; he also received navy and marine honors for his heroics. Returning to the United States in December, he recuperated, but he would suffer from his back injury the rest of his life.

## **Congressman and U.S. senator**

When Kennedy's older brother, Joseph Jr., whom his father had groomed to enter politics, was killed in the war,



Joseph Sr. turned to John, his second son, to fulfill the family's political ambition. A determined and articulate young man, John Kennedy was also very handsome and readily liked by those with whom he came in contact. He had all the makings of a politician. In 1946, he made a successful run for the U.S. House of Representatives, representing the eleventh congressional district of Massachusetts. Kennedy entered the House in January 1947 as a twenty-nine-year-old congressman. Easily reelected in 1948 and 1950, Kennedy supported the social programs of President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry). In 1952, Kennedy successfully ran for the U.S. Senate.

On September 12, 1952, Senator Kennedy married a Vassar College graduate, Jacqueline “Jackie” Lee Bouvier (1929–1994), who was the daughter of a wealthy New York City financier. They would have four children, but only two survived infancy, a daughter and a son—Caroline and John Jr.

Young Senator Kennedy served on the Senate Labor Committee investigating charges of corruption. Fighting for the average union worker and local unions, he fought alleged corruption of national labor union leaders, such as racketeering between labor and management, in which top leaders obtained money illegally from management in exchange for agreeing not to strike. Kennedy also served on the Government Operations Committee, which was headed by U.S. senator **Joseph R. McCarthy** (1908–1957; see entry) of Wisconsin. McCarthy had also led a witch-hunt for communists he thought were lurking within the U.S. government and among the general public. By making unfounded accusations against various government workers and questioning the loyalty of certain private citizens, McCarthy had destroyed the careers of many innocent Americans. By 1954, McCarthy's lack of evidence was exposed and the Senate voted to censure him (publicly and officially disapprove of his behavior). Kennedy had never outwardly opposed or confronted McCarthy, and he missed the actual roll call vote on censure because he was ill that day. But Kennedy agreed with the censure vote.

Kennedy easily won reelection to the Senate in 1958, but since the mid-1950s he had had his sights set on the U.S. presidency. His main drawbacks were being Roman Catholic (a

Catholic had never been elected president) and being young. Nevertheless, at the 1960 Democratic National Convention, Kennedy won the party's nomination on the first ballot. He chose U.S. senator **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; see entry) of Texas, who also had run for president that year, as his vice presidential running mate. The Republican candidate was Vice President **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; see entry), whose running mate was Henry Cabot Lodge (1902–1985), a U.S. representative to the United Nations. (Kennedy had defeated Lodge in the U.S. Senate race of 1952.) As in previous elections, Kennedy's very large and influential family campaigned tirelessly. After a series of televised debates between the presidential candidates—the first such debates ever shown on television—Kennedy eked out a narrow victory over Nixon.

## The thirty-fifth president

The Kennedys brought youth, vitality, and style to the White House. John Jr. and Caroline often played in the Oval Office as their father worked. Jackie Kennedy, only in her early thirties, set the standards for fashions of the day. She brought many performing artists to the White House. Mrs. Kennedy also redecorated the White House, placing furnishings and articles long in storage from past presidents back into the many different rooms.

One of President Kennedy's earliest actions was establishing the Peace Corps by executive order on March 1, 1961. The goal of the Peace Corps was to promote world peace and friendship by aiding people in countries around the world through improved education, health care, and public facilities. A program that remained successful into the twenty-first century, the Peace Corps sent five hundred volunteers to eight developing countries in its first year. By 1966, over fifteen thousand volunteers were working in fifty-two countries.

The dominant domestic issue for President Kennedy was civil rights—making the civil and economic rights of black Americans equal to the rights white Americans already possessed. Large racial demonstrations—both for and against civil rights—occurred across the South and throughout the nation. Courts ordered an end to segregation in public



## Famous Words from John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address

On January 20, 1961, the thirty-fifth U.S. president, John F. Kennedy, gave his first and only inaugural address to the nation. The address contained a number of highly memorable segments that served to rally Americans to actively support the American way of life and oppose the potential spread of communism in the world. A few of those historic passages follow:

*And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.*

*Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans ... unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed and to which we are committed today at home and around the world. Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose*



**New U.S. president John F. Kennedy gives his inaugural speech on January 20, 1961. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson (right) looks on.**  
*Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

*any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.*

*Let us never negotiate out of fear.  
But let us never fear to negotiate.*

schools. (Segregation means separating people by their race so that they cannot use the same public facilities.) President Kennedy had to call out the National Guard to maintain order and enforce desegregation at the University of Mississippi in 1962 and at the University of Alabama in 1963. In August 1963, over two hundred thousand people marched to Washington, D.C., to demand equal rights for black Americans; this event was known as the Freedom March. Kennedy had been planning sweeping civil rights legislation, but he was assassinated before it was passed into law. When Kennedy died in November, Lyndon B. Johnson took office; Johnson would sign the Civil Rights Act a year later.

## The Bay of Pigs

When President Kennedy took office on January 20, 1961, he inherited the “Cuban problem.” **Fidel Castro** (1926–; see entry) had taken power in Cuba in early 1959. His relationship with the United States had quickly gone downhill; Castro, with his communist leanings, naturally looked to the communist Soviet Union for trade agreements. To the dismay of U.S. government leaders, Soviet premier **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry) gloated that communism had gained a toehold in the Americas. Communism is a system of government in which a single political party, the Communist Party, controls almost all aspects of people’s lives. In a communist economy, private ownership of property and businesses is prohibited so that goods produced and wealth accumulated can be shared equally by all.

As communism infiltrated the Castro-led Cuba, many middle-class and wealthy Cubans left their country for America. However, some hoped to return; they hoped that another leader or group might overthrow Castro and restore the old Cuban economy. President Kennedy’s predecessor, **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61; see entry), had allowed the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to train fifteen hundred Cuban exiles to invade Cuba and overthrow Castro. Although skeptical of the plan, Kennedy allowed the invasion to proceed. The army of CIA-trained Cuban exiles landed on the south coast of Cuba at an area known as the Bay of Pigs; they were promptly defeated by Castro’s forces, who were armed with Soviet tanks. After this embarrassment, Kennedy vowed that in the future he would consider more carefully the advice he received and the way he acted on that advice.

## Vienna summit

In June 1961, two months after the Bay of Pigs fiasco, Kennedy met with Khrushchev in Vienna, Austria, for summit talks. Kennedy was still smarting from the embarrassment of the incident; Khrushchev was gloating over the United States’ failure. Before the summit meeting, Khrushchev had decided to test the young American president’s strength and statesmanship. Kennedy had been warned that Khrushchev could talk very tough, but he was not ready for the blustery, explosive behavior that Khrushchev would display.



**U.S. president John F. Kennedy (left) meets with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev at the Vienna summit in June 1961.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Khrushchev's topic of choice was Berlin, long a sore spot with the Soviet Union. After Germany's defeat in World War II, Germany was divided among the victorious Allies into four sectors—American, French, British, and Soviet. The Soviet sector was known as East Germany; the other three occupying powers soon agreed to rule their sectors jointly and called the combined territory West Germany. Berlin, Germany's capital city, was similarly divided: East Berlin was under Soviet control; French, British, and American forces occupied West Berlin. Since the division of Germany, no peace treaty had ever been signed between the powers to determine Germany's and Berlin's future. The entire city of Berlin was located well within Soviet-controlled East Germany. Therefore, West Berlin—operating under a democratic, capitalist government—sat in the middle of communist-controlled territory.

The awkward Berlin situation spurred Khrushchev to demand that all Western powers leave West Berlin by the year's end and that East Germany be recognized as a sover-

eign country. Khrushchev fiercely warned Kennedy that any violation of East German territory (that is, crossing through or over East Germany to get to Berlin without East German permission) would be considered an act of aggression, a precursor to war—nuclear war. Taken aback, Kennedy refused Khrushchev's demands. The two never met again. On his way home, a shaken Kennedy stopped in Britain. He confided to British prime minister **Harold Macmillan** (1894–1986; see entry) that perhaps it was possible the Soviet Union could win the Cold War. When the young president returned home, he ordered a thorough probing of the Berlin issue to find strategies the United States could pursue. Kennedy also announced a buildup of conventional, nonnuclear weapons and the armed services.

## Berlin

Kennedy could not have realized that Khrushchev had no intention of actually starting a war. Khrushchev had decided to make an issue of the capital city because thousands of East Germans, many of them highly skilled and well educated, were leaving East Germany for economic opportunities and political freedom in West Germany. They all made their exodus through Berlin, where anyone could travel freely among the four sectors. East Germans could go to Berlin, enter one of the Western sectors, and from there slip into West Germany, escaping communist rule. East Germany could not afford to lose its best people to the West; the East German economy was already struggling. Walter Ulbricht (1893–1973), East Germany's leader, had been demanding for some time that Khrushchev do something to stop the exodus.

In the early-morning hours of Sunday, August 13, 1961, East German crews began erecting a barbed wire fence along the boundary of the Soviet East Berlin sector. U.S. intelligence informed President Kennedy about the construction of the fence by midmorning Sunday as he set out for a family picnic near Hyannis Port, Massachusetts. The development had caught top U.S. officials completely off guard. Khrushchev was testing the Western powers, trying to see if they would challenge him. Because Khrushchev had not touched West Berlin and had left access routes from East Germany to

West Germany open and unchanged, Kennedy decided it was best not to risk war. The fence—better known as the Berlin Wall—was an ugly statement, but even so, in Kennedy’s view, a wall was better than a war. The wall accomplished Khrushchev’s goal: It stopped the flow of East Germans moving to the West. However, the wall was also a defeat for communism. Its existence seemed to prove that people would stay in a communist country only if they were physically prevented from leaving.

In June 1963, President Kennedy went on a European tour. When he arrived in West Berlin, he looked at the wall from a viewing stand. Back at West Berlin city hall, he addressed 250,000 Berliners. Throwing out a speech that had been prepared for him, he instead spoke from the heart. Kennedy said that if there were people who did not understand the issues between the free world and a communist one, they should come to Berlin; with the crowd cheering wildly, Kennedy thundered again and again, “Let them come to Berlin.” He ended the speech with a now-famous line that expressed the unity of the Western world: “Ich bin ein Berliner (I am a Berliner).”

## Cuba

The “Cuban problem” had not reared its head again since the Bay of Pigs incident in early 1961. However, President Kennedy had ordered a top-secret operation—Operation Mongoose—to oust Cuban leader Fidel Castro. U.S. intelligence had considered various plots, from lacing Castro’s water with drugs to assassinating Castro. Despite careful planning, Operation Mongoose never materialized.

Behind the scenes, the Soviet Union had been helping Cuba build up its armaments, or military equipment. By the end of 1961, Soviet military advisors had arrived in Cuba. The Soviet investment in the tiny island was considerable. Khrushchev’s plan was to place both medium- and long-range missiles with nuclear warheads in Cuba. He had long fumed over U.S. nuclear missiles openly located in Turkey, Italy, and the United Kingdom—within easy striking distance of the Soviet Union. The Soviets had warheads targeting Western Europe, but none of them was located outside the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev wanted to even the score by placing Soviet nuclear weapons close to the United States.

By October 1962, the nuclear missile sites in Cuba were almost complete. On October 14, 1962, a high-flying U.S. intelligence aircraft on a mission over Cuba returned with photographs of the missile sites. The photographs were processed, analyzed, and presented to President Kennedy on the morning of October 16. It was clear from the photos that most parts of the United States would be easy prey for the Cuban missiles.

President Kennedy spoke to the American people by way of television on Monday evening, October 22. He informed them of the crisis and told them that the U.S. military was on full alert and ready for any possibility. He also announced that he would institute a naval blockade, or “quarantine,” to prevent Soviet ships from bringing any more missiles to Cuba. The blockade would go into effect on Wednesday, October 24. Kennedy demanded that Khrushchev dismantle and remove all the missiles already in Cuba. The Soviet ships carrying missiles stopped and turned around, but as of October 27 the missiles already in Cuba remained.

Many top U.S. officials believed a nuclear war would start at any moment. But fortunately President Kennedy’s brother, U.S. attorney general Robert Kennedy (1925–1968), came up with a compromise that satisfied both sides: The United States would halt the blockade and promise not to invade Cuba if the Soviets would agree to remove the missiles from the island. U.S. leaders also secretly promised Khrushchev that they would remove the U.S. missiles in Turkey after the crisis ended. Kennedy insisted on secrecy so that the United States would not appear to withdraw protection for Western Europe for its own purposes. (Soviet leaders did not realize that the United States considered the missiles in Turkey outdated and had intended to remove them soon anyway.) Khrushchev agreed to the U.S. plan, and the crisis came to an end on Sunday morning, October 28. Kennedy won widespread praise for his handling of the crisis and for averting a military engagement.

Having taken the world to the brink of nuclear war, a sobered Kennedy and Khrushchev soon began talks on nuclear weapons control. Although they could not agree on a





**U.S. president John F. Kennedy (right) discusses the Cuban Missile Crisis with his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, at the White House on October 1, 1962.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

broad test-ban treaty, they did agree to ban nuclear testing in the atmosphere, in outer space, and beneath the ocean. The Limited Test-Ban Treaty went into effect on October 11, 1963, and provided an important foundation for future arms control.

## Assassination

Just before Thanksgiving, on November 22, 1963, President and Mrs. Kennedy, along with Vice President and Mrs. Johnson, visited San Antonio and Houston, Texas, and then continued on to Dallas. The purpose of Kennedy's visit was to repair a rift in the Texas Democratic Party before the 1964 presidential election. Advisors had actually warned Kennedy about visiting Dallas at that time. Texas was a strongly Democratic state, but Dallas was the center and hotbed for radically conservative Republicans. Nevertheless, Kennedy went ahead with the Dallas visit. In the presidential motorcade, Kennedy sat next to his wife, Jackie; Texas governor John B. Connally (1917–1993) rode in the seat in front of them. Near the end of the downtown procession, shots rang out from the Texas School Book Depository Building, hitting both Connally and Kennedy. Connally was hit in the back

but recovered; the president was hit in the head and neck and had no chance of survival. Vice President Johnson, whose home state was Texas, succeeded Kennedy as U.S. president.

The accused assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald (1939–1963), was murdered two days later by local nightclub owner Jack Ruby (1911–1967). Oswald was an avowed Marxist and once attempted to become a Soviet citizen. (Marxism promoted a system in which workers would own industry and other

means of production and share equally in the wealth.) Oswald had a Soviet wife, and he was a supporter of Cuba's Fidel Castro. The official government investigation—called the Warren Commission (named after the commission chairman, U.S. Supreme Court chief justice Earl Warren (1891–1974)—concluded that Oswald probably acted alone, but for years others have speculated on possible conspiracy theories (in which two or more persons agree to commit a crime). In 1977, a congressional panel concluded that there was probably a conspiracy and recommended further investigation.

President Kennedy's body lay in state in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda as hundreds of thousands paid their respects. In a long solemn procession, his body was carried to Arlington National Cemetery, where he was buried.

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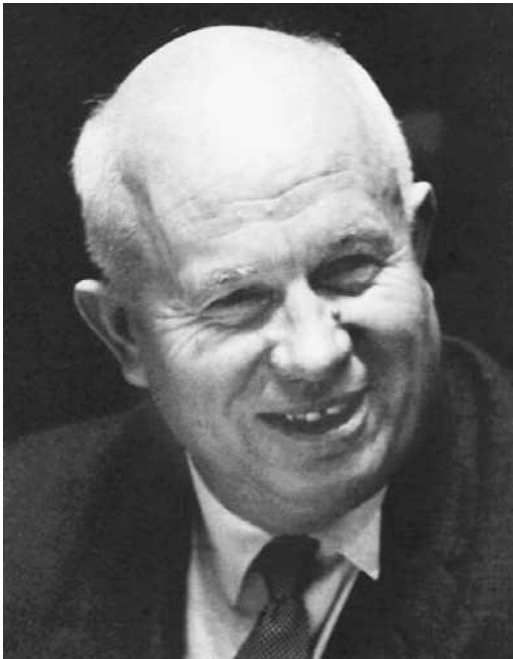
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## Nikita Khrushchev

**Born April 17, 1894**

**Kalinovka, Russia**

**Died September 11, 1971**

**Petrovo-Dalneye, Soviet Union**

**Soviet premier and first secretary of  
Communist Party**

“Do you think when two representatives holding diametrically opposing views get together and shake hands, the contradictions between our systems will simply melt away? What kind of a daydream is that?”

**Nikita Khrushchev.** *Courtesy of the United Nations.*

**N**ikita Khrushchev was the most colorful Soviet leader during the Cold War. After being a loyal supporter of Soviet leader **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry) through his early political career, Khrushchev denounced Stalin’s policies when he assumed Soviet leadership in the mid-1950s. Khrushchev had a loud and blunt personality that took other leaders by surprise. His efforts to introduce major domestic reforms within the Soviet Union during his long period of leadership while fending off pressures from old guard Soviet communists led to erratic foreign policies that confounded U.S. leaders, including presidents **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61; see entry) and **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry), and took the world to the brink of nuclear war during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962.

### A humble beginning

Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev was born in southern Russia, in the village of Kalinovka, near the Ukrainian border. His father was a poor peasant who farmed in the summer and

worked in the Ukrainian coal mines in the winter. When Nikita was a teenager, the family moved close to Yuzovka, Ukraine, to be nearer the mines. Although he was a bright student, Khrushchev attended school sporadically for several years because he was busy working. He took jobs herding cattle and working in a factory and finally became a mechanic in the coal mines. Working under dismal conditions in the factory and mine, Khrushchev saw first-hand that his country needed social and economic change to help the working classes.

In 1914, Khrushchev married Galina Yefronsinya. The Bolshevik Revolution occurred in 1917, when Khrushchev was twenty-three years old. During the revolution, the communist Bolsheviks took control of Russia's government. Communism is a system of government in which a single political party, the Communist Party, controls almost all aspects of people's lives. In a communist economy, private ownership of property and businesses is prohibited so that goods produced and wealth accumulated can be shared equally by all. Khrushchev apparently did not take part in the revolution but did join the Communist Party in early 1918.

Khrushchev served in the Red Army in 1919, successfully defending the new communist regime against forces trying to regain control of the government. Following the war, Khrushchev returned to work in the Ukrainian mines in 1920. By 1921, he was put in charge of political affairs at the mine. In the winter of 1921–22, his wife died from a famine, or a shortage of food, leaving him with two young children. He returned to his hometown of Yuzovka in 1922. Through the 1920s, he was able to attend educational institutions established by the Communist Party. These schools gave young workers basic education and political instruction. At Donbass Technical College, he was elected to a top Communist Party position.

## **A Stalin supporter**

Khrushchev remarried in 1924. He and his new wife, schoolteacher Nina Petrovna, had three children together. A staunch supporter of Soviet premier Joseph Stalin, Khrushchev moved up rapidly through various posts in the Ukrainian Communist Party bureaucracy. The first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, Lazar Kaganovich (1893–1991),

became a mentor for Khrushchev. Both Khrushchev and Kaganovich left for Moscow in 1929.

In Moscow, Khrushchev enrolled in the city's Industrial Academy. One of his classmates and friends was Joseph Stalin's wife, Nadezhda Allilueva. While at the academy, Khrushchev spent most of his energy on political work. By 1931, Kaganovich had become head of Moscow's Communist Party, and he brought Khrushchev into the city's political administration. Continuing to move up rapidly, Khrushchev became Kaganovich's assistant, the second secretary of the Moscow Central Committee, in 1933. (In both local and national branches of the Communist Party, the Central Committee is an important administrative body that oversees day-to-day party activities.) In 1935, at age forty, Khrushchev succeeded Kaganovich as first secretary of the Moscow city party. He was also elected to the Soviet Central Committee. Khrushchev was a major figure in Moscow economic developments, including construction of the city's highly regarded subway system.

During the late 1930s, Khrushchev took an active role in Stalin's purges of party leadership. Stalin executed or exiled millions of Soviet citizens, including his opponents and some supporters. Khrushchev was one of the few to survive among his colleagues at the higher levels of office, perhaps because of his close connections to Kaganovich and his past friendship with Stalin's wife. Stalin rewarded Khrushchev for his loyalty during the purges by taking an active role in getting Khrushchev elected to the Supreme Soviet in late 1937. Khrushchev was also elected to the Politburo. The Politburo was the executive body for the Central Committee and was responsible for making policy decisions. In 1938, Khrushchev was elected first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party. The Ukraine was the most important agricultural region in the Soviet Union and also an area that had strongly resisted Stalin's collective farming policies, which would provide more local control. In 1937 alone, 150,000 Ukrainian party members had been purged. Khrushchev focused on improving agricultural production under the new Soviet system. By the end of the decade, Khrushchev had risen to national prominence.

In June 1941, Germany's Nazi Party, known primarily for its brutal policies of racism, launched a massive invasion against the Soviet Union, drawing the Soviets into

World War II (1939–45). Khrushchev became an officer in the Soviet army, serving in the thick of the fighting. He was at the Battle of Stalingrad, in which the Soviets turned back a major German invasion. Hundreds of thousands were killed. Khrushchev rose to the rank of lieutenant general. By late 1943, when the momentum of the war shifted in favor of the Soviet troops, Khrushchev returned to Ukrainian politics. He regained his position as first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party and was also appointed chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers in charge of economic affairs. Khrushchev led the postwar reconstruction of the Ukraine's economy.

## **Rise to power in Moscow**

In 1949, Khrushchev returned to Moscow to once again serve as first secretary of the Moscow Central Committee. He regularly dined with Stalin. In March 1953, Stalin died of a stroke, and a prolonged power struggle followed. By September 1953, Khrushchev was named first secretary of the Soviet Central Committee. His chief rival, Georgy Malenkov (1902–1988), remained premier (head of state) of the Soviet Union. He and Khrushchev fought over domestic economic policies. The power struggle came to an end in 1955, when Khrushchev was able to replace Malenkov with a close associate, Nikolay Bulganin (1895–1975).

Khrushchev took the Soviet Union in a distinctly different direction than Stalin had charted. He openly criticized some of Stalin's policies and began a Communist Party reform movement known as de-Stalinization, a plan to introduce reforms to the Soviet Union. These reforms included allowing greater personal freedoms for Soviet citizens, lessening the powers of the secret police, closing concentration and hard-labor camps, and restoring certain legal processes. Khrushchev's criticism of Stalin was courageous; few in the Soviet Union dared to make such statements. Khrushchev freed many of the people imprisoned by Stalin. Unlike previous Soviet leaders, he traveled freely to foreign countries, including Great Britain and the United States. Khrushchev's behavior was often flamboyant, unconventional, and rude. For example, he drew a \$10,000 fine from the United Nations (UN) for

banging his shoe on a table at a UN meeting on October 13, 1960; he was using the shoe for emphasis as he responded angrily to a speech that sharply criticized the Soviet Union.

Though he had little formal education, Khrushchev had a quick mind and learned rapidly from experience, exhibiting considerable energy and enthusiasm. Khrushchev was often ruthless and independent, but he could also be warm and showed genuine care for common people; he was always interested in the Soviet farming population. Yet Khrushchev took a hard-line communist approach against religion and closed many churches. The communists looked at religion as an anticommunist concept that gave people false ideas of life. Many churches were destroyed, but underground religious worship survived.

Although the Communist Party controlled such forms of expression as the arts, Khrushchev was inconsistent in enforcing that policy. For example, he approved the publication of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (1962), by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (1918–), which describes the brutality of Soviet life under Stalin. At the same time, Khrushchev did not allow *Doctor Zhivago*, by Boris Pasternak (1890–1960), to be published in Russia (the book was published elsewhere in 1957). *Doctor Zhivago* is a novel about a Russian poet's life in conflict with the times in which he lives (1902 to 1953).

Khrushchev's campaign to reform the Communist Party was not entirely well received. In 1957, members of the Politburo moved to dismiss Khrushchev. However, he forced the Politburo to seek final approval from the larger Central Committee, where he had strong support. The Central Committee reversed the Politburo decision by voting to retain Khrushchev as Soviet leader. As a result, he was able to remove those who opposed his leadership and bring in his supporters to strengthen his position. Those who led the effort to dismiss him, including Malenkov, his old mentor Kaganovich, and former Soviet foreign minister **Vyacheslav Molotov** (1890–1986; see entry), were demoted or expelled from the Communist Party because they disagreed with Khrushchev's reform and de-Stalinization efforts. To complete his hold on power, Khrushchev removed Bulganin as head of state in 1958. Khrushchev was now leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet government.

## An erratic Cold War path

Khrushchev's prestige at home and abroad was enhanced by the stunning success of the Soviet space program. In early October 1957, the Soviets launched *Sputnik*, the first man-made satellite to orbit Earth. The Western world was shocked; it seemed that the Soviets had passed the United States in technological development. However, *Sputnik* brought unexpected consequences for the Soviets. The United States began a massive space program, which forced the Soviets to continue with costly research and development in order to keep up. This expensive "space race" was another component of the Cold War rivalry between the two superpowers.

Despite the continuing rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States, one of Khrushchev's stated goals was to "peacefully coexist" with the West. His de-Stalinization program was part of an effort to give the Soviet Union better international standing. Perhaps trying to demonstrate goodwill toward the West, Khrushchev refused to share space technology information with communist China, even though Chinese leaders eagerly sought this information. Khrushchev also refused to share nuclear technology with the Chinese. China's leadership thought Khrushchev's policies weakened the original principles of communism. His decisions seemed to indicate that Khrushchev was willing to forgo communist loyalties in order to promote better relations with Western countries.

Despite Khrushchev's promotion of peaceful coexistence, his foreign policy decisions often seemed erratic. For example, at a press conference in 1958 Khrushchev surprisingly announced that the United States and other Western countries must withdraw from West Berlin. The situation in West Berlin had been bothering the Soviets for a long time. During World War II, the Soviet Union fought on the side of the Western allies—the United States, Great Britain, and France. When the Allies defeated Germany and brought the war to a close, they agreed to divide Germany into two parts: West Germany, which was to be a democratic nation, and East Germany, which would be controlled by the communist Soviets. They also agreed to divide Berlin, the capital of Germany, into four sectors; each country would control one sector of the city. The three Western countries then agreed to rule jointly over their





## De-Stalinization

Nikita Khrushchev's most dramatic moment as Communist Party leader came in February 1956 during a speech commonly known as the "Crimes of Stalin" speech. From 1924 to 1953, Joseph Stalin had ruled the Soviet Union with an iron hand. His legacy as a dictator included the Great Terror, a series of massive purges involving the execution or exile of millions of Soviet citizens—both opponents and supporters of the Communist Party. Khrushchev had been a key Stalin supporter for many years and apparently assisted in the purges. Therefore, it was an incredible moment in Soviet history when, three years after Stalin's death, Khrushchev denounced the policies of Stalin in a secret speech in the concluding session of the Twentieth Communist Party Congress.

For the first time, a Soviet leader boldly pointed out the flaws of the Communist past. Khrushchev recounted Stalin's crimes against the Communist Party, particularly the Great Terror purges of the 1930s. He accused Stalin of key strategy errors in World War II. He said Stalin had sought glory for himself rather than promoting the Communist Party. He also called Stalin's rule a "cult of personality," in which an individual becomes more important than the political movement itself, which is counter to pure communist beliefs in which everyone shares

in the system. This act of discrediting Stalin is referred to as de-Stalinization. Throughout the Soviet Union, special Communist Party meetings followed Khrushchev's epic speech, as party leaders discussed the best way to initiate de-Stalinization.

Historians have long pondered what led Khrushchev to make the speech. Many believe he was trying to strengthen his leadership against staunch Stalin supporters, including Georgy Malenkov, Vyacheslav Molotov, and Lazar Kaganovich. It is also possible that he wanted to formally recognize the many Soviet citizens who had been victims of the Stalin reign. He may have been trying to revitalize the Communist Party, hoping to turn de-Stalinization into a reform movement. Whatever Khrushchev's intentions, his bold words brought unintended results. The "Crimes of Stalin" speech caused great shock in Eastern European countries. It fed a mood of rebellion against communist rule and leftover communist hard-liners from the Stalin era. The most dramatic consequence was a widespread rebellion in Hungary in November 1956. Seeking to reestablish some order, Khrushchev ruthlessly crushed the revolt, killing thousands of soldiers and civilians. Through his actions in Hungary, Khrushchev lost international prestige and caused many to leave the Communist Party.

sectors, which were collectively referred to as West Berlin. The Soviets occupied East Berlin. However, the entire city of Berlin was located well within communist-controlled East Germany.



Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (second from left) listens to U.S. vice president Richard Nixon at an international trade fair in Moscow in July 1959. It was in front of this U.S. kitchen exhibit that the well-known “kitchen debate” took place. *Reproduced by permission of the AP/Wide World Photos.*

It was a nagging irritation to the Soviets to have West Berlin—an island of capitalism—existing within a communist country. Capitalism is an economic system in which property and businesses can be privately owned. Production, distribution, and prices of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention. Capitalism is incompatible with communism.

U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower decided to ignore Khrushchev’s demand, and Khrushchev backed down. Khrushchev again demanded Western withdrawal from West Berlin in 1961, but he backed down a second time. However, he then ordered the construction of the Berlin Wall to stop East German residents from fleeing communist rule via West Berlin. Heavily guarded on the East Berlin side, the Wall would stand as a barrier between the capitalist West and the communist East for three decades. Historians believe that Khrushchev’s demands and his decision to erect the Wall were intended to quiet his hard-line communist critics.

## Unfriendly era with the United States

In July 1959, Vice President **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; see entry) visited Khrushchev during an international trade fair in the Soviet Union. While in front of an exhibit featuring a typical American kitchen, the two leaders got into a much publicized discussion over the merits of communism and capitalism, which became known as the “kitchen debate.” In September 1959, Khrushchev became the first Soviet leader to visit the United States. He was not warmly received on a brief tour around the country. Relations between Khrushchev and President Eisenhower cooled even further when the Soviets shot down an American spy plane that was flying over the Soviet Union. Khrushchev did not participate in a previously scheduled Paris summit meeting with Eisenhower in May 1960. In September 1960, Khrushchev returned uninvited to the United States to attend a United Nations meeting. There, he staged his famous outburst that included banging his shoe on a table in anger.

Khrushchev placed a strong emphasis on domestic issues such as housing and agricultural expansion. One massive project, the “Virgin Lands” program, involved 9 million acres of uncultivated land in Kazakhstan; the acreage was to be converted to grain crops. Khrushchev appointed **Leonid Brezhnev** (1906–1982; see entry) to direct the ambitious program. Brezhnev would later succeed Khrushchev as Soviet leader. The Virgin Lands program was somewhat successful but fell far short of meeting Soviet needs.

In 1962, lacking nuclear missiles capable of reaching the North American continent, Khrushchev decided to place some in pro-Soviet Cuba, located only 90 miles (145 kilometers) from the U.S. mainland. President John F. Kennedy responded by ordering a quarantine of Cuba to prevent Soviet ships from delivering more missiles. (Because blockades were against international law, the term “quarantine” was used instead.) Kennedy demanded that the Cuban missiles already in place be removed. During the brief but intense standoff, the dire threat of nuclear war loomed over both superpowers—and the entire world. This incident, known as the Cuban Missile Crisis, was the most dramatic Cold War confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. Again, Khrushchev backed down. He agreed to remove the missiles if the United States would promise not to invade Cuba in the future.



The scare of coming so close to nuclear war actually led to an improved relationship between the two countries. A hot line was established between Moscow and Washington, D.C., to improve direct communications during times of crisis. In addition, Khrushchev signed a nuclear test-ban treaty in August 1963, which prohibited nuclear testing in the atmosphere. With a poor harvest in 1963, Khrushchev also began purchasing large amounts of food from the United States; this was an embarrassment to the Soviet leader. To make matters worse, he still had to ration basics such as bread and flour.

Besides his setbacks in Berlin and Cuba, Khrushchev had problems at home in the Soviet Union. He irritated other Communist Party leaders with his efforts to reorganize the party and the state government. For instance, he created regional economic councils in the government in an effort to replace the higher bureaucracies and their ministers overseeing industrial production. This threatened the existing Soviet system created under Stalin. With his greater reliance on nu-

**Communist leaders from around the world meet in Moscow on November 7, 1961. Included here are (left to right) Cuban delegate Blas Roca, North Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, Hungarian premier János Kádár, and Soviet official Leonid Brezhnev.** *Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.*

clear weapons, Khrushchev also reduced the size of the Soviet army and reduced the powers of the secret police, known as the KGB. This change caused the Soviet Union's top military leaders to withdraw their support for Khrushchev. Khrushchev's vigor in pursuing these changes, along with the unpredictability of his actions and policies, caused increasing concern among party leaders and others.

In October 1964, while Khrushchev was on vacation in the Crimean region of southern Russia, he was suddenly summoned back to the Kremlin, or Communist headquarters, in Moscow. There, the Politburo members removed him from leadership as first secretary of the Soviet Communist Party; they also removed him as chairman of the Council of Ministers, a position he had held since 1958. Khrushchev did not resist removal as he had in 1957. Instead, he peacefully accepted his fate. Party leaders instituted a collective leadership structure, with Brezhnev, much less colorful and more predictable than Khrushchev, in the key role of first secretary.

Khrushchev became practically nonexistent in Soviet society. Living both in Moscow and at a country house, he spent the rest of his life in peace, though under guard. He enjoyed working in gardens and playing with his grandchildren. He was rarely seen in public or even mentioned in newspapers and books. He did try to establish his place in history by dictating two volumes of memoirs that were published abroad. Khrushchev died in September 1971 at age seventy-seven. It was not until the late 1980s that historians would begin to study Khrushchev's role in Soviet history.

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## Kim Il Sung

**Born April 15, 1912**  
**Man'gyondae, Korea**  
**Died July 8, 1994**  
**P'yongyang, North Korea**

**Premier of North Korea**



**K**im Il Sung was a communist dictator who ruled North Korea throughout the Cold War. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that lasted from 1945 to 1991. Asserting his rule with an iron hand, Kim Il Sung was the longest-serving leader of a communist government in the twentieth century. He created an almost mythical cult status for himself within North Korea, but he was little known elsewhere because he purposely kept North Korea isolated from the outside world.

### Early years

Kim Il Sung was born Kim Sung Ju in April 1912 to a middle-class Korean family in the village of Man'gyondae, located in northwestern Korea. He was the oldest of three sons. His father, Kim Hyung-jik, was a schoolteacher. Korea had long been isolated from outside influences, but it was annexed by Japan shortly before Kim Sung Ju's birth. The family moved to Chinese-controlled Manchuria in 1919 to escape

"The essential excellence of the socialist system lies in the fact that the working people, freed from exploitation and oppression, work with conscious enthusiasm and creative initiative for the country and the people ... as well as their own welfare."

**Kim Il Sung.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

the harsh Japanese rule. In Manchuria, young Kim attended Chinese primary and secondary schools. In 1931, he joined the Chinese Communist Youth League and began leading small Chinese guerrilla forces on raids against remote Japanese outposts in northern Korea along the Manchurian border.

By 1939, the Japanese forces had gained the upper hand, and Kim fled from Manchuria to the far eastern part of Siberia in the Soviet Union. The Soviets gave Kim military and political training in Khabarovsk, and he served in the Soviet army during World War II (1939–45). At this time, he married a fellow revolutionary. In mid-1945, the Soviets attacked Japanese forces and captured northern Korea. The United States gained control of southern Korea. Kim was reportedly a Soviet army officer at the time. Japan surrendered to the United States and the Soviet Union in August 1945.

### **North Korean leader**

U.S. president **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry) recommended to the Soviets that Korea be temporarily divided into northern and southern regions along the thirty-eighth parallel; later, the Koreans could hold elections to determine what type of government the unified nation should have. Most Korean political leaders were in Seoul, the traditional capital of Korea, which was located in South Korea and controlled by the United States. Therefore, the Soviets turned to Kim to be the provisional North Korean leader. With Soviet assistance, he built up a large military. He also changed his name to Kim Il Sung, the name of a legendary Korean hero, a guerrilla fighter who fought the Japanese.

To stabilize the new North Korean government, the Soviets quieted Kim's potential political rivals through intimidation and other means. Only one political party was allowed, the Korean Workers' Party. By 1947, the new political structure was taking shape; operating under communist economic principles, all businesses and farms were either owned by the state or assigned to groups of workers. The legislative body was called the Supreme People's Assembly; the executive branch, which Kim headed, was known as the Central People's Committee.

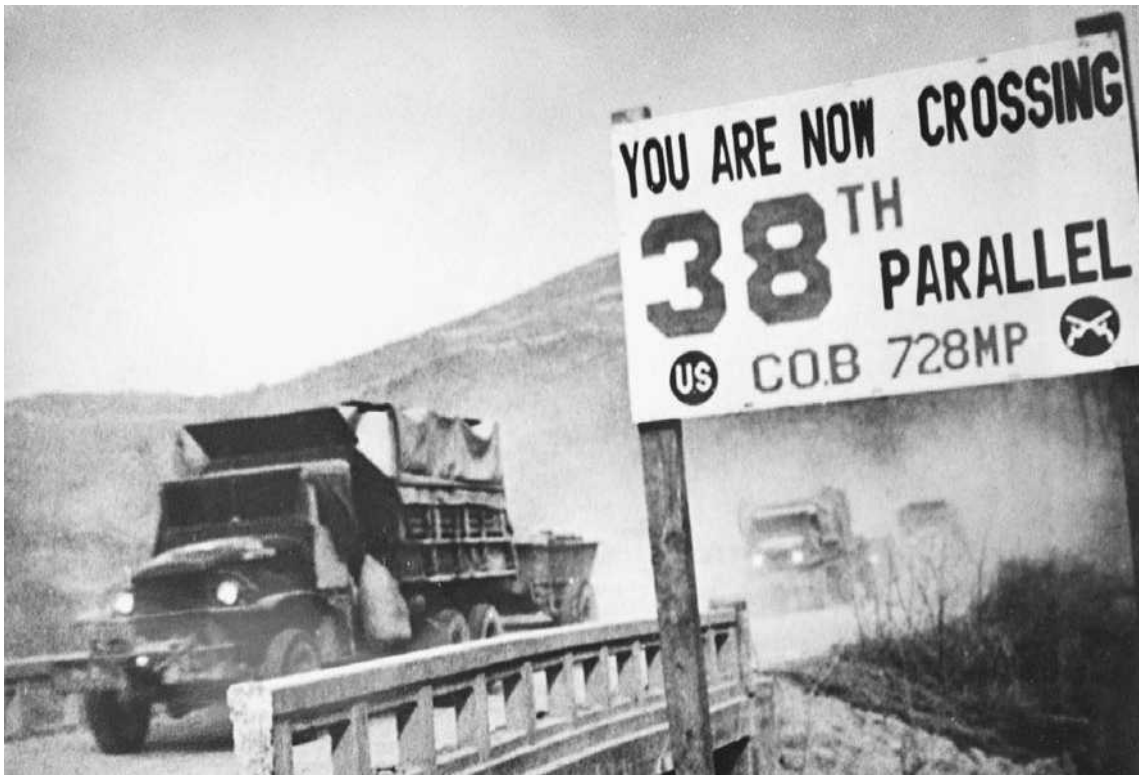
From 1945 through 1947, the United States sent various government officials to Korea, including General **George C. Marshall** (1880–1959; see entry), to negotiate for the reunification of Korea. After failure to make any diplomatic progress, the United States turned to the United Nations (UN), an international organization composed of most of the nations of the world, created to preserve world peace and security. The UN proposed national elections throughout Korea to establish a new unified government. However, Kim balked at the proposal. South Korea proceeded with elections in May 1948 and formed the Republic of Korea. In August, North Korea held elections for the Supreme People's Assembly and proclaimed the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with Kim as premier. Kim would hold that position for the next forty-six years. Kim claimed authority over all of Korea. However, in December 1948 the UN recognized the Republic of Korea as the only legitimate government of Korea.

## **Korean War**

From the beginning, Kim was committed to reunifying Korea by militarily gaining control of the southern part of the country. The Soviet Union continued to supply North Korea with weapons. In June 1950, Kim's North Korean forces swept into South Korea. Within only three days, he had captured Seoul and pushed South Korean forces southward down the peninsula. In immediate response, the UN passed a resolution condemning the attack. The UN also approved the launch of a counterattack by an international coalition force primarily made up of U.S. soldiers commanded by General **Douglas MacArthur** (1880–1964; see entry). UN forces pushed North Korean troops back northward across the thirty-eighth parallel, all the way to the Korean border with China. In response, Stalin withdrew his support of Kim, and Kim's political career appeared over.

In 1949, a year before North Korea's forced retreat, communist Chinese forces led by **Mao Zedong** (1893–1976; see entry) had captured the Chinese government and formed the People's Republic of China (PRC). Mao felt threatened by the U.S. forces on his border. Therefore, in October 1950, the PRC launched a massive attack involving three hundred thousand





**U.S. Army trucks cross the 38th Parallel, the border that separates North and South Korea.** *Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.*

troops. These troops pushed U.S. forces south, back across the thirty-eighth parallel. Continued fighting led to a stalemate.

After over two years of negotiations, a cease-fire agreement was finally reached on July 25, 1953. The agreement formalized the split between North and South Korea. The United States would continue supporting South Korea; North Korea would be backed by the Soviet Union and the PRC. No peace treaty was ever signed. The 155-mile-long (250-kilometer-long) boundary between North and South Korea became known as the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ). However, despite the name, there was an unusually high concentration of military forces stationed along the boundary on both sides.

### **Building a cult of personality**

The war left North Korea's economy in shambles. Kim focused on rebuilding the economy and firming up his con-

trol. He closed North Korea to most outside contacts and purged all his internal enemies. No foreign newspapers were allowed, and radios could only receive state-owned stations. By 1959, all private land holdings had been abolished, and all agricultural land was collectivized, or placed under control of a group of local farmers. The state owned 90 percent of industry, and cooperatives, an organization of workers who share in the ownership and operation of a factory for their own benefit, owned the remainder. Using Soviet leader Joseph Stalin's "cult of personality" as a guide, Kim began creating a mythology around himself (he sought to make himself more important than the communist movement). He used fear, ignorance, and isolation to further establish his control. He promoted a doctrine of national self-sufficiency, known as Juche, and proclaimed himself the absolute ruler and leader of the North Korean people. In reality, however, North Korea remained highly reliant on the Soviets and the PRC for support. North Korea's economic recovery proceeded well through the 1960s. Through a combination of heavy industry and collective farming, North Korea surpassed South Korea in its economic achievements. For a time, North Korea was a model of state-controlled economic development.

North Korea also became the most regimented society in the world. Kim's government classified each of North Korea's twenty-two million citizens into categories based on their allegiance to Kim. People placed in the top category received better education and better jobs. People in the lowest category were sent to hard labor camps in remote areas. By some estimates, this category included tens of thousands of citizens. Some were executed in the labor camps, but no one knows how many. Kim also personally controlled the secret police, known as the Protection and Security Bureau, which tracked the movements of all individuals, even within each village. Each person had an identification card and needed a travel permit before leaving a residential or work area.

## **A confrontational foreign policy**

Through the 1950s and 1960s, Kim had a difficult time balancing his relations with the Soviet Union and the PRC, because those two major communist nations had in-

creasingly strained relations with each other. Kim would favor one and then the other. Finally in the late 1960s, Kim was targeted in the PRC's Cultural Revolution, a campaign launched by Mao Zedong to purge thousands of communist government leaders and others. He turned to the Soviets for protection, and they would be his primary arms supplier thereafter. However, Kim became increasingly independent overall.

To build North Korea's international standing, Kim successfully established ties with Third World countries. The term *Third World* refers to poor underdeveloped or economically developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In the 1960s and 1970s, many Third World countries were seeking independence from the political control of Western European nations. In all, Kim established diplomatic relations with over 130 nations. North Korea became a major arms supplier to governments and revolutionaries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In the 1980s, Kim supplied Iran with weapons during Iran's war with Iraq. He also provided arms to Libya and Syria.

Kim's relations with the United States and other Western countries were strained. His political positions, economic policies, and overall style of government conflicted with Western political goals and ideals. To make matters worse, in 1968, North Korea captured a U.S. spy ship, the USS *Pueblo*, in international waters; North Korea claimed the U.S. ship was in North Korean waters. North Korea held the crew for eleven months before the United States finally apologized for spying. In 1976, North Korean soldiers killed two American officers, and in July 1977 North Korea shot down an unarmed U.S. Army helicopter.

Since the late 1960s, Kim had been promoting international terrorism, primarily aimed at South Korea. Kim supported spy rings and underground organizations and arranged for assassination attempts against South Korean leaders. Attacks against South Korea continued through the 1980s. In October 1983, North Korean terrorists led a bombing attack against South Korean officials. In May 1984, United Nations personnel in charge of the demilitarized zone discovered tunnels under the boundary between North and South Korea. The tunnels were designed to allow spies and assassins to infiltrate to the south. North Korea was suspected in the bombing of a South Korean airliner in November 1987 that killed 115 people.



## A Closed Communist Society

In the early twenty-first century, North Korea remained one of the world's most isolated nations in terms of international relations. The North Korean communist government exerted almost complete control over its citizens' lives, and individual liberties continued to be severely restricted.

North Korea's sole political party, called the Korean Workers' Party, runs the government. In 1996, only about 11 percent of the twenty-six million people in North Korea belonged to this party. Nonetheless, the party makes all the nation's laws and decides who the candidates for office should be. The most powerful governmental body is the Central People's Committee, headed by the president of the

nation. The committee is usually composed of forty-five members. The legislative body, the Supreme People's Assembly, has 687 members; the assembly elects people to the Central People's Committee but otherwise has little power.

North Korea is divided into nine provinces governed by local communist committees. North Korea maintains one of the largest militaries in the world, composed of seven hundred thousand in 1990. All North Korean men must serve in the military for five years, between ages twenty and twenty-five. Children are required to attend school for eleven years. The only university in North Korea is Kim Il Sung University.

## Kim's last years

By the 1970s, North Korea's military spending reached 25 percent of the national budget and was undermining the nation's economy. Much of the budget also went to constructing grand monuments to honor Kim. Statues of Kim sprang up everywhere. The focus on heavy industry and high military expenditures led to severe shortages in domestic goods. The standard of living declined rapidly as harvests and industrial productivity decreased. The North Korean population tripled between 1954 and 1994, putting a further strain on national resources.

Relations between North and South Korea began to improve by 1990. For the first time since the Korean War (1950–53), the prime ministers from North and South Korea met. In 1991, both Korean governments were recognized in the United Nations. However, in 1993, it was discovered that Kim was developing North Korean nuclear capabilities, in vi-

olation of the international Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Kim threatened to withdraw from the treaty. In August 1994, former U.S. president **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81; see entry) traveled to North Korea to strike a deal and ease tensions. The controversial agreement he reached with Kim’s representatives promised U.S. aid to North Korea.

Kim had groomed his son Kim Jong Il (1942–) to take over North Korea’s leadership. By the late 1980s, Kim Jong Il assumed control over most daily operations. Kim Il Sung died of a heart attack on July 8, 1994. Informants provided striking information on the extreme efforts used to try to sustain Kim’s life. Apparently, a clinic of two thousand specialists had been created by Kim simply for himself and his son. The clinic experimented with drugs and diets to keep the elder Kim alive through his later years. Kim Jong Il became the de facto leader upon his father’s death and officially took leadership of the country in 1997.

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# Jeane Kirkpatrick

**Born November 19, 1926  
Duncan, Oklahoma**

**U.S. diplomat**



Jeane Kirkpatrick was the first American woman to be named a permanent representative to the United Nations (UN). The UN is an international organization that was established at the conclusion of World War II (1939–45); its purpose is to peacefully resolve conflicts before they lead to war. Kirkpatrick held this post from 1981 to 1985. She exercised greater influence over the formulation of U.S. foreign policy than any other representative before her. Respected for the strength and conviction of her views, she remained active in American political life long after leaving office. In 1985, Congress awarded Kirkpatrick its highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

## Political beginnings

Born Jeane Duane Jordan on November 19, 1926, Jeane Kirkpatrick was the daughter of Leona Kile Jordan and Welcher F. Jordan, an oil-drilling contractor in the town of Duncan, Oklahoma. Both parents took politics seriously and instilled in Jeane a sense of civic duty.

“We have war when at least one of the parties to a conflict wants something more than it wants peace.”

**Jeane Kirkpatrick.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

Jeane finished her undergraduate work at Barnard College and went on to earn a master's degree in political science from Columbia University in New York in 1950. She then worked in an intelligence and research bureau at the U.S. State Department. The bureau was headed by Evron "Kirk" Kirkpatrick, a former political science professor. After a year of study at the Institute of Political Science in Paris, France, Jeane returned to the United States and married Kirkpatrick in 1955. They honeymooned at a political science conference at Northwestern University. Jeane's marriage to Evron Kirkpatrick led her from a scholarly interest in politics to active participation in the Democratic Party. The couple raised three sons while Jeane was working on her doctorate and beginning her career as a college professor. She received her Ph.D. (doctoral degree) in 1968 from Columbia University.

Jeane Kirkpatrick concentrated on furthering her career as an academic, first as an assistant professor of political science at Trinity College in Washington, D.C., and later as associate professor and then full professor at Georgetown University, also in Washington, D.C. During the 1970s, she was a political activist and held several important positions in the Democratic Party while writing political articles. In 1974, Kirkpatrick published *Political Woman*, a work dealing with women in state legislatures.

In 1979, one of Kirkpatrick's articles appeared in the November issue of *Commentary*. Kirkpatrick laid out her criticism of U.S. foreign policy in the article, titled "Dictatorships and Double Standards." The foundation of her argument was the importance of weaving a careful course between support for authoritarian political regimes and opposition to totalitarian governments. Authoritarian governments are headed by a single leader or a small group of people who are not constitutionally answerable for their actions and who demand total obedience from all citizens. Authoritarian governments are often military dictatorships. Totalitarian governments, such as communist governments, exert almost complete control over citizens' lives. A communist government controls the economy by controlling production and prices; it controls political opposition by restricting individual liberties and banning all political parties other than the Communist Party.

Early U.S. policy during the Cold War (1945–91), a prolonged conflict for world dominance between the democratic

United States and the communist Soviet Union, was to support oppressive authoritarian regimes, primarily military dictatorships in Latin America, because of their strong anticommunist positions. Totalitarian regimes, Kirkpatrick argued, could not be expected to change. In her view, authoritarian regimes held more potential for reform and thus were proper recipients of U.S. support. Despite her Democratic standing, Kirkpatrick's argument fit the views of hard-line conservatives of the time, such as Republican presidential hopeful **Ronald Reagan** (1911–; served 1981–89; see entry), the former governor of California. Reagan invited Kirkpatrick to join his group of advisors; she accepted the offer and participated in Reagan's successful 1980 campaign for the presidency.

## At the United Nations

President Reagan appointed Kirkpatrick as permanent representative to the United Nations in 1981. She was a Democrat and the top woman in his administration. Kirkpatrick was also a member of the National Security Council, the part of the executive branch of the U.S. government that advises the president on matters of foreign policy and defense. Kirkpatrick spoke fluent French and Spanish, but she had no experience in directing foreign affairs or in managing a diplomatic post. The two institutions where she was supposed to fulfill her responsibilities—the State Department in Washington, D.C., and the United Nations in New York—at first viewed her as a complete outsider.

Kirkpatrick shared President Reagan's anti-Soviet views and could be counted on to be a tough, articulate spokesperson at the United Nations. Reagan and Kirkpatrick's admiration for each other and their shared beliefs on foreign policy gave Kirkpatrick a strong position in the administration. She is considered one of the chief architects of Reagan's hard-nosed anti-communist policies. Communism is a system of government in which a single political party, the Communist Party, controls nearly all aspects of society. In a communist economy, goods produced and wealth accumulated are, in theory, shared equally by all. Communist nations such as the Soviet Union are incompatible with capitalist democracies such as the United States. A democratic system of government allows multiple political parties. Capitalism is an economic system in which





**Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, looks on as U.S. president Ronald Reagan (left) greets Soviet foreign minister Andrey Gromyko at a meeting of the UN General Assembly, September 23, 1984.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

property and businesses can be privately owned. Production, distribution, and prices of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention.

Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union had reached their lowest point in the years following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in late 1979. The United States responded by strengthening its military systems and bolstering the strength of its allies in Western Europe. Kirkpatrick's stance in the UN reflected the Reagan administration's confrontational attitude in world affairs. Although her straightforward style was often criticized, Kirkpatrick was credited with giving strong, effective responses to Soviet attacks. However, as her four years at the UN progressed, the U.S. position toward the Soviets became less confrontational and leaned more toward a posture of negotiation with the Soviets. This set the tone for future discussions on disarmament (reduction or removal of nuclear weapons) and the end of the Cold War in 1991.



## Books and Honors of Jeane Kirkpatrick

### Honors:

Jeane Kirkpatrick has been awarded medals by President Václav Havel (1936–) of the Czech Republic, for promoting democracy, human rights, and the enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a peacetime alliance of the United States and eleven other nations, and a key factor in the attempt to contain communism; and President H. E. Arpad Góncz (1922–) of Hungary, for contributions to NATO enlargement and a democratic Europe. She twice received the Fiftieth Anniversary Friend of Zion Award from the

prime minister of Israel and the Casey Medal of Honor from the Center for Security Studies. She also received America's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom (1985).

### Books:

*Leader and Vanguard in Mass Society* (1971)

*Political Woman* (1974)

*The New Presidential Elite* (1976)

*The Withering Away of the Totalitarian State* (1990)

*Good Intentions* (1996)

## Going home

In 1985, Kirkpatrick resigned from her position and officially joined the Republican Party. She returned to Georgetown University to teach, write, and speak. Kirkpatrick became a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative research group in Washington, D.C. In 1993, she cofounded Empower America, a conservative public policy organization. Heads of state and foreign ministers continued to seek her advice on world affairs. In 2003, President George W. Bush (1946–; served 2001–) appointed Kirkpatrick to the Human Rights Commission of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

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# Henry Kissinger

**Born May 27, 1923  
Fürth, Germany**

**U.S. secretary of state and  
national security advisor**



**G**erman-born Henry Kissinger was a major influence on U.S. foreign policy through most of the Cold War. He worked as an author and as a consultant to various federal agencies and later became national security advisor and secretary of state. He was the architect of détente, the policy of easing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. He led the effort to reestablish formal relations with communist China, and he was a key negotiator of the peace settlement in the Vietnam War (1954–75). He was awarded the 1973 Nobel Peace Prize for facilitating the peace agreement. Kissinger also negotiated the first strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT I) with the Soviet Union, which was signed in 1972.

## **An international beginning**

Henry Kissinger was born in Fürth, Germany, in 1923 to an Orthodox Jewish family. In 1938, the family emigrated from Germany to escape persecution of Jews by the Nazi Party (known primarily for its brutal policies of racism). The Kissingers first went to England and then to New York City.

“There cannot be a crisis next week. My schedule is already full.”

**Henry Kissinger.** *Photograph by Wally McNamee. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Kissinger attended City College in New York and worked in a shaving brush factory to support himself. In 1943, during World War II (1939–45), Kissinger became a naturalized U.S. citizen and was drafted into the U.S. Army. He was assigned to an intelligence, or information-gathering, unit. After the war, he was briefly assigned to a district administrator position in occupied Germany.

Upon returning to the United States, Kissinger entered Harvard University in 1946, where he earned an undergraduate degree with honors in 1950. He went on to earn a Ph.D. in international relations in 1954. In his dissertation, or graduate essay, he analyzed political strategies that had historically been used in Europe and began forming his own ideas on how foreign policy should be conducted. In 1954, Kissinger joined the Harvard staff as an instructor and worked with the Council on Foreign Relations. The council explored alternative foreign policy strategies—that is, strategies that would not involve the massive nuclear retaliation promoted by then–U.S. secretary of state **John Foster Dulles** (1888–1959; see entry). The council proposed a strategy that included limited use of nuclear weapons and increased spending for conventional forces; this strategy was designed to give the United States more flexibility in responding to crises. In 1957, Kissinger published a book on this subject. Titled *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*, the book established Kissinger as a leading authority on U.S. strategic foreign policy.

### Foreign affairs consultant

During the 1950s, Kissinger was a consultant on foreign issues for New York governor Nelson A. Rockefeller (1908–1979) during Rockefeller’s unsuccessful bids for the Republican presidential nomination. In 1961, Kissinger published another book, *The Necessity for Choice*. In this work, he further spelled out his concepts of a flexible response, which emphasized a more balanced development of military capabilities with sufficient conventional forces and smaller nuclear weapons in response to more limited hostilities. President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) adopted Kissinger’s ideas in forming his Cold War strategies in early 1961. Around this time, Kissinger became a full professor at Harvard.

At Harvard, Kissinger was involved in various foreign policy development groups, and he acted as a consultant for several federal agencies from 1955 to 1968. From 1959 to 1969, he directed Harvard's Defense Studies Program. From 1961 to 1967, he was a consultant for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. For the Kennedy administration, he was also advisor to the National Security Council (NSC). Under the administration of President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69; see entry), Kissinger was a consultant to the State Department. During that period, he traveled to South Vietnam to assess the war and determine whether any new strategies could be employed. He returned convinced that the war was necessary to contain communism; he believed that any hasty withdrawal of U.S. forces would lead to a loss of U.S. credibility in the world.

After Republican **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74; see entry) won the presidential race in November 1968, he recruited Kissinger to be his national security advisor. Over the next few years, Kissinger and Nixon would work very closely together and discover that they shared many of the same perspectives on foreign policy. Nixon required that all information from his secretary of defense and secretary of state come through Kissinger. As a result, Kissinger became the most powerful person in the administration other than the president himself.

## Ending the Vietnam War

A top priority for Nixon and Kissinger was to end U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Vietnam had been one of several French colonies in an Asian peninsula called Indochina, which extends from the southeastern border of China into the South China Sea. Following World War II, **Ho Chi Minh** (1890–1969; see entry) led communist rebel forces in ongoing battles to end French domination in Vietnam. By 1954, the French forces were defeated. As a result of a meeting in Geneva, which included the United States, China, and the Soviet Union, Vietnam was partitioned temporarily into North Vietnam and South Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh's forces controlled North Vietnam, with support from the Soviet Union and communist China. South Vietnam was under Western control.

The Geneva agreement called for national elections to be held in 1956 to establish a single unified government for Vietnam, as well as the other Indochina countries of Laos and Cambodia. The agreement also prohibited any of the three countries from joining military alliances or allowing foreign military bases within their borders. However, the United States objected to communist control of the north and refused to observe the ban on military assistance to South Vietnam. A separate South Vietnamese government was established in 1955, and the United States offered its support.

In response, North Vietnam, along with South Vietnamese rebel forces known as the Vietcong, conducted a civil war to try to gain control of South Vietnam; North Vietnam wanted to unify the country under communist rule. U.S. military assistance to South Vietnam escalated dramatically through the 1960s. By 1967, the United States had over five hundred thousand troops in Vietnam, and U.S. casualties averaged five hundred per week. The war had become highly unpopular among American citizens; peace protesters and staunch supporters of the war clashed in large, nationwide demonstrations. By 1968, it was obvious that the war was not winnable for the United States. Hoping to avoid a humiliation for the United States, Kissinger sought to negotiate a settlement with North Vietnam. However, the North Vietnamese would not accept Kissinger's terms, which included formal recognition of South Vietnam's government. Instead, North Vietnam chose to continue with the war, still hoping to reunify the country.

After the peace talks failed, Kissinger introduced a strategy called Vietnamization. Under this plan, the United States began withdrawing troops and turned the ground war over to the South Vietnamese army. The United States continued to provide training supplies and air power. To give the South Vietnamese forces a boost, Kissinger approved secret bombings of North Vietnamese supply camps in Cambodia. Then, U.S. and South Vietnamese troops entered Cambodia to destroy enemy sanctuaries, or safe places normally protected from attack. Almost all of Kissinger's aides resigned in protest; they were appalled by this congressionally unauthorized invasion. Kissinger's aggressive military tactics damaged his relationships with academic colleagues and members of Congress. He gained a reputation for being arrogant and became a target of antiwar protests.



By 1972, most U.S. troops had been withdrawn from Vietnam. But with the presidential election approaching in November, Nixon insisted that Kissinger achieve a settlement in the war. Nixon hoped that ending the war would increase his chances for reelection. While intense bombing continued, Kissinger reached an apparent agreement in late October. Kissinger made the surprise announcement only days before the election, and Nixon won the election handily. However, the South Vietnamese leaders rejected the agreement, and further talks with North Vietnam broke down in December. Nixon ordered renewed intensive bombing of North Vietnamese cities for eleven days through late December; these are known as the “Christmas Bombings.”

By early January, North Vietnam renewed the peace talks, and a cease-fire settlement, very similar to the earlier agreement, was reached. This time, Nixon put pressure on South Vietnam to agree as well. The last U.S. combat troops left Vietnam in late March 1973. Later that year, in October,

**U.S. national security advisor Henry Kissinger (far left) speaks with North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho; a translator is between them.** *Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.*



Kissinger and North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho (1911–1990) were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. However, Le Duc Tho refused to accept the award on principle because it was offered by a Western country. Despite the settlement, fighting soon resumed between the North Vietnam and South Vietnam forces, which led to the victory in the North in 1975 and reunification of Vietnam under communist rule.

## **Renewed relations with China**

During the first year of Nixon's presidency, the United States and the Communist People's Republic of China (PRC) agreed to pursue improved relations. In July 1971, Kissinger secretly traveled to China to arrange a visit by Nixon. Kissinger was the first U.S. official to visit the Chinese communists since the PRC government was formed in October 1949. At the time of the communist victory, the overthrown noncommunist Chinese leaders fled to the island of Taiwan and formed a new government called the Republic of China (ROC). For the next few decades, the United States recognized the noncommunist ROC, not the PRC, as the official government of China. During his visit to China, Kissinger indicated that the United States was willing to recognize the noncommunist ROC government as part of one China. The recognition meant the United States did not consider the ROC as a truly independent nation but only part of the greater China that was governed by the PRC; this was a major shift in U.S. perspective and a major victory for the PRC. President Nixon journeyed to the PRC seven months later, in February 1972, to begin the process of renewing official relations.

## **Détente with the Soviets**

Kissinger believed that the United States and the Soviet Union should begin working more closely together. After establishing better U.S. relations with the PRC in 1972, he was determined to ease tensions even further by achieving a balance of power between the two superpowers. Kissinger wanted the United States to move away from its policy of massive retaliation in case of conflict. He preferred Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD), a military strategy in which the



threat of catastrophic damages by a nuclear counterstrike would deter any launch of a first-strike attack. This strategy recognized that both superpowers had sufficient nuclear weapons to destroy each other. The effectiveness of MAD hinged on the superpowers agreeing to hold the same number of nuclear weapons. The balance would deter nuclear war, because any nuclear aggression by either side would be, in effect, assured suicide. Kissinger had begun negotiating a strategic arms limitation agreement in November 1969, hoping to maintain nuclear balance.

Kissinger secretly traveled to Moscow in 1972 with the goal of scheduling a summit meeting between President Nixon and Soviet leader **Leonid Brezhnev** (1906–1982; see entry) that May. When Nixon arrived in May, he signed several agreements with the Soviets, including SALT I, the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty that Kissinger had initiated in 1969. The other agreements involved cultural and scientific exchanges. Kissinger indicated that if the Soviets could help

**Members of the Nixon administration (left to right): CIA director Richard M. Helms, national security advisor Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State William P. Rogers, President Richard Nixon, Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, chairman of U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff Thomas H. Moorer, and Alexander M. Haig, Kissinger's chief military assistant.** *Reproduced by permission of the Richard Nixon Library.*

persuade the North Vietnamese to negotiate for peace, the United States would sign a trade agreement to provide the Soviets much-needed grain. After the Soviets traveled to North Vietnam, Kissinger negotiated a grain sale agreement in September. In October, Nixon and Brezhnev signed another arms control agreement, the ABM Treaty, which restricted defensive antiballistic missile systems. In 1973, Brezhnev journeyed to the United States to further the improved relations between the two superpowers.

While Kissinger was busy improving relations with the PRC and the Soviet Union, U.S. relations with Western European allies were deteriorating. The Western European countries felt left out of the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union and feared their security was being threatened. They were concerned that discussions would lead to reductions in U.S. forces as well as support for Western Europe, potentially leaving them vulnerable to future Soviet attack if the Soviets reneged on their deals with the United States.

## **Cold War elsewhere**

In 1973, Nixon appointed Kissinger as secretary of state. Kissinger maintained his position as national security advisor as well. Kissinger had firm control over foreign affairs while Nixon was becoming increasingly consumed with the growing domestic Watergate situation. This was a scandal that began on June 17, 1972, when five men were caught burglarizing the offices of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C. This led to a cover-up, political convictions, and, eventually, Nixon's resignation.

In October 1973, Kissinger convinced Nixon to provide support to Israel during its war with Egypt despite protests from Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger (1929–). Meanwhile, Kissinger and Brezhnev tried to negotiate a cease-fire between the two countries. The United States and the Soviet Union were involved because the United States had supported Israel since it declared formation of the Jewish state and the Soviets strongly courted Egypt's friendship. They both had desires to hold control of the Middle East and the oil-rich areas there. Despite U.S. and Soviet intervention, ne-

gotiations broke down as Israel gained the advantage on the battlefield. In reaction, Nixon threatened a nuclear attack. To ease the situation, the United Nations obtained a cease-fire resolution and placed a peacekeeping force in the region.

Kissinger soon began what was called “shuttle diplomacy,” flying back and forth between Israel and Egypt to work out a peace settlement. As a result, the United States and Egypt reestablished formal relations, which had been broken off in 1967. These events formed the foundation for a historic treaty between Israel and Egypt in 1978, while **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81; see entry) was president. However, U.S. support of Israel during the conflict led to an oil embargo, or legal restriction of trade, by other Arab nations. They refused to ship oil for several months (December 1973–March 1974), causing high oil prices, inflation, and increased trade deficits, and making Kissinger very unpopular with many on the home front.

In Latin America, Kissinger secretly supported a military coup, or government overthrow, of Chile’s elected leader, **Salvador Allende** (1908–1973; see entry). Allende embraced socialism, a system in which the government owns or controls all means of production and all citizens share in the work and products. Allende was nationalizing industries and introducing land reform to restructure the Chilean economy and ease the nation’s poverty. Nationalism refers to the strong loyalty of a person or group to its own country. Previous U.S. owners of these nationalized companies were not compensated for their losses. The United States did not want Allende to be Chile’s president because neither Nixon nor Kissinger believed that Chile should have a socialist government. They worried that Chile could be the first of many South American governments to fall to communism.

In 1973, Allende was overthrown and replaced with a military dictator named Augusto Pinochet (1915–). Pinochet would proceed to establish a brutal regime over Chile’s citizens, leading to much criticism of Kissinger’s efforts. The United States worked with harsh and dictatorial regimes such as Pinochet’s because these regimes shared the U.S. government’s anticommunist views. The United States preferred to support strong central governments, even brutal ones, rather than let communist influences take hold in struggling Latin American countries.



## Helsinki Accords

While Henry Kissinger was serving as national security advisor for President Richard Nixon, one of his main foreign policy goals was to reduce political and military tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. This goal was achieved—even exceeded—at a meeting of thirty-five nations in Helsinki, Finland, in August 1975. Kissinger was no longer serving as national security advisor at that time, but his earlier efforts—and several years of discussions between the United States and the Soviet Union—had led up to the event, which was called the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The participating countries included the Soviet Union and the rest of the Western

and Eastern European nations, the United States, and Canada. On August 1, these nations signed what became known as the Helsinki Accords. By signing the accords, each nation agreed to:

- Continue pursuing the policies of détente
- Recognize the rights of independent nations to choose their political systems
- Denounce the use of threat of force and support of terrorism
- Respect the fundamental individual freedoms of thought and religious belief
- Work toward increased international trade

Kissinger's role in the secret bombing of Cambodia and the coup of Allende raised questions about the legality of his actions and the extent of his power. Nonetheless, Kissinger persevered and was spared formal challenges by Congress. Meanwhile, as Nixon became increasingly entangled in the Watergate scandal, his future as president was in doubt. Noting these developments, the Soviets became less interested in discussions with the faltering administration, and détente suffered by late 1973. Nixon resigned as president on August 9, 1974.

### The Ford administration

New president Gerald R. Ford (1913–; served 1974–77) kept Kissinger as national security advisor and secretary of state. However, conservative critics attacked détente policies, charging that Kissinger was selling out to the Soviets. In addi-

- Encourage a freer flow of ideas

The Helsinki Accords did not have the force of law or the same obligation as a more formal treaty. Instead, the agreement represented a mutual moral commitment to seek these common goals. Most important, from the Soviet perspective, the accords provided official recognition of European postwar boundaries by allowing communist Eastern European nations to sign the treaty as well. The Soviet-controlled Eastern European nations now had a much higher level of international recognition.

In the following years, the United States, particularly under President Jimmy Carter's administration, would stress the

human rights elements of the accords. This would cause increased friction with Eastern European governments and the Soviet Union. The Soviets believed that the United States was interfering in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union and Eastern European nations. A second CSCE summit was held in Paris in November 1990 to formally mark the end of the Cold War. At that session, participating nations, which included the Soviet Union, represented by **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1931–; see entry), signed a sweeping arms reduction treaty for Europe and made a formal commitment to support democracies based on human rights and fundamental freedoms.

tion, liberals complained about Kissinger's disregard for human rights issues—certain economic and political freedoms that all people, simply by being human, deserve—which he had neglected to consider when establishing pro-U.S. military dictatorships in Latin America. President Ford removed Kissinger as national security advisor in November 1975 in an effort to satisfy the critics.

The high point of détente came in 1975 with the Helsinki Accords, an agreement signed by thirty-five nations including the United States and the Soviet Union. The historic international agreement addressed many topics, including the recognition of post-World War II national boundaries and the promotion of human rights. For thirty years, the Soviets had sought official recognition of the postwar boundaries of Eastern European countries under their influence. With the Helsinki Accords, they finally achieved that goal (see box).

But the Helsinki Accords provided another target for conservative critics of Kissinger's détente policies. During his 1976 campaign for the Republican presidential nomination, former California governor **Ronald Reagan** (1911–; see entry) charged that Kissinger and the Ford administration had caved in to Soviet demands. In addition, Reagan attacked U.S. acceptance of the PRC. During the national election that fall, Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter attacked the policies of Kissinger as well.

## Life after public office

When Carter took office as president in January 1977, Kissinger left his post as secretary of state and went back to work as a consultant; he also continued writing books and presenting lectures. His later books include several memoirs: *The White House Years* (1979), *For the Record* (1981), and *Diplomacy* (1994). Kissinger's stature as an elder statesman and an expert on U.S. foreign policy enabled him to form his own foreign policy consulting firm in Washington, D.C., called Kissinger Associates, Inc. Many of his clients were international corporations.

In 1983, President Reagan appointed Kissinger to lead the Central American Policy Committee. In 1987, Kissinger traveled to Moscow to consult with Soviet leader Gorbachev. In 1988, Kissinger advised Vice President **George Bush** (1924–; see entry) on foreign matters during Bush's successful campaign to succeed Reagan as president. During Bush's presidency, Kissinger encouraged the president to work more closely with Gorbachev and support new Soviet reforms. In later years, Kissinger remained a respected though still controversial foreign affairs expert sought at times by both public officials and the news media for his perspectives on national security issues.

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## Helmut Kohl

**Born April 3, 1930**  
**Ludwigshafen, Germany**

**German chancellor**

"I have been underestimated for decades. I have done very well that way."

**H**elmut Kohl became the chancellor of West Germany in the early 1980s. After West Germany and East Germany reunited on October 3, 1990, he became chancellor of the entire country, winning Germany's first nationwide elections since World War II (1939–45). At the end of the war, Germany had been divided along zones of Allied occupation. The Soviet zone was called East Germany; like the Soviet Union, East Germany had a communist government. The three other occupied zones, controlled jointly by the British, the French, and the Americans, were called West Germany. Like the occupying Western countries, West Germany had a democratic government and a capitalist economy.

Kohl engineered the reunification of his country and then oversaw its rise to economic dominance in Europe. He was the longest-serving German leader since 1945, acting as chancellor for a total of sixteen years. Kohl saw three U.S. presidents, five Soviet leaders, and nine Japanese prime ministers come and go during his time in office.

**Helmut Kohl.** *Photograph by Hermann J. Kippertz. Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

## Faithful beginnings

Helmut Michael Kohl was born April 3, 1930, the third child of Hans and Cacilie Kohl. The Kohls were conservative and felt great pride in their country. Both parents were Roman Catholic; they took their faith seriously, and family was very important to them. They voted, as long as it was possible to cast a free vote, for the Catholic Centre Party of Germany.

Helmut Kohl's personality was shaped by the Palatinate, the German region where he grew up. His heartfelt enjoyment of life and his admitted fondness for good food and drink reflect attitudes prevalent in the area. Surveys taken there indicate that the Palatines are convinced life is merrier in the Palatinate than in any other part of the world.

Helmut's father, Hans, had been an officer in World War I (1914–18). When Hans returned home, he began a civil service career and rose to the grade of senior secretary. He resigned from the Stahlhelm (the German federation of war veterans) to protest the seizure of power by Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and the crimes being committed by Hitler's Nazi Party, which was known primarily for its brutal policies of racism. Hans was a calm, deliberate man who made a lasting impression on his son.

Kohl spent his childhood in the Ludwigshafen district of Friesenheim. Even though 1930 was a difficult economic year for Germany, the Kohls lived modestly. Massive unemployment affected many of their neighbors, but Kohl's father's job was secure. When Kohl was nine years old, World War II broke out and everything changed. Frequent bombing raids reduced extensive sections of Ludwigshafen to ash and rubble. Eighty percent of the city was destroyed. Working as a member of the fire brigade when he was twelve years old, Helmut experienced the horror of seeing burned corpses.

At the end of 1944, Kohl was sent to a pre-military training camp, where he was trained to be an anti-aircraft gunner's helper. He also served as a messenger in Bavaria, an area in southern Germany. About this time, his brother Walter was killed in the war. When the war ended, Kohl walked home across a devastated Germany. He arrived back home in June 1945.

Growing up in the Palatinate also shaped Kohl's worldview. The region lies along the western border of Germany and had historically been subject to occupation by various ruling

powers. In 1948, at the age of eighteen, Kohl was present when young people pulled up boundary posts near an Alsatian village and demonstrated for a free, boundless Europe. (Alsace is a region in northeast France that borders southwestern Germany. Long under dispute by France and Germany, the area was taken and held by the Germans during World War II, from 1940 to 1944.) For Kohl, the quest for European integration, an economic and political alliance much like the later European Union of the twenty-first century, had a strong emotional element. Early in his life, he had been drawn to the idea of eliminating barriers to stronger alliances between nations, which seemed to him unnecessary and divisive.

### **Return to normal**

Helmut Kohl returned to school when his city returned to some normalcy in the summer of 1946. He was student body president, participated in many extracurricular activities, and became a member of a political party called the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). Graduating from high school in 1950, Kohl went on to the University of Frankfurt and then changed to the University of Heidelberg. Having started out in law, Kohl switched his major to history with an emphasis in both constitutional law and political science. He was awarded a doctorate with honors from the University of Heidelberg in 1958. Kohl's dissertation, or graduation essay, focused on the reemergence of political parties in West Germany after the fall of Nazism in 1945.

The following year, Kohl was hired as an executive assistant in an iron foundry in Ludwigshafen. Later in 1959, he was with the Rhineland-Palatinate-Saar Chemical Industry Association as head of the department responsible for economic and fiscal policy, where he stayed until 1969. This promotion provided Kohl with the financial security he needed to marry his longtime sweetheart, Hannelore Renner. They had met at a dance class ball in Friesenheim in 1948, when she was fifteen and he was eighteen. She went on to study foreign languages and worked as a foreign correspondence clerk, using her skills in English and French. The two kept in contact by writing, and she offered to type his doctoral dissertation for him. They finally married in 1960 and had two sons: Walter was born in 1963 and Peter in 1965.

## Politics

Although he was working full-time, Kohl was already very active in the CDU. After the war, the CDU was a political party with no paid positions. One could not make a living from politics, so having a professional career was important. However, political affairs fascinated Kohl, and he gave most of his energy to politics. He was elected to the state legislature in 1959. He entered national politics in 1964, when he was elected executive of the federal CDU organization. The CDU had a large Roman Catholic base of voters and included a number of Protestant leaders. Though known to be conservative, the party served to unite diverse interest groups, including women, businessmen, and farmers. The party also promoted social programs such as federal health insurance.

Kohl was minister-president of his home state of Rhineland-Palatinate from 1969 until 1976. He became a member of the lower house of Parliament and leader of the CDU in 1976. Kohl was made chancellor of West Germany in 1982, when the ruling chancellor, Helmut Schmidt (1918–), was removed from office by a no-confidence vote. Kohl was then elected as chancellor in 1983 and won every subsequent election until the reunification of Germany.

## Chancellor Kohl

In his first government address as chancellor, Kohl stressed that his foreign policy would rest on Germany's alliance with the United States and cooperation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). NATO began as a military alliance of Western European nations and the United States and Canada; the alliance was formed in 1949 to contain communist expansion. In response, the communist-led countries of Eastern Europe formed the Warsaw Pact a few years later. The Warsaw Pact was a mutual military alliance between the Soviet Union and the Eastern European nations under Soviet influence, including East Germany. Kohl chose to ally West Germany with the United States not because it was the strongest nation, but because it was a fellow democracy. (A democracy is a government that includes several political parties whose members are elected to office by vote of the people.) Kohl would maintain cordial relations with the

Soviet Union and East Germany (also known as the German Democratic Republic, or GDR), but he openly preferred closer ties with the United States and the European community.

Immediately after taking office, Kohl began the process of improving West Germany's relations with its Western allies. He met with French prime minister François Mitterrand (1916–1996) in Paris, British prime minister **Margaret Thatcher** (1925–; see entry) in London, and U.S. president **Ronald Reagan** (1911–; served 1981–89; see entry) in Washington, D.C. Kohl pushed hard for a united Europe that would bind a united Germany in an alliance with its former enemies. However, Germany continued to labor under the cloud of its recent Nazi past. Kohl campaigned tirelessly to reassure the NATO powers and the Soviet Union that a unified Germany posed no threat. Nonetheless, neighboring countries were not yet ready to trust Germany, the nation that had started World War II. Germany would therefore take a slow road to recover its economic strength and international standing. A divided Germany meant restricted economic growth.

Under Kohl's leadership, West Germany concentrated on its economic place in the world. Kohl worked to establish a good reputation for West Germany; he wanted the new nation to be seen as independent but trustworthy. In 1947, the U.S. government had offered a massive financial aid program called the Marshall Plan to help rebuild European countries that had suffered wartime damage. The Soviet Union refused to allow its Eastern European regimes, including East Germany, to participate in this aid program. The Soviets had suffered greatly at the hands of the invading Germans, so they strongly opposed rebuilding Germany's economic base. As time passed, the United States would become increasingly concerned that the Soviets were keeping East Germany economically repressed, in preparation for long-term control of the territory. Europe therefore became a divided region, with the capitalist Western countries benefiting from U.S. aid and the Eastern bloc struggling to establish communist economic principles. Thus the Cold War competition between the United States and the Soviet Union continued, and the front line of the battle shifted to the boundary between West Germany and East Germany, the line where capitalism and communism stood toe-to-toe.

Kohl was initially a strong advocate for basing intermediate-range American missiles on West German soil. He

initially argued that the threat of Soviet expansion into Western Europe could only be stopped with the American missile systems in place. However, after his first five years as chancellor, Kohl came to oppose Reagan's proposed high-tech antimissile system, known popularly as the "Star Wars" initiative. NATO's efforts to modernize its short-range nuclear weapons based in West Germany further alarmed Kohl. He believed that the presence of weapons in his country would increase the probability of a nuclear war while decreasing the likelihood that the Western allies would come to West Germany's aid. From then on, Kohl opposed NATO's plans for modernization and demanded that the West start talks with the Soviet Union on the reduction of short-range nuclear systems. He believed nuclear weapons were counterproductive to unifying Germany and Europe.

### **Moscow connection**

Helmut Kohl's hard-line views on nuclear systems and his basic anti-Soviet position, in which he endorsed a unified and integrated Europe free of communist influence, had made him an unpopular figure in Moscow. In a *Newsweek* magazine interview, Kohl actually compared the public relations efforts of new Soviet president **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1931–; see entry) to those of former Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945). Goebbels was notorious for fabricating information (propaganda) about Hitler and the Nazis as Germany steadily took over one European nation after another. He was able to gain support for Hitler within Germany during the early years. Obviously, such remarks did not improve German-Soviet relations. However, Kohl continued his efforts to normalize relations with East Germany and the Soviet Union. His country was delicately balanced between economic involvement with Eastern Europe and a military alliance with Western forces that could face down the Eastern bloc if necessary.

### **After the fall**

In 1989, rebellion against communist rule spread from one Eastern European nation to another as the popula-

tions took advantage of new reforms introduced by Gorbachev and the Soviets that allowed for greater freedoms of expression. In October 1989, public demonstrations against the East Germany communist leaders grew, which led to their resignation and the opening of the Berlin Wall on November 9. East and West Germany soon moved toward reunification. As West German chancellor, Kohl had to deal with unprecedented political and economic problems presented by this unexpected historic event.

Kohl commanded the political discussion on a new East-West relationship. He visited Moscow in January 1990 to gain Soviet consent for German unification talks. In June, he assured President **George Bush** (1924–; served 1989–93; see entry) that the reunified Germany would remain in NATO. The last external obstacle to reunification was removed in July, when Kohl received Gorbachev's agreement that a united, sovereign Germany could remain in NATO. In September, a treaty signed in Moscow made reunification official: The German Democratic Republic (GDR, or East Germany) would be formally absorbed into the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, or West Germany) on October 3, 1990. That fall, Kohl participated in the official end of World War II when Germany signed the Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany. (The emerging Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union in the late 1940s had blocked final negotiations at that time.) Then on September 12, Kohl was involved in the signing of the Conventional Forces Treaty for Europe (CFE), which effectively ended the Cold War. This treaty was a nonaggression agreement between members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The Warsaw Pact was subsequently dissolved in 1991.

Helmut Kohl soon took a step that had been unimaginable before 1990—campaigning in East Germany against communist candidates. It was the first nationwide elections since Hitler came to power in 1933. Kohl and the Christian Democrats swept state and federal elections in January 1991, and Kohl became the first chancellor of a reunited Germany. He was reelected in 1994 and remained chancellor until his electoral defeat in 1998. A campaign finances scandal in 1999 forced Kohl to resign his honorary chairman position of the CDU in 2000.

Early political advisors urged Kohl to rid his speech of its traces of dialect, or speech pattern, so he would appear



## The Berlin Wall

The world was stunned when the Berlin Wall went up on August 13, 1961. In the previous seven months, approximately two hundred thousand East Germans had abandoned most of their belongings and headed to the western sectors of Berlin. The East German economy could not afford the continued loss in population. In order to stop the flow, Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry) decided to institute a plan he had devised years earlier: constructing a wall between East and West Berlin, to seal off the western sectors of the city from the eastern sector.

An initial barrier of barbed wire was hastily put up overnight after a secret meeting of Eastern European Warsaw Pact leaders in Moscow a week earlier. The barbed wire was connected to concrete posts. The barrier ran through the heart of Berlin. Constructed street by street, it followed the boundary between the Soviet East Berlin sector and the western sectors of the city. Soviet tanks sat poised a few blocks back. Materials for the permanent construction of

the wall were then brought into Berlin and one of the ugliest symbols of the Cold War was constructed.

Construction of the wall caught the West completely off guard. East Berliners who left for their jobs in West Berlin discovered that their trains stopped at the new boundary. And families, many of whom had relatives living in all sectors of the city, suddenly found themselves split apart. U.S. president **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) chose to do nothing, fearing any interference could ultimately lead to war. Khrushchev guessed correctly that as long as West Berlin was left unharmed and its access routes were open to West Germany, the United States would not risk war.

The Wall remained intact for twenty-eight years. On November 10, 1989, East Germany dismantled the Berlin Wall and opened access to West Germany. The United States was on the verge of achieving one of its central Cold War objectives—Germany whole and free in a Europe whole and free.

more worldly. In his political life, Kohl often used the word *Heimat* to speak of home in a dual sense: where one was born and where one feels at home. Political opponents often used Kohl's lack of sophistication as a point of ridicule. They criticized him, calling him folksy and average, yet these qualities were part of what made Kohl an appealing character to regular Germans. At 6 feet 4 inches, Kohl was an imposing figure. But his easygoing manner, combined with sharp political skills, made him the people's choice for sixteen years. Voters instinctively felt that Kohl was in control, and they had



grown used to his style. Many Germans could hardly remember that there was ever a chancellor other than Kohl.

Kohl never severed his ties to his native city. The Kohl family continued to live in Oggersheim, a district of Ludwigshafen, after his retirement from public life.

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# Aleksey Kosygin

**Born February 20, 1904**

**St. Petersburg, Russia**

**Died December 18, 1980**

**Moscow, Russia, Soviet Union**

**Soviet chairman of the  
Council of Ministers**

**F**or many years, Aleksey Kosygin played an important role in government administration and economic planning for the Soviet Union. At the peak of his power, he served sixteen years as chairman of the Council of Ministers, a top leadership position in the Soviet Union. He attempted to reform the failing Soviet economic system, but because of strong resistance from other Soviet leaders, he had little success in this effort. He was also involved in several key foreign affairs issues, including the Vietnam War (1954–75) and the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962). Unlike many other Soviet leaders, Kosygin's overall philosophy regarding government policy involved using pragmatism, or common sense, rather than communist ideology as the basis for his decision making.

## Early years and education

Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin was born to a working-class family in St. Petersburg, Russia, a city later known as Leningrad. His father was a lathe operator in a local factory. Young Aleksey became caught up in the revolutionary fervor



of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, when Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924) and his communist followers took control of the Russian government. Communism is a system of government in which a single political party, the Communist Party, controls nearly all aspects of people's lives. In a communist economy, private ownership of property and businesses is prohibited so that goods produced and wealth accumulated can be shared equally by all.

In 1919, at age fifteen, Kosygin volunteered for the Red Army, which was defending the Bolsheviks' newly established communist government against forces who were trying to retake control of the government. The Red Army and the Bolsheviks prevailed, and in 1921 Kosygin joined the Komсомol, a government youth organization. Along with many other Soviet youths, he entered the recently established Communist Party technical education system in Leningrad, which taught basic education and political doctrine. At the Leningrad Cooperative Technicum trade school, Kosygin learned how to organize and manage cooperatives. Cooperatives are farmlands owned by the government but managed by farmers; the farmers share in the production and profits.

Following graduation in 1924, Kosygin moved to Siberia, in the eastern Soviet Union, to help create a cooperative work system within the state-controlled economy. Kosygin became head of the Siberian Association cooperatives, and he formally joined the Communist Party in 1927. While in Siberia, he married; he and his wife would have two children. In 1930, after six years in Siberia, Kosygin returned to Leningrad and entered the Leningrad Textile Institute. Completing his education there in 1935, he worked his way up in the Leningrad textile plants from shop foreman to factory manager.

### **Early political career and war years**

By the late 1930s, Soviet premier **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry) had completed a series of murderous purges of top Communist Party leaders. As a result, the party had many job openings for the new generation of educated young men in the Soviet Union. Promotion in the Communist Party could be very rapid for any young party member who impressed Stalin. Kosygin was fortunate enough to do just that, and by 1938, he began serving in various party positions.

He was first appointed head of Leningrad's Industrial Transport Department. He was also appointed mayor of Leningrad and elected to the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet legislative body. By January 1939, at age thirty-four, he was appointed to a top position in the textile industry of the Soviet Union and elected as a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee. (The Central Committee in the Communist Party was an important administrative body that oversaw day-to-day party activities.)

Kosygin quickly gained national prominence. In 1940, he was named deputy chairman of Sovnarkom, renamed the Council of Ministers in 1946. The council was responsible for the economic planning of Soviet industry. In this position, Kosygin became known for his sensible management style and conservative workmanlike approach. Though he was an impeccable dresser in his leadership roles, Kosygin was comfortable among factory workers. He was serious, knowledgeable, tough-minded, and skillful.

Kosygin played a critical role for the Soviets throughout World War II (1939–45). He directed the Soviet war economy and evacuated industries and workers eastward, away from the advancing German army. For example, in January 1942, he heroically helped five hundred thousand inhabitants of Leningrad elude a massive German blockade of the city by leading them across a frozen lake to safety. The city had been under siege for six months.

## **Khrushchev and Brezhnev years**

After the war, Kosygin continued to direct Soviet economic planning as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. In March 1946, he became a candidate for the Politburo, the last official step before gaining full voting membership. The Politburo was the executive body of the Central Committee; its members were responsible for making important national policy decisions. In 1948, Kosygin served as Soviet minister of finance in addition to his other roles. Kosygin worked to help the Soviet economy recover from the ravages of war; this included rebuilding the defense industry. Perhaps because he focused on administration rather than party politics and ideology, Kosygin was able to barely escape one of Stalin's Communist Party purges in 1948. Having survived the purge,

Kosygin moved up to full membership in the Politburo. In 1949, he was named minister of food and light industry.

Following the death of Stalin in March 1953, Kosygin lost his Politburo position because the group was reduced from twenty-five to ten members. Under the new Soviet leader, **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry), he continued to hold important economic positions, including his role as minister of food and light industry. In 1957, when Khrushchev strengthened his party leadership position, Kosygin regained his earlier position as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. He also rejoined the Politburo. Kosygin had hopes of moving up to chairman of the council; however, in 1958 Khrushchev took the position for himself. The relationship between the two was never particularly friendly, but Khrushchev did name Kosygin head of the Soviet economic planning commission, called Gosplan, in 1959 and 1960.

As the Soviet economy declined, Khrushchev lost political support. He was finally ousted from power in late 1964. Kosygin reportedly played a role in Khrushchev's ouster. In place of Khrushchev, **Leonid Brezhnev** (1906–1982; see entry) took over party leadership, and Kosygin finally became chairman of the Council of Ministers. They were now the top two officials in the Soviet Union. Kosygin was fully in charge of economic policies and essentially ran the nation's government while Brezhnev tended to party matters. The two worked smoothly together, even as Brezhnev steadily took over most of the decision making for the country. Kosygin became more and more involved in foreign affairs as a troubleshooter. He traveled to Beijing, China, in September 1969 to negotiate a border settlement that would ease tensions between the two communist countries.

Kosygin was very concerned about the continued decline of the Soviet economy. He believed that the Soviet central economic planning system needed basic reform, so he proposed to decentralize production, particularly in agriculture. As early as 1965, he attempted to introduce the basics of a free market economy, or economic conditions dictated by open competition, into the communist system. He favored monetary rewards for factory managers and workers, believing that higher pay would increase industrial production efficiency. He also pushed for acquisition of Western technology to modernize the Soviet economy.



## Glassboro Summit

Even though Aleksey Kosygin's primary role in the Soviet government was to head economic planning, he also tackled several key foreign issues. One was the Vietnam War (1954–75). The war involved U.S. efforts to protect noncommunist South Vietnam from takeover by communist-ruled North Vietnam. As U.S. casualties mounted in the escalating war, President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69; see entry) was increasingly anxious to negotiate for peace with North Vietnam; he hoped the Soviets would assist by bringing their fellow communist country to the negotiating table. However, while a Soviet delegation including Kosygin was visiting North Vietnam, the United States began intensive bombing of the region. Despite Johnson's urgent invitations to the Soviets, Kosygin, irate over the U.S. bombing campaign, would not speak to U.S. officials for two years. Finally, in 1967, even as the war raged on, Kosygin agreed to meet.

Kosygin traveled to the United States in June as part of the Soviet United Nations delegation, and he met with Johnson at Glassboro State College in Glassboro, New Jersey, over a weekend. Though the talks were friendly, the two leaders reached few agreements on the Vietnam War. Kosygin believed it was inappropriate for the United States to be militarily involved in the internal affairs of Vietnam.



**Aleksey Kosygin shakes hands with U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson at the Glassboro Summit in 1967.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Despite Kosygin's hard-line position against U.S. involvement in Vietnam, the Glassboro talks helped improve the relationship between the two leaders. This ultimately led to the signing of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in 1968, which prohibited the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries. Kosygin and Johnson also agreed to begin strategic arms limitation talks. However, the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, which both Kosygin and the United States strongly opposed, delayed arms control talks.

Many Soviet officials were highly uncomfortable with Kosygin's proposals for reform. In addition, both Kosygin and Khrushchev had earlier wanted to increase emphasis on the production of consumer goods and light industry. But Brezhnev, Khrushchev's successor, wanted to increase military spending and conduct a massive buildup of arms. When Czechoslovakia attempted to radically reform its communist system in 1968, Soviet communist leaders militarily crushed the Czech reform movement and tabled Kosygin's ideas. However, Kosygin would continue to warn of major problems as Soviet productivity fell and the economy in general deteriorated through the 1970s.

## End of career

After suppressing Czechoslovakia's reform movement, Brezhnev steadily gained greater control of the Soviet government and would eventually take over Kosygin's foreign affairs responsibilities. Kosygin remained chairman of the Council of Ministers until October 1980, when he resigned because of ill health. He had suffered two heart attacks in the 1970s. Despite Kosygin's many years of service to the Soviet Union, Brezhnev gave no tribute to Kosygin upon his retirement. When Kosygin died in December at age seventy-six, no official government notice was published for two days. However, his ashes were buried at the Kremlin wall, near the ashes of other deceased Soviet leaders. Just as Kosygin had warned, the Soviet economy would continue its decline, a decline that would lead to the collapse of the Soviet Union only a decade later.

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# Igor Kurchatov

**Born January 8, 1903**  
**Simskii Zavod,**  
**Southern Ural Mountains, Russia**  
**Died February 1960**  
**St. Sarov (or Arzamas-16),**  
**Russia, Soviet Union**

**Nuclear physicist and  
developer of the Soviet atomic bomb**



**A** brilliant nuclear physicist, Igor Kurchatov headed the development of the atomic bomb in the Soviet Union. Kurchatov's successful development of the bomb played an important role in Cold War politics. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that lasted from 1945 to 1991. When the United States discovered by way of spy planes that the Soviet Union had detonated its first atomic bomb, it felt compelled to accelerate its own nuclear weapons program. Like his American counterpart, **J. Robert Oppenheimer** (1904–1967; see entry), Kurchatov in his later years stressed that atomic energy should only be used for peaceful purposes.

## Early life

Igor Kurchatov was born on January 8, 1903, to Vassili and Maria Kurchatov in the southern Ural Mountains of Russia. He had an older sister, Antonina, and a younger brother, Boris. Vassili was a forester when Igor was born but soon became a highly respected land surveyor. Maria was a

"I am glad that I ... have dedicated my life to Soviet atomic science. I deeply believe, and am firmly convinced, that our people and our government will use the achievements of that science solely for the good of mankind."

**Igor Kurchatov.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*



teacher. The couple settled in the Simsky Factory Township, where Vassili received state honors for his work and was designated a noble. This status allowed his three children to attend school.

When Kurchatov was nine years old, his family moved to Simferopol in Crimea, on the Black Sea. As a youngster, Kurchatov was enthralled with the beauty of both his native Urals and the mountains and sea of Crimea. He graduated with honors from the Simferopol public schools, and only three years later, in 1923, he graduated from Tavricheski (later Crimean) University. At the university, he studied mathematics and physics. Upon graduation, Kurchatov went to Petrograd for a short time to study shipbuilding, for he had once dreamed of a naval career. There, he wrote his first scientific paper; the subject was the radioactivity found in snow. Kurchatov then took a job at Pavlovsk Observatory and published his paper.

### **Career begins in Leningrad**

In 1925, a renowned physicist, Abram Ioffe (1880–1960), invited Kurchatov to join his institute in Leningrad. The institute was the main Soviet center for nuclear physics, and Kurchatov quickly gained a reputation as a brilliant young scientist. There, he became reacquainted with Marina Sinelnikov, whom he had met before in Simferopol. They married on February 3, 1927.

By 1932, Kurchatov and several other Soviet scientists had decided to devote themselves to the study of nuclear physics. It was a new, fascinating field but not expected to yield any practical applications for decades. Kurchatov's Leningrad team built a cyclotron for studying the nucleus of an atom. (A cyclotron is a particle accelerator, or atom smasher, in which small particles are made to travel very fast and then collide with atoms, causing the atoms to break apart.) The scientists eagerly kept up with published nuclear physics research from Cavendish Laboratory in England, part of Cambridge University and long a gathering area for the world's top physicists. They also followed the work of Italian-born American physicist Enrico Fermi (1901–1954) and his team at the University of Rome in Italy. In 1938, German scientists suc-

cessfully split the nucleus of the element uranium. This reaction, called nuclear fission, released tremendous amounts of energy and was the first step in developing an atomic bomb.

World War II (1939–45) began in Europe in 1939. When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, Kurchatov and his Soviet research team halted their work. Kurchatov was assigned to Crimea to help protect the Soviet Black Sea Fleet from mines planted by the Germans. Within the next couple of years, Kurchatov and other Soviet scientists astutely noticed that the previously abundant publication of nuclear research in scientific journals had ceased. They soon presumed that this silence could mean only one thing: Other nuclear physicists must be secretly working on a bomb.

In fact, the United States had brought together a grouping of the world's best physicists, including American, English, and Canadian physicists and German physicists who had fled Nazi rule. In 1943, these scientists converged on the New Mexico desert at a newly established location known as Los Alamos. They were there to work on the top-secret Manhattan Project, the code name for America's atomic bomb development program. U.S. leaders feared that Germany would hold the world hostage if it developed the first atomic bomb. To prevent this, the U.S. government asked the scientists at Los Alamos to create an atomic bomb before the Germans could. At the time, no one realized that the world war had halted the Germans' bomb research.

All research at Los Alamos was done under a veil of secrecy. Nevertheless, Soviet leader **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry) soon had reports about the Manhattan Project from Soviet spies. In late 1943, Stalin chose Kurchatov to lead the Soviet Union's own secret atomic bomb effort. A year and a half later, on July 16, 1945, the United States successfully tested an atomic bomb. On August 6 and August 9, the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, to finally end World War II.

Stalin ordered Kurchatov to push the Soviet atomic bomb "catch-up" project into high gear. He made clear the urgency of the project and demanded that Kurchatov develop a Soviet atomic bomb by 1948. The Soviets feared that if the Americans remained the only ones with an atomic bomb, they would force U.S. interests further into other countries—



## Russian Research Centre Kurchatov Institute

The Russian Research Centre Kurchatov Institute was founded by Igor Kurchatov in December 1943 at Arzamas-16, several hundred miles east of Moscow. Originally called Laboratory No. 2 of the USSR Academy of Science, the research center underwent several name changes during the Cold War: In 1949, it was called the Laboratory of Measuring Instruments of the USSR Academy of Science; in 1956, it became the Institute of Atomic Energy; and in 1960, it was renamed the I. V. Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Energy. The center took its present name in 1991.

Originally, in the early 1940s, about one hundred scientists worked at the laboratory on the top-secret Soviet atomic bomb project. In January 2002, approximately fifty-three hundred workers were actively pursuing scientific research at the Kurchatov Institute. International scientific meetings are routinely held at the



**The Kurchatov Institute in Moscow.** *Photograph by Ivan Sekretarev. Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

institute. Igor Kurchatov's home at Arzamas-16, known as the "Forester's Cabin," is preserved as a museum in the institute's gardens.

even the Soviet Union—and eventually dominate the world. Although Kurchatov was the scientific team leader, Stalin appointed Lavrenty Beria (1899–1953), leader of the dreaded Soviet secret police, the KGB, to organize and manage the Soviet bomb project. Beria further pressured Kurchatov to quickly develop and build the atomic bomb. With the brutal Stalin as his ultimate boss, Kurchatov was already under considerable pressure; Beria would hint to him that failure on the bomb project could mean a death sentence.

Kurchatov set about his task with great enthusiasm, a bit out of fear but also out of a sense of patriotic duty to the Soviet Union, which had been devastated by German attacks

in World War II. Both Kurchatov and Beria had exceptional organizational skills. While Kurchatov planned the design and construction of the bomb, Beria mobilized thousands of workers. Most of the workers were prisoners from the vast system of Soviet labor prison camps known as the Gulag. They would mine uranium (one of the raw materials needed for atomic bomb manufacture), build a nuclear reactor, and build facilities for bomb production.

A supersecret atomic weapons laboratory, where the Soviets' first plutonium bomb would take shape, was developed in the spring of 1946 in the small town of Sarov, about 250 miles (402 kilometers) east of Moscow. Together, the laboratory and the new community it spawned were named Arzamas-16. Thanks to Kurchatov's sense of humor, Arzamas-16 soon got the nickname "Los Arzamas," a pun on Los Alamos, the U.S. atomic bomb laboratory. The original town name, Sarov, dropped off the map, and the Soviet scientists went about their work in total secrecy. They were paid well, and Stalin put no budget restraints on the project.

Kurchatov and his team benefited from information about the U.S. Manhattan Project. Spies such as Klaus Fuchs (1911–1988), David Greenglass (1922–), and Theodore Hall (1925–1999), all of whom worked at Los Alamos, funneled detailed plans to Beria's KGB between 1943 and 1945. Fuchs, a physicist, was a refugee from Germany who also happened to be a communist. He first worked on the bomb in England, then ended up on the Los Alamos team. The United States tested its plutonium-type atomic bomb in July 1945; only weeks before that, Fuchs had sent detailed descriptions of the bomb to the Soviets. Beria turned the U.S. secrets over to Kurchatov. Historians agree that this information helped speed up the successful development of the Soviet atomic bomb by one to two years. Nevertheless, Kurchatov still had to recheck all the information and re-create the bomb with Soviet minds and hands.

By November 1946, Kurchatov was building a full-scale plutonium reactor, and on December 25 he and his fellow scientists produced a nuclear chain reaction, the first step to building an atomic bomb. It was also the first nuclear chain reaction produced in Europe or Asia. Two and a half years later, after more intensive work and a series of technical delays, Kurchatov and his team were ready to test a plutoni-

um atomic bomb. They gathered in the early-morning light on August 29, 1949, at the Semipalatinsk Test Site by the Irtysh River in northeastern Kazakhstan. The trial test was dubbed “First Lightning.” Beria was present for the test; he was highly skeptical that it would be a success. Kurchatov and his team knew that failure might mean they would be shot. But the team delivered. At precisely 7 A.M., the 100-foot (30.5-meter) tower holding the bomb exploded in an awesome fireball. Those watching erupted in relief and celebration.

A few days later, a U.S. Air Force B-29 on a weather mission over the North Pacific detected a very high radioactivity count in the atmosphere. From this information, U.S. scientists realized that the Soviets had detonated a plutonium atomic bomb. U.S. president **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry) delivered the news to a shocked America on September 23, 1949. The United States had thought it was ahead in the Cold War weapons race; now it was clear that the Soviets had caught up.

## **Kurchatov, the man**

Kurchatov was an individual who had a broad range of interests and an enthusiasm that was contagious. From the early 1940s on, he sported a long shaggy beard. He and his wife, Marina, were a devoted couple who lived together happily for thirty-three years. For the last fourteen years of Kurchatov’s life, they lived in a two-story house built for them in a piney woods area close to the main laboratory at Arzamas-16. To reach the lab from his house, Kurchatov followed a zigzag path through the woods. His home was called the “Forester’s Cabin.” It had eight spacious rooms, including a large library with over thirty-five hundred books, a second library-billiards room, Kurchatov’s personal study, and a hot-house where Marina grew exotic plants of many types.

Many paintings, showing a fine appreciation of art, adorned the walls of the Forester’s Cabin. Some favorites were watercolors of Crimea in different seasons. (The Kurchatovs had both grown up in Crimea, and they vacationed there as often as they could. There, Igor loved to climb to the top of Mount Ai-Nikola to watch the sunrise and hear the birds sing.) The Kurchatovs loved to entertain in their home, invit-

ing Igor's scientific team, as well as other friends and guests, to visit them. Among their many friends were scientists from around the world. In 1947, on New Year's Eve, the Kurchatovs opened their home to Igor's entire laboratory staff for a night of laughing and dancing. Even on ordinary days, music was often heard coming from the Kurchatov home. Marina played the piano, and Igor played the balalaika (a triangular Eastern European stringed instrument) and mandolin. The Kurchatovs had a large collection of recordings by many artists, including Rachmaninoff, Tchaikovsky, Beethoven, Brahms, and Mozart.

Kurchatov enjoyed the gardens around his home. He often met with his team of scientists at an outdoor table surrounded by jasmine and lilac bushes. There, they worked over problems, and Kurchatov would give them their work instructions for the next month. Only a few hours after they had returned to work, he would walk through the woods to the laboratory to see how much they had accomplished.

Kurchatov had great energy, and his thought processes were exceptionally clear, organized, and focused on the task at hand. He taught students and colleagues to ignore clutter and irrelevant details and go straight to the main point. As noted on the Russian Research Centre Kurchatov Institute's Web site, a former colleague recalls him saying: "Always do the main thing both in your life and in your work. Otherwise the irrelevant, no matter how important it might be, will easily fill up your entire life, consume all your energy and prevent you from getting to the roots." Always kind and helpful, Kurchatov enjoyed developing strong bonds with students and fellow scientists. They in turn displayed a great deal of loyalty toward him. Kurchatov remained humane and natural and had a great sense of humor. He was also highly patriotic and devoted to his Soviet homeland.

## Post-1949

After his success in developing the Soviet atomic bomb, Kurchatov gained great status and respect within the Soviet Union. But realizing the bomb's enormous destructive power, Kurchatov constantly stressed that atomic energy should be used for peaceful purposes, to benefit humans.



Nuclear physicist Igor Kurchatov (with hat raised) waves to crowds aboard a Russian cruiser in April 1956, as he travels with (left to right) Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, Soviet premier Nikolai Bulganin, and Soviet airplane designer A. N. Tupolev. *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

However, the nuclear arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States only accelerated. Scientists in both countries began work on a thermonuclear bomb, also known as the hydrogen bomb or H-bomb, which was far more powerful than the atomic bomb (A-bomb). The United States tested its first H-bomb on November 1, 1952; the Soviets tested their H-bomb on August 12, 1953. The Soviets had again evened the race with the United States, and Kurchatov acknowledged that **Andrey Sakhharov** (1921–1989; see entry), the chief Soviet H-bomb designer, had enormously helped Russia. Nevertheless, the overwhelming power of the nuclear bombs caused Kurchatov to question the ongoing expansion of nuclear weapons. He withdrew from supervising nuclear testing in 1956.

Meanwhile, Stalin had died in March 1953, and **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry) had risen to the top leadership position in the Soviet Union. In February 1956, Khrushchev invited Kurchatov to speak before the Twentieth

Party Congress, otherwise noted for when Khrushchev gave his famous “Crimes of Stalin” speech, in which he denounced the behavior of his predecessor. At the meeting, Kurchatov strongly urged scientists worldwide to work together for civilian uses of nuclear energy. He specifically included American scientists but said that the United States must accept an offer that the Soviets made to ban all nuclear weapons.

In April 1956, Kurchatov traveled with Khrushchev to Great Britain. Khrushchev had so much confidence that Kurchatov would not divulge secrets or attempt to defect that he allowed Kurchatov to go by himself to Britain’s laboratories and visit with British physicists. As noted on *The American Experience: Race for the Superbomb* Web site, Khrushchev commented, “It should go without saying that so remarkable a man, so great a scientist, and so devoted a patriot would deserve our complete trust and respect.”

In Britain, Kurchatov spoke before an audience of international scientists at the Harwell nuclear center. For the first time in history, the world heard a description of Soviet nuclear research. Kurchatov called for international cooperation, asking all nations to declassify their nuclear projects, build confidence and understanding of each other, and use nuclear energy in the service of peace. For his dedication to the peace effort, the World Peace Council awarded him the Joliot-Curie Medal in 1959, an award that made Kurchatov extremely proud.

Health problems would soon end Kurchatov’s life. In 1958, Kurchatov had a growth removed near his collarbone. He died in February 1960.

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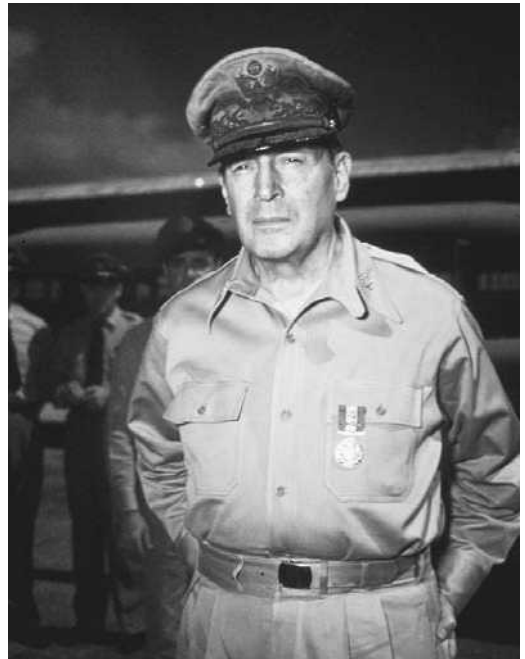
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# Douglas MacArthur

**Born January 26, 1880**  
**Little Rock, Arkansas**  
**Died April 5, 1964**  
**Washington, D.C.**

**U.S. general**



Considered a war hero in World War II (1939–45) as commander of the U.S. Army and Air Forces in the Pacific campaign against Japan, Douglas MacArthur played a crucial role in rebuilding Japan during the early years of the Cold War. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry from 1945 to 1991 between the United States, the Soviet Union, and China with limited military conflict. MacArthur later led U.S. forces during the first year of the Korean War (1950–53). Holding very strong anticommunist views, he became the most controversial U.S. military figure of the Cold War. Promoting a military conquest of communist China and reunification of Korea, he was a major critic of U.S. foreign policy toward the Far East.

## A military family

MacArthur was born in Little Rock, Arkansas, on January 26, 1880, to Arthur MacArthur, a soldier and decorated Civil War veteran, and Mary Hardy, daughter of a wealthy family in Norfolk, Virginia. He was raised on various army posts in Texas and the American Southwest, as his father became one of

“Old soldiers never die,  
they just fade away.”

**Douglas MacArthur.**

*Reproduced by permission of  
Getty Images.*

the highest-ranking officers in the army. MacArthur's mother was an ambitious woman and strongly influenced his drive for high achievement. His brother would become a naval captain.

MacArthur received his secondary education at the West Texas Military Academy in San Antonio from 1883 to 1897. He then attended the military academy at West Point and graduated first in his class in 1903. He then served as a junior engineering officer for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers at several army posts in the United States, the Philippines, and Panama. In 1913, MacArthur joined the general staff of the War Department and was often sent on field assignments. In World War I (1914–18), MacArthur switched to combat infantry units from the engineers and fought in France. Promoted to colonel, he held several field commands and showed unusual bravery and flair. He received a number of decorations and rose to the rank of brigadier general by 1918. He served as part of the occupation forces in Germany before returning to the United States in April 1919.

Following the war, MacArthur was appointed superintendent of West Point. He introduced major new reforms during his three years there from 1919 to 1922, including raising the school's academic standards. In 1922, he married a wealthy socialite widow, Louise Brooks. They would have no children and divorce after seven years of marriage. From 1922 to 1930, MacArthur held several positions that included two tours in the Philippines, and he eventually rose to a major general. During this period, he became very interested in Far Eastern international issues.

MacArthur was recognized for his high intelligence and extraordinary command abilities. However, he would be also considered egotistical and aloof except by his closest friends and associates. He worked hard to cultivate a strong public image of his military accomplishments. During his career, he would repeatedly question the civilian authority over the military as established in the U.S. Constitution. This trait would bring him into great controversy.

### **Leader of the army**

In 1930, President Herbert Hoover (1874–1964; served 1929–33) appointed MacArthur U.S. Army chief of staff, the youngest to hold that position in U.S. history. MacArthur would

serve in that position for five years, primarily attempting to maintain an effective military force during the economic hard times of the Great Depression (1929–41), the worst financial crisis in American history. In the summer of 1932, however, his image was strongly tarnished when he led a charge of army troops to remove several thousand World War I veterans from Washington, D.C. The veterans had been peacefully protesting to Congress for advanced pay of their promised benefits, owing to the high unemployment brought by the Depression. They had refused to leave when Congress turned them down. MacArthur was also unpopular for his fight against the prevailing pacifist mood of the nation. His stance was that the country needed to maintain a high level of military preparedness.

On a more constructive note, MacArthur played a key role in establishing the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) for President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45). The CCC was a federal program for providing work for more than 250,000 unemployed young men. It proved to be one of the most successful economic relief programs during the Depression of the 1930s.

In 1935, MacArthur resigned the chief of staff position to become a military advisor to the newly established Philippine government. During his six years there, he strove to build a Filipino force capable of combating Japanese military expansion in the region. This experience would prepare him for the upcoming World War II campaign against Japan, as well as carrying out U.S. Cold War policies aimed at containing the spread of communism in the Far East. Communism is a system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls almost all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all.

In April 1937, MacArthur married Jean Faircloth. They would have one son. In December 1937, MacArthur retired from the U.S. Army and assumed the role of private military advisor to the Filipino leadership.

## **World War II in the Pacific**

With the decline in relations between Japan and the United States in early 1941, MacArthur was reinstated in the



**General Douglas MacArthur wades ashore during the United States' landing in the Philippines in October 1944.**

*Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.*

U.S. military as a lieutenant general with command of U.S. Army forces in the Far East. For the first several months, optimism ran high that the Japanese advances in the region could be turned back before long. However, the surprise Japanese attack on the U.S. military fleet at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941, quickly dashed optimistic hopes. Only hours after the Pearl Harbor attack, Japanese forces landed in the Philippines. The Japanese forces continually advanced, as MacArthur's troops used a series of delaying actions while in steady retreat. By March 1942, the U.S. troops were under siege, and Roosevelt ordered MacArthur to Australia to rebuild a larger force of American and Australian forces. MacArthur became commander of the Southwest Pacific Area Theater.

Shortly after MacArthur left for Australia, the U.S. forces on the Philippines surrendered to Japanese troops. Nonetheless, under public pressure, Roosevelt awarded MacArthur the Congressional Medal of Honor for his delaying tactics and promoted him to full general. The U.S. media

reported MacArthur's techniques as a courageous defense against superior forces that bought time for the United States to begin regrouping for war. Roosevelt, though, privately believed MacArthur mishandled the logistical support badly, but gave in to the continuing public and congressional adoration of MacArthur.

For the next thirty months, MacArthur mounted a counteroffensive against the Japanese with the goal of eventually recapturing the Philippines. He began with an attack on New Guinea and then hopped from island to island. In the fall of 1944, MacArthur led a major invasion of the Philippines. However, progress proved much slower than expected, dragging into 1945 with high casualties. During this period in April 1945, MacArthur became commander of all U.S. forces in the Pacific. The battle for the Philippines became largely irrelevant in August 1945, when the United States dropped atomic bombs on two Japanese cities. The Japanese soon surrendered. As supreme commander of Allied forces in the Pacific, MacArthur formally accepted the surrender onboard the battleship USS *Missouri* on September 2.

## Rebuilding Japan

Following the surrender, President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry) appointed MacArthur the occupation commander of Japan. MacArthur would prove a very positive influence on the successful rebuilding of Japan's economy and society, and in containing the expansion of communism in the region. MacArthur brought major change in dismantling the Japanese military and war industry, and introducing democratic reforms. A new constitution was written under MacArthur's direct leadership, which guaranteed certain human rights, such as freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and greater rights for women. MacArthur also introduced a new educational system and sweeping economic reforms.

MacArthur was responsible as well for establishing a prowestern government in South Korea. Korea had been divided into Soviet and U.S. occupation zones at the conclusion of World War II, much like the division of Germany in Europe. MacArthur selected Syngman Rhee (1875–1965) as the



## Japan and the Cold War

Though Japan was stripped of all its military capability following its defeat in World War II, it still played a vital role in Cold War developments in the Far East. Following Japan's surrender in September 1945, the United States appointed General Douglas MacArthur as the supreme commander of Allied occupation forces.

Though appointed to simply carry out policies made by the Allies, MacArthur, through his strong-willed manner, operated relatively independently in setting the course of change in Japan. MacArthur was so dominant a figure that he became the sole symbol of postwar reconstruction to the Japanese public. His dignified manner, dramatic flair,

dedication, firmness, and clear sympathy for the war-torn country won great esteem from the population and brought Japan under U.S. influence during the Cold War. MacArthur introduced democratic concepts, education reforms, and economic change. He broke up the major landholdings held by a few landlords and distributed the land into numerous peasant farms. He also broke up industries owned by a few wealthy families. In addition, MacArthur was responsible for attracting over two billion dollars' worth of relief goods for the Japanese people between 1945 and 1951. Through his efforts, Japan became a West-aligned nation, representing a first line of defense in containing communist expansion in the Far East.

new South Korean leader. However, Rhee imposed a harsh rule that quickly grew unpopular with U.S. political leaders in Washington. MacArthur's role ended in 1948, when the new South Korean government, known as the Republic of Korea, was formed.

By 1948, as communist victory in the civil war in China was growing more obvious, MacArthur switched his emphasis to the rebuilding of industry rather than social reform. He also became a leading critic of President Truman's decision to reduce foreign aid to the Chinese Nationalist government. Nationalism refers to the strong loyalty of a person or group to its own country. The Chinese Nationalists wanted to once again raise the world prominence of China. Truman believed there was little chance for the government to survive much longer against the communist revolutionary forces of **Mao Zedong** (1893–1976; see entry). In October 1949, Mao's forces finally gained control of the Chinese government, and **Chiang Kai-shek** (1887–1975; see entry) fled to the island of Taiwan,

where he established a new government. MacArthur immediately proposed to use Taiwan as a military base to retake Mainland China. He also strove to restrict the growth of any communist political activities in Japan, even creating a special police force of seventy-five thousand men to guard against any efforts to sabotage the newly forming Japanese economy.

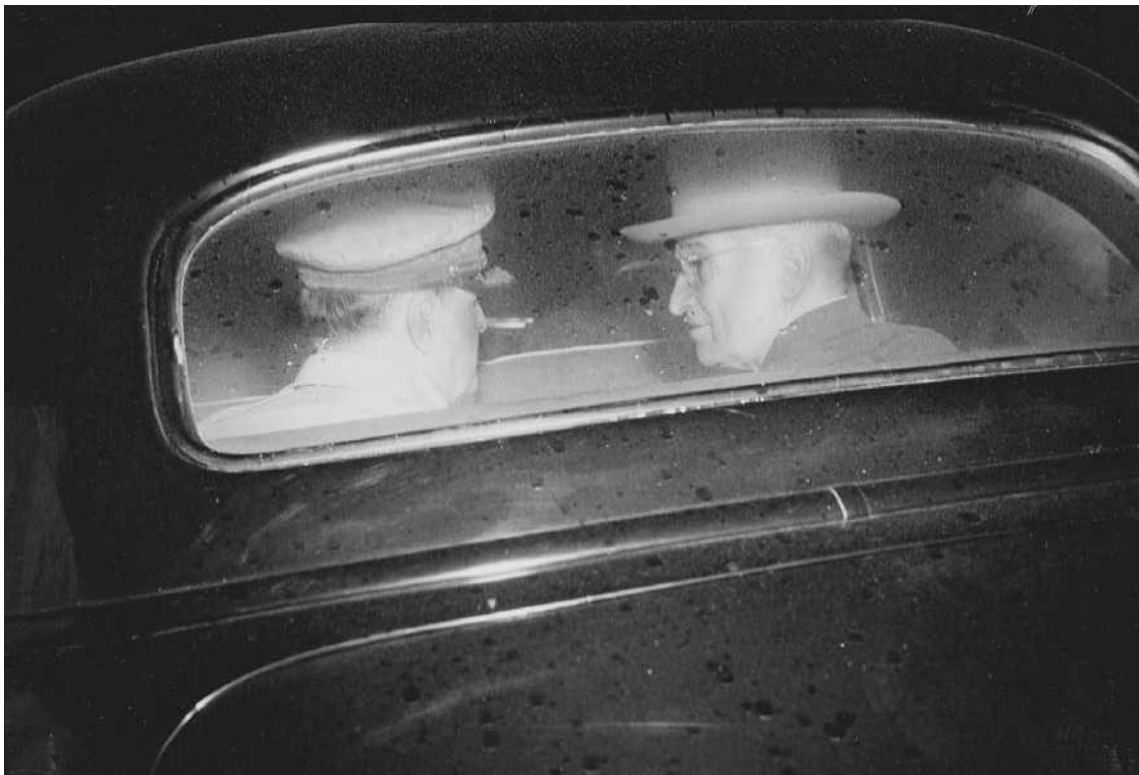
## **Korean War**

Focus shifted quickly to Korea in June 1950, however, when the communist-controlled North Korea invaded U.S.-supported South Korea. The United States responded within hours, gaining a United Nations (UN) resolution to condemn and repel the invasion. The UN is an international organization, composed of most of the nations of the world, created to preserve world peace and security. MacArthur was named commander of the UN forces dominated by U.S. forces. In 1951, the United States would sign a peace treaty with Japan, ending U.S. military occupation.

On September 15, 1950, MacArthur led a daring invasion on the coast of Korea behind enemy lines, splitting overextended North Korean forces. With the North Koreans in full retreat, MacArthur and Truman decided to pursue them through North Korea with thoughts of reunifying Korea. The UN forces met little resistance, eventually reaching the border of Chinese-controlled Manchuria. MacArthur basically ignored threats from communist China that they would commit troops to the war if U.S. forces approached the border. MacArthur even called for attacks on China itself that included an invasion from Taiwan. However, Truman wanted no part in expanding the war.

Nevertheless, Chinese communist leader Mao was becoming very nervous about U.S. intentions, given MacArthur's call for attack. Finally in late November 1950, communist China launched a massive offensive involving almost three hundred thousand Chinese troops. The UN forces hastily retreated back into South Korea. MacArthur blamed Truman for not attacking China first. By March 1951, the battlefield stabilized back to the original prewar boundary between North and South Korea at the thirty-eighth parallel. MacArthur persisted in his attacks on Truman, giving life to charges made by





**General Douglas MacArthur (left) listens to U.S. president Harry S. Truman as they are driven away in Wake Island in October 1950, months before Truman relieved MacArthur of his military commands.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

U.S. senator **Joseph R. McCarthy** (1909–1957; see entry) of Wisconsin of communist subversion in the U.S. government. His aggressive position also undermined the president's efforts at seeking a cease-fire. Finally on April 11, 1951, Truman angrily relieved MacArthur of all his military commands.

### **A return to the United States**

MacArthur returned to the United States and was welcomed by the public as a war hero, perhaps owing more to his World War II exploits than his Korean controversies. It was his first return to the United States since before World War II. MacArthur made a dramatic speech to a joint session of Congress on April 19, 1951, again harshly criticizing Truman's foreign policies. It was this speech in which MacArthur uttered the famous line, "Old soldiers never die, they just fade away." Though he was warmly received during his speech, congressional hearings that followed countered many



of MacArthur's charges. The public quickly began to lose interest in the general's perspectives. Other senior military leaders did not share his opinions, and his later speeches gained less public attention.

MacArthur also held political interests in running for president as the Republican candidate and began to focus on the 1952 presidential elections. He and his supporters had

**Douglas MacArthur**  
addresses a joint session of  
the U.S. Congress on April  
19, 1951. *Courtesy of the  
National Archives and Records  
Administration.*

previously shown some interest in 1944 and 1948 as well, but little came from it. Although he delivered the keynote speech at the Republican National Convention in 1952, another popular military commander won the nomination instead, World War II general **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61; see entry). MacArthur was simply too controversial. Greatly disappointed, MacArthur left public life.

In 1952, MacArthur took the largely honorary position of board chairman of the Remington Rand Corporation, a computer company. He lived in New York City, making only occasional public speeches. He made one last farewell trip to the Philippines in 1961. During his later years, he wrote his autobiography, titled *Reminiscences*, which was published in 1964. He also advised President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69; see entry) to avoid a war in Vietnam, predicting it would be costly and highly unpopular with the American public. His prediction would come true. MacArthur died in Washington, D.C., in April 1964, and was buried in Norfolk, Virginia. His military career was one of the longest in U.S. history, as well as the most controversial.

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# Harold Macmillan

**Born February 10, 1894**  
**London, England**  
**Died December 29, 1986**  
**Birch Grove, Sussex, England**

**British prime minister**



**H**arold Macmillan served in the British government from 1924 to 1963. During that period, he was one of the first in British government to oppose German aggression in Europe, established later useful relations with other Allied leaders during World War II (1939–45), and then guided Britain through some difficult years of the Cold War (1945–91). The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry from 1945 to 1991 between the United States and the Soviet Union falling just short of military conflict. During his period of leadership, it became clear that Britain had lost much world influence that it had wielded for centuries before. The two new superpowers of the United States and the Soviet Union clearly held domination in world events.

## Born into British privilege

Harold Macmillan was born to an upper-middle-class family in London, England. His grandfather had founded Macmillan Publishing Company, and his father assumed head of the company. His American-born mother dominated

“A man who trusts nobody is apt to be the kind of man nobody trusts.”

**Harold Macmillan.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

his early life in driving him to succeed. Macmillan was educated at Eton, a noted public school in England, and then Oxford University. At Oxford, he became active in student politics, showing off his already exceptional speaking style.

Macmillan's education was disrupted by World War I (1914–18). Joining the British army, he saw considerable combat action. Macmillan was wounded on several occasions, finally sustaining a shattered pelvis in 1916. He returned to Britain for extended recovery lasting until 1920. It left him with a permanent limp. Upon recovery, Macmillan married Lady Dorothy Evelyn Cavendish, the daughter of an English duke. Through her family, he became exposed to the upper class. The couple would have a son and three daughters.

### **Beginning a political career**

With the British Liberal Party in decline, Macmillan joined the Conservative Party, though having liberal attitudes toward economic policy. He and a few others in the party formed a very small liberal wing. Macmillan entered politics in 1923 but lost in his election bid to gain a seat in the House of Commons. He did win the following year and would hold the seat until 1929 and then regain it later, from 1931 to 1964. Macmillan promoted his liberal economic policies, calling for some government control.

By the late 1930s, Macmillan was becoming concerned about the expansion of Germany's Nazi Party, known primarily for its brutal policies of racism. He provided fierce opposition to the tolerance of Nazi Germany by British leaders, including Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940). Macmillan's position on Germany was at first unpopular in Parliament. However, with Germany overrunning first Poland and then France by the spring of 1940, Chamberlain resigned under pressure of those opposing his weak policies toward Germany.

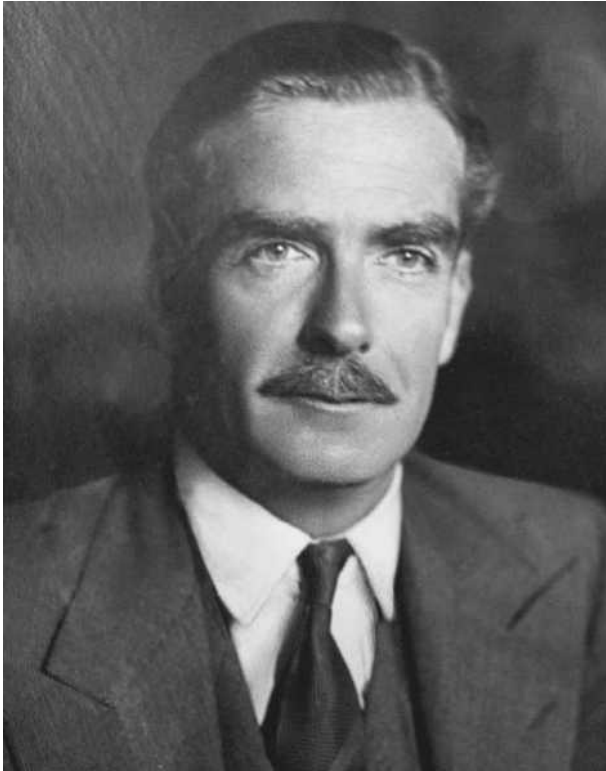
Taking Chamberlain's place was **Winston Churchill** (1874–1965; see entry), also of the Conservative Party. Churchill, seeking political unity in the war effort, created a coalition government of members from different parties. He appointed Macmillan as parliamentary secretary to the minister of supply. By June 1942, Macmillan rose to undersecretary

of state and, in November, Churchill assigned him to the British minister post in Algiers, North Africa. His role was to coordinate with American, British, and French forces who were conducting a military offensive against German forces across North Africa. They followed their success in North Africa with invasions of Sicily and Italy, where Macmillan remained involved. During this time, he developed close relations with U.S. general **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; see entry) and testy relations with France's General Charles de Gaulle (1890–1970).

## **Post–World War II**

Following the surrender of Germany in May 1945, new general elections were held in Britain in July to select a government to replace the special wartime coalition government. Macmillan's Conservative Party lost, and he would temporarily lose his seat in the House of Commons. A special election in November, however, brought him back. He was assigned to a committee as an expert on industrial policy. With the return of the Conservative Party in the 1951 general election, Churchill resumed his role as prime minister. In October 1951, Macmillan was appointed minister of housing and local government; he was in charge of replacing bombed-out homes, a continuing massive rebuilding program resulting from damage inflicted by German bombing in World War II. Achieving great success in a difficult post over a three-year period, Macmillan moved up to minister of defense in October 1954. However, with Churchill's heavy direct involvement in military matters, he found his role fairly limited. In addition, Britain's poor economy called for reductions in the armed forces at the time.

Churchill retired in April 1955 and was replaced by his foreign secretary, Anthony Eden (1897–1977). Macmillan replaced Eden in his former position. Once again, however, Eden, who had been a highly successful foreign secretary, continued to run foreign affairs as Churchill had done earlier. Macmillan was left with little involvement. Later in 1955, Macmillan moved to the treasury department and remained there until 1957. At the time, Britain was suffering through an economic crisis. Macmillan increased taxes and reduced



**Anthony Eden, British prime minister from 1955 to 1957.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

government spending, which successfully corrected the economic picture of the nation. Macmillan received much praise for his monetary actions.

## **Prime minister**

An international crisis arrived in 1956 that would end up placing Macmillan in the prime minister position. After a period of deteriorating relations with the United States and other Western nations, on July 26, 1956, Egypt and its leader Gamal Abdul Nasser (1918–1970) nationalized, or took control of, the Suez Canal. The canal had been under the control of Britain and France and served as a vital waterway for oil shipments from the Middle East to Western Europe. In November, Britain, France, and Israel launched a surprise military invasion of Egypt to regain control of the canal without first ad-

vising U.S. president Eisenhower. Eden and Macmillan expected Eisenhower to support the action. Eisenhower, however, was greatly concerned that their military response might result in pushing Egypt more toward a Soviet Union alliance. Eisenhower demanded an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of British and French forces. With Britain suffering economic problems, they could not afford to jeopardize future U.S. aid and could definitely not afford a war with Egypt. As a result, Macmillan, who in his treasury position fully understood Britain's economic situation, advised Eden to accept the cease-fire. It was a humiliating experience for both Britain and France. It also underscored that British foreign policy was subject to U.S. control. Eden resigned as prime minister shortly afterwards, claiming health problems.

Macmillan was selected the new British prime minister in Eden's place on January 10, 1957. He was selected leader of the Conservative Party twelve days later. An obvious high priority at first was to repair relations with the United

States after the Suez crisis. Fortunately, Macmillan was able to build on the friendship he had already established with Eisenhower in North Africa during World War II. The two leaders would meet on several occasions beginning in March 1957, when Eisenhower agreed to sell American missiles to Great Britain for the first time. Macmillan made sure Britain was consistently a strong supporter of U.S. actions in the Cold War. This included sending troops along with U.S. forces to Jordan and Lebanon in July 1958 to protect the Lebanese government from rebels. The British also supported the U.S. defense of the noncommunist government of the Republic of China on the island of Taiwan from possible invasion of the mainland communist government, the People's Republic of China (PRC) through the late 1950s.

At home, Macmillan sought to increase Britain's standing as a world nuclear power by pressing onward with the testing of a newly developed hydrogen bomb. However, the surprise launching of the first man-made satellite, *Sputnik*, by the Soviet Union in October 1957 showed that Britain was well behind the Soviets in missile development. Macmillan met with Eisenhower in Washington, D.C., immediately afterwards to discuss pooling their scientific resources. As a result, Macmillan turned to a stronger alliance with the United States. In addition, efforts to build its own nuclear missiles failed, so Britain became increasingly dependent on U.S. missile development. In another agreement between Macmillan and Eisenhower, Britain would assist in U.S. missile development in exchange for the United States basing its *Polaris* submarines in Britain. The meetings between Macmillan and Eisenhower would continue, including sessions in Washington in June 1958, Paris in December 1959, and Camp David, Maryland, in March 1960. Macmillan also visited Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry) in Moscow in February 1959. He was the first British prime minister to visit the Soviet Union since World War II.

## Britain as Cold War intermediary

Though a strong anticommunist himself, Macmillan disagreed with the hard-line policies of Eisenhower and his secretary of state, **John Foster Dulles** (1888–1959; see entry), toward the Soviet Union. As a result, Macmillan wanted Britain to play the role of intermediary in trying to bring the



two superpowers together. He believed Britain could play the crucial role in resolving various issues, including nuclear arms control and the long-term postwar status of Germany.

Macmillan particularly looked forward to a summit meeting in Paris he had arranged between Eisenhower and Khrushchev for May 1960. However, only ten days before the summit was to begin, the Soviets shot down a U.S. spy plane over Soviet territory. When Eisenhower refused to apologize for the flight, Khrushchev angrily refused to participate in the summit. It was a major blow to Macmillan's foreign strategy for Britain.

During his first years as prime minister, Macmillan strongly supported the social programs the Liberal Party had established in Britain after the world war. With the British economy in good shape, Macmillan easily won reelection in October 1959. Macmillan proceeded to establish a very close relationship with new U.S. president **John F. Kennedy** (1919–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) after Kennedy's election in November 1960. Despite their personal closeness, Kennedy preferred not using Macmillan as an intermediary when dealing with Khrushchev. Kennedy wanted to be more personally active in U.S. foreign affairs. Macmillan felt particularly left out during the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962. For security reasons, Kennedy failed to inform Macmillan of the discovery of Soviet nuclear missiles secretly placed in Cuba until just before the rapidly growing crisis became public.

As a result, Macmillan turned more toward developing relations with Western Europe. However, West German chancellor **Konrad Adenauer** (1876–1967; see entry) distrusted Macmillan's efforts to work with the Soviets, and French president Charles de Gaulle thought Macmillan was too close to the United States. De Gaulle believed Macmillan had abandoned France in the 1956 Suez crisis, when he and Prime Minister Eden had so readily accepted the U.S. cease-fire. De Gaulle wanted to limit U.S. influence in Europe. Adenauer and de Gaulle teamed up to block Macmillan's efforts to establish new trade relations in Europe. They even blocked Macmillan's attempt to gain British membership in the European Common Market.

In December 1962, while seeking Common Market membership, Macmillan met with Kennedy. Kennedy agreed



**British prime minister Harold Macmillan speaks at a Conservative Party conference in October 1962.**  
*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

to sell *Polaris* missiles to Macmillan for British nuclear submarines. The following month, in January 1963, de Gaulle announced France would veto any British membership into the Common Market. The result was that Britain was blocked from joining the increasingly independent Western Europe during the Cold War. On the other hand, some believed joining the European trade alliance would have cost some of Britain's independence by having to conform to European policies.

The British felt increasingly vulnerable to nuclear attack as the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union was escalating through the 1950s. To ease those fears, Macmillan sought an agreement for nuclear disarmament with the two superpowers. Though he was unable to achieve actual disarmament, Macmillan was finally able to gain agreement on limiting nuclear testing. On July 25, the three nations signed the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963.

## **Declining political support**

In a major foreign affairs achievement, Macmillan guided Britain through a period in which the nation granted



## The Cold War Memoirs of Harold Macmillan

Following his departure as prime minister of Great Britain in October 1963, Harold Macmillan enjoyed a long retirement. One of his key activities until his death in December 1986 was writing a six-volume set of memoirs with personal observations of British government. The volumes include excellent insights into British foreign policy strategies during the Cold War and his interactions with other world leaders. They were all published by the prestigious family publishing company, Macmillan. The volumes addressing Cold War issues include: *Tides of Fortune, 1945–1955* (1969); *Riding the Storm, 1956–1959* (1971); *Pointing the Way, 1959–1961* (1972); and *At the End of the Day, 1961–1963* (1973).

independence to most of its last remaining colonies, including South Africa, without major incident. He announced the new British policy in the famous “winds of change” speech in February 1960 in Capetown, South Africa. In the speech, Macmillan announced the new British policy of supporting African nationalist movements and opposed the South African policies of racial segregation called apartheid.

Macmillan began losing popular support through the early 1960s, as the British economy faltered. With unemployment rising, Macmillan had to impose wage freezes and other unpopular measures beginning in 1961. Then a scandal in his government involving one of his cabinet members, British war minister John Profumo (1915–), led to much criticism. Profumo was forced to resign after it was revealed that he had had an affair with a woman who was also involved with a man presumed to be a Soviet spy. In

October 1963, Macmillan resigned after undergoing surgery. He retired from the House of Commons in September 1964.

In retirement, Macmillan continued as chancellor of Oxford University, a position he had held since 1960. He also served as chairman of Macmillan Publishing Co. for awhile. Much of his time, however, was spent writing a number of memoirs and other books. Macmillan wrote six volumes of memoirs. In 1984, Macmillan was granted the title of Earl of Stockton. In December 1986, he died on the family estate in East Sussex, England.

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## Mao Zedong

**Born December 26, 1893**

**Shaoshan, Hunan Province of China**

**Died September 9, 1976**

**Beijing, China**

**Chairman of the People's Republic of China**

"In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back."

**Mao Zedong.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

**M**ao Zedong imposed an ideology upon an entire society and created a regime that eliminated opposition. He led the long struggle that made China a communist nation in 1949. Communism is a system of government in which a single party, the Communist Party, controls all aspects of people's lives. In economic theory, it prohibits private ownership of property and business, so that goods produced and wealth accumulated are shared relatively equally by all. Communism was adapted from the theories of German philosopher Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Russian revolutionary Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924). Mao's interpretation of Marxism for colonial and peasant-based economies became known as Maoism.

Maoism was a model and an inspiration for many Third World national liberation movements. Third World refers to poor, underdeveloped or economically developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Many were seeking independence from political control of Western European nations. Mao developed his theory around the revolutionary potential of the rural peasantry, rather than the city-based, industrial workers of Marxist/Leninist ideology. Third World

communist leaders used modifications of the three devices prescribed by Maoist doctrines in conducting a revolution. These included the party (whose role is to provide leadership for the revolution), the army (a tool to seize state power), and the united front (a means to win the support of the people).

Mao was an ardent opponent of international capitalism but turned to the United States when looking for allies against a possible Soviet attack. Capitalism is an economic system where property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention. Mao invited U.S. president **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74; see entry) to visit China in 1972. This meeting in Beijing exemplified Mao's standing as a world statesman and his achievement in securing America's recognition of communist China as a world power. Mao was chairman of the Chinese Communist Party from October 1949 until 1976. It was not until 1971 that the United Nations recognized the Communist Party as the sole legitimate government of China. Known popularly as "Chairman Mao," Mao Zedong ruled Mainland China until his death in 1976.

## Early life

Mao Zedong, also spelled Mao Tse-tung, was born on December 26, 1893, into a Chinese homeland that appeared to be falling apart. The fading Qin dynasty was both hated and feared, but it could not contain the spiraling social and economic unrest. Foreign powers consumed most of China's natural resources in their centralized state, and the country seemed ripe for change.

Mao was the son of a peasant who had become a wealthy farmer in Hunan Province. He received a traditional education in the classics at a primary school in the village of Shaoshan. Forced by his father to work in the fields, Mao ran away from the family farm at the age of thirteen to continue his education in the city of Changsha. There, he was introduced to Western ideas and became involved in the revolution against the Manchu Dynasty. He was still a student when the revolution of 1911–12 overthrew the Manchu government and made China a republic. At the age of eighteen, Mao joined the revolutionary army as a common soldier.



## Tiananmen Square

For seven weeks in the late spring of 1989, Chinese citizens occupied a public square in the heart of Beijing. It was called Tiananmen Square. More than a million people assembled there in mass, pro-democracy demonstrations. A democratic system of government allows multiple political parties. Their members are elected to various government offices by popular vote of the people. Over three thousand hunger strikers gathered at the central Monument to the People's Heroes in the square. They gathered in the shadows of Mao's mausoleum, which occupies a southern section of the square. On June 4, the government struck back, sending tanks from all directions into the square, killing hundreds of workers and students and imposing a martial law that would last for fourteen months.

A stunning moment occurred when a young man stood before the line of tanks

in Tiananmen Square that June day, halting their progress with his mere presence. The youth, or "tank man" as he was called, received worldwide attention in the media. He stood in defiance on what was called, ironically, the Avenue of Eternal Peace. Although he risked his life by standing in front of the tanks, it has been noted that the first tank driver also rose to the challenge by allowing the moment of rebellion.

Tiananmen Square is the place where Mao had proclaimed a "People's Republic" in 1949 on behalf of the Chinese people who had "stood up." In an earlier time, Mao would have embraced "tank man" as a vital part of his people's war, because he stood up against the government. In 1989, Mao's domination of China was complete and all-inclusive. Mao's legacy was a regime that did not allow for individual thinking or action. Opposition was not tolerated—it was erased.

After resuming his education in Changsha, Mao became involved in student politics and founded the New People's Study Society. The society encouraged students to participate in public affairs. Many of its early members later became prominent members of the Chinese Communist Party. After graduating from the Changsha teachers' training college in 1918, Mao went to Peking (Beijing) University and in 1919 took a leading part in the May Fourth Movement, which involved student protests against the Paris Peace Conference's decision to hand over German gains in Shandong Province, formerly Chinese, to Japan. Mao's involvement in this movement pushed him away from Western liberalism to Marxism. He became attracted to the ideas of communism,



became a Marxist, and in 1921 was a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai.

During his Changsha studies, Mao was greatly influenced by one of his professors, Xu Teli, and in 1920 married Xu's daughter, Yang Kaihui. Together, Mao Zedong and Yang Kaihui had three children.

## Revolution

The communists joined forces with Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) in 1923 in an effort to unite China. Mao concentrated on political work among the peasants of his native province and advocated a rural revolution. **Chiang Kai-shek** (1887–1975; see entry) succeeded Sun when Sun died in 1925. Chiang conducted a bloody purge of the Chinese communists, and they were driven from the cities. Mao escaped the 1927 uprising and established a base in the

**A view of Tiananmen Square, with a portrait of Mao Zedong in the center.**

*Photography by Susan D. Rock.  
Reproduced by permission.*



southern province of Kiangsi. His wife, Yang Kaihui, was executed by the Kuomintang in Changsha in 1930.

While in Kiangsi, Mao put into practice his theory of a peasant-based revolution. With the help of General Zhu De, he joined military doctrine to his political thinking to create the guerrilla tactics of the “people’s war” and build the Red Army. His activities were so successful that in 1931 he was able to declare the founding of the new Chinese Soviet Republic in Kiangsi, with himself as the first chairman. Chiang’s Nationalist forces gradually encircled the communist forces and were about to take control in 1934. In order to escape, Mao led his Red Army on a year-long, 6,000-mile (9,654-kilometer) march to reach Shaanxi in northwest China and set up a new base. The Long March, as it was called, began with about 90,000 people but ended with only about 8,000 survivors on the dangerous trek. The survivors emerged as a tightly knit band under the leadership of Mao.

For a brief time in 1936, the Nationalists renewed their alliance with the communists in order to ward off the increasing threat of Japanese invaders. The ensuing war sapped the Nationalist government’s strength, while the Communist Party’s political and military power was restored. By 1945, the communists controlled areas populated by nearly one hundred million Chinese. On October 1, 1949, Mao was proclaimed president of the newly established People’s Republic of China.

## **Sino-Soviet treaty**

Mao took his first trip abroad in December 1949. He traveled to the Soviet Union to negotiate the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance. (*Sino* means Chinese.) The treaty pledged the two countries to come to each other’s defense in case of attack. It also included extensive Soviet financial and military aid.

In 1949, the Cold War (1945–91) in Europe had become a war of position. The Cold War was fought over ideologies—communism versus democracy. It was a war of mutual fear and distrust primarily between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The European continent



was clearly divided in two. In Asia, the situation was much more fluid and dynamic. It was a war of maneuver. The Soviet Union was aware that communist success in China would be a strategic shift of major proportions. Soviet leader **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry) was eager to secure a firm alliance for the Soviet Union and to ensure China did not ally with the United States. China could then be counted on to tie down British and French forces and slow the buildup of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces in Europe. The Sino-Soviet alliance was a victory for socialism in the world.

After signing the treaty, Mao retired to a largely ceremonial role in China as chairman of both the Communist Party and the People's Republic. Day-to-day administration was left to party bureaucrats, who eventually fell under the influence of technical and military advisors from the Soviet Union.

In 1957, Mao initiated the Great Leap Forward Movement. It was an attempt to break with the Russian model of communism. Mao proposed to decentralize the economy by

**Mao Zedong (center) greets a group of communist army officers in September 1949.**

*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*



## Staying Afloat

Mao Zedong was an avid swimmer. When he was in his early sixties, and at the height of his political power as leader of the Chinese People's Republic, swimming was a central part of his life. He swam with top party leaders in a large pool that was constructed for them at their compound in Beijing. Party business was conducted in the pool much the same way it had been in his youth, swimming in local streams with close friends and debating the challenges their nation faced.

Mao advocated swimming as a way of strengthening the bodies of Chinese citizens. He swam in the heavily polluted rivers of south China as well as the stormy ocean off the north China coast, where the Communist Party leadership gathered for its annual conferences. One of Mao's earliest poems celebrated the joys of being in the water.

establishing independent local communes, while at the same time hoping to renew revolutionary vigor. It was a monumental failure with disastrous results. By 1959, over twenty million people had died, mostly of starvation, and Mao was forced to retire as chief of state. He was, however, able to retain his title of chairman of the Communist Party and his control of the country.

By the 1960s, disputes between China and the Soviet Union had grown into a struggle for leadership of the communist world. Mao considered himself to be the true interpreter of the principles of communism. The Sino-Soviet split widened when Mao ordered nuclear research that led to Chinese nuclear weapons testing. The final break came after the failure of the Great Leap Forward. The Soviet Union cut off all aid.

## The Cultural Revolution

In a weakened position, Mao fought back by instituting the Cultural Revolution. It was a mass mobilization of urban Chinese youth that took place from 1966 through 1976. Mao initiated the movement in order to prevent further development of a Soviet-style communism. Schools were closed, and students were presented with copies of the "Quotations of Chairman Mao." Organized into battalions of "Red Guards," the students were sent throughout the countryside in order to create local rebellions. Many people died in the ensuing purges, including scores of senior leaders who had been colleagues of Mao for more than three decades.

The cult of Mao was one of the results of the Cultural Revolution in China. Mao's ideas were popularized in *The Little Red Book*, or *Mao Zedong on People's War*. His book of quotations was given almost scriptural authority by the masses.



Young and old learned his slogans and studied his writings. Mao also wrote poetry. Giant portraits of Mao were displayed on billboards all around China. His face became familiar throughout the world. Mao would later argue that the creation of the personality cult had been necessary to counter entrenched party interests. He wanted to keep a radical edge to the Chinese communist movement and not let it get too conservative and bureaucratic. Mao thought too many communist leaders in China were getting too comfortable in their long-held positions and letting the communist movement drift away from his hard-core philosophy. He did not want Chinese communists to become too friendly with noncommunists elsewhere.

**Chinese youth cheer for their hero, Chairman Mao Zedong, in 1968.** *Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

## Final days

By the early 1970s, illness plagued Mao, and the running of the country was left largely to his third wife. In 1939,

Mao had married actress Jiang Qing (two years after divorcing his second wife). They had two daughters together. During the Cultural Revolution, she was appointed deputy director and became leader of the “Gang of Four.” They restricted the arts and enforced ideology, with many people dying in purges. Her radical domestic policies ensured that many of the basic precepts of the Cultural Revolution continued in force until Mao died in 1976. Following Mao’s death, Jiang Qing made an unsuccessful attempt to seize power and was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment for her part in the Cultural Revolution. She committed suicide in 1991.

During his lifetime, Mao Zedong controlled artistic, intellectual, military, industrial, and agricultural planning and policies in the most populated nation on earth. After his death, Chinese leaders reversed many of his policies and ended the emphasis on his personality. They looked to Japan, the United States, and European countries for help in modernizing China’s industry, agriculture, science, and armed forces. These goals were called the Four Modernizations.

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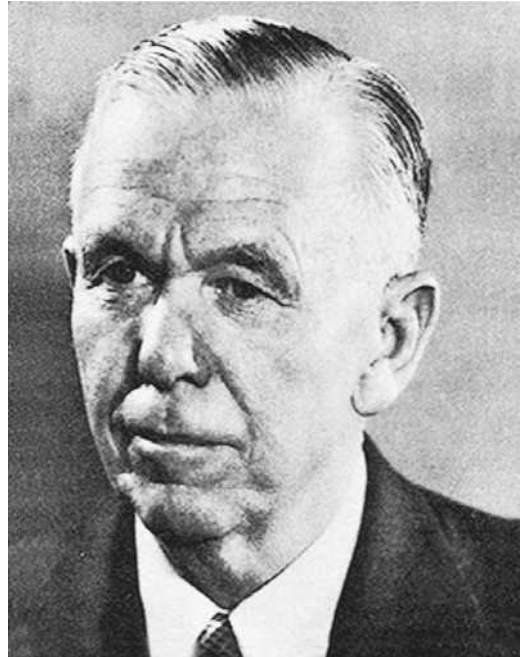
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# George C. Marshall

**Born December 31, 1880  
Uniontown, Pennsylvania  
Died October 16, 1959  
Washington, D.C.**

**U.S. secretary of state, army general, and  
U.S. Army chief of staff**



**G**eorge Marshall was a highly respected U.S. military leader and U.S. official. He served as an army general, secretary of state, and secretary of defense. He was the first military person to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his role in the European economic recovery following World War II (1939–45). Most importantly, the Cold War (1945–91) took shape during his time as secretary of state. The policies he developed would influence the next forty years of rivalry with the Soviet Union.

## The young officer

George Catlett Marshall Jr. was born on New Year's Eve in 1880 in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, son of Laura Bradford and George C. Marshall Sr., a coal merchant. Marshall was a direct descendent of John Marshall (1755–1835), the first chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Marshall attended the Virginia Military Institute, where his leadership abilities began to show as he moved up in rank to a captain of the cadets. Upon graduating in 1901, Marshall received a com-

“Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist.”

George C. Marshall.

mission in the army as a second lieutenant. Only days after receiving his commission in February 1902, he married Elizabeth Coles. They would have no children.

For the next fourteen years, Marshall served at several posts around the country in addition to two stints in the Philippines. In 1906, he was appointed to the Infantry-Cavalry School at Fort Leavenworth in Kansas. He graduated first in his class and showed exceptional skills for staff work. In 1908, he was appointed instructor at the school. Despite the skills he showed, including serving as an aide to two generals between 1913 and 1916, there was little room for advancement, given the small size of the U.S. Army at that time. In 1916, he finally made the rank of captain.

Early in his career, Marshall showed a quiet self-confidence and a strong self-discipline, as he kept a strong temper under control. The soft-spoken Marshall seemed cool and aloof in manner to those who did not know him well, but very warm and open to those close to him. He also had great communication skills, both in military situations and with civilians.

## **Rising in the ranks**

During World War I (1914–18), Marshall was assigned to the staff of the First Infantry Division. He was one of the first U.S. soldiers to arrive in France in 1917. However, due to his staff skills, he would not have a field command. Instead, he played a key role in training newly arriving U.S. troops and planning battle strategies. During the war, Marshall caught the attention of General John J. Pershing (1860–1948), head of the U.S. Army in Europe. In 1918, Marshall was assigned to the operations staff of Pershing's general headquarters, where he was involved in the planning of major U.S. offenses. By November 1918, at war's end, he was chief of operations for the U.S. First Army. He was one of Pershing's top tactical experts. Pershing recommended Marshall for promotion to brigadier general. Following the war, however, Marshall returned to the rank of major in the smaller postwar army. Through the early 1920s, Marshall served as a key aide to Pershing, who was the army chief of staff. Through Pershing, Marshall became well acquainted with military affairs at the highest levels in Washington, D.C. In 1923, Marshall was promoted to lieutenant colonel.

In 1924, Marshall was assigned to command a U.S. infantry regiment in China for three years before returning to Washington, D.C. There, he became instructor at the National War College. Upon returning to the United States, tragedy struck. His wife died suddenly from a heart condition, putting him into deep depression. Marshall became more absorbed in his career. He became head of the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia, and revamped the program. Two hundred future generals came from the school while he was there from 1927 to 1933. While at Fort Benning, he married Tupper Brown, a widow with three children.

During the early 1930s, Marshall became a colonel and commanded army posts in Georgia and South Carolina, and organized the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps in several states. The CCC was a federal program that provided jobs to unemployed young men during the Great Depression (1929–41), the worst financial crisis in American history. In 1936, he finally achieved the rank of brigadier general, serving as commander at Fort Vancouver in the state of Washington.

## **A World War II leader**

In 1938, Marshall was recalled to Washington, D.C., to become head of the army's War Plans Division. By April 1939, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) appointed Marshall deputy army chief of staff. He would soon be promoted to chief of staff and was sworn in on September 1, 1939, the same day Germany invaded Poland, starting World War II. Marshall strongly lobbied Congress to enlarge the armed forces in preparation for war. Following the German conquest of France in early 1940, Congress became much more responsive to Marshall's requests. By 1943, the army had grown from 175,000 to 8.3 million.

Following the entrance of the United States into World War II in 1941, Marshall held a crucial role in military planning, the training of troops, and the development of new weapons. He reorganized the War Department in early 1942 and was the leading person in the newly established U.S. joint chiefs of staff. He became Roosevelt's key military advisor, accompanying the president at all war summit conferences.



In 1944, Marshall became general of the army. *Time* magazine selected Marshall “Man of the Year.” After successfully attaining victory in World War II and becoming an American hero, Marshall resigned as chief of staff in November 1945 at the mandatory military retirement age of sixty-five.

## Soldier turned statesman

One week after Marshall’s resignation, President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry) appointed Marshall as U.S. special emissary to China. His job was to resolve the civil war between the Chinese communist forces led by **Mao Zedong** (1893–1976; see entry) and the Chinese Nationalist government headed by **Chiang Kai-shek** (1887–1975; see entry). Though temporarily achieving some success in early 1946, the two sides soon resumed fighting. Marshall declared the situation hopeless. Upon returning to the United States in January 1947, Marshall influenced Truman to reduce foreign aid to Chiang’s government. Marshall believed communist victory was inevitable, given the lack of popularity for the Nationalist government among the general population. The Nationalist government did fall in October 1949. This resulted in Marshall becoming the target of U.S. senator **Joseph R. McCarthy** (1909–1957; see entry) of Wisconsin during congressional hearings. McCarthy accused Marshall of not providing greater support to Chiang and “allowing” the communists to win.

Upon his return to the United States, Marshall was appointed secretary of state. Marshall was so highly respected in 1947 that he was unanimously approved by the Senate with no hearings or opposition. He was the first military leader to become secretary of state. Convinced the Soviets posed a major risk to Europe, Marshall took a hard-line approach against the Soviets. To create a State Department most responsive to this new threat, Marshall undertook a major reorganization of the department. The department would be ready to tackle its new increased role as a superpower in world affairs. He also influenced the creation of the National Security Council in 1947 to better coordinate foreign and military policy.

A brief trip to Europe pointed out to Marshall how severe Europe’s economic problems were. He and other admin-



## The Marshall Plan

In a speech at Harvard University on June 5, 1947, U.S. secretary of state George C. Marshall unveiled a new major U.S. economic aid program for Western Europe. Marshall feared the high poverty and unemployment rates in the region following the devastating effects of World War II created an unstable political climate ripe for the spread of communism. Seventeen nations in Western Europe applied for aid under the program—commonly known as the Marshall Plan—between April 1949 and December 1951.

The United States created the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) to distribute thirteen billion dollars over a four-year period. The European nations receiving the assistance formed the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) to coordinate their participation. The program was highly successful, restoring industry, increasing agricultural production, expanding trade, and stabilizing monetary systems. It solved much hunger and despair. The eco-

nommic productivity of some nations rose by as much as 25 percent.

Marshall offered the plan to the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries as well. However, the Soviets rejected participation and forced those Eastern European countries under its control to not participate as well, even though Czechoslovakia and Poland had already expressed interest. The Soviets claimed conditions of the program posed too much of a Western intrusion in domestic economies. They would offer a separate, far less effective plan to the Eastern European countries.

The Marshall Plan was successful in the rapid economic revival of Western Europe, but it also contributed to the growing split between East and West in Europe, setting the stage for future hostile confrontations between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. Nonetheless, for his role in developing the program and for the positive benefits, Marshall received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1953.

istration officials believed the hardships made a ripe situation for the spread of communism beyond Eastern Europe into Western Europe. The communist parties were already making gains in Italy and France. Marshall was convinced the most effective way to contain the further spread of communism in Europe was to substantially improve Western European economic conditions. Marshall pulled together a group to devise a plan. By June 1947, Marshall announced the Economic Recovery Program, more commonly known as the Marshall Plan (see box).



**U.S. president Harry S. Truman (far left) discusses the Marshall Plan with (left to right) George Marshall, Paul G. Hoffman, and W. Averell Harriman.**

*Photograph by Abbie Rowe. Reproduced by permission of the Harry S. Truman Library and the Corbis Corporation.*

Marshall played an influential role in shaping many early Cold War events. With Soviet communist pressure applied to Greece and Turkey in early 1947, Marshall successfully pressed Truman and Congress for four hundred million dollars in U.S. aid to those countries. (The Soviet Union had naval stations in Turkey, and nearby Greece was fighting a civil war with communist-dominated rebels.) Marshall opposed creation of the state of Israel and advised Truman not

to react too quickly in 1948, when the state of Israel was created. Marshall believed such rapid recognition would harm relations with Arab nations in the region. However, in a rare occasion of Truman going against Marshall's advice, the president, under pressure from conservative Republicans and the Jewish population in the United States during an election year, extended formal recognition within hours of Israel's formation. Marshall was also key in creating a Western European and U.S. defense alliance known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a key factor in the attempt to contain communism. Similarly, he developed defense and economic alliances with Latin American countries, known as the Rio Pact and the Organization of American States.

In June 1948, the Soviets also blockaded access to the Western-controlled sections of Berlin. Truman followed Marshall's advice to combat the blockade by using a massive airlift of supplies to West Berlin, rather than resorting to a more direct military confrontation, as advised by others in the administration. The blockade ended peacefully in May 1949.

## The last assignment

After a very busy two years as secretary of state, Marshall resigned due to health problems. However, duty would call again soon. With the beginning of the Korean War (1950–53) in June 1950, Truman asked Marshall to serve as secretary of defense, though he was seventy years of age. As he had done earlier in World War II, Marshall oversaw the rebuilding of the U.S. armed forces and production of weapons. Marshall would also support Truman in the removal of the controversial General **Douglas MacArthur** (1880–1964; see entry), after MacArthur became a leading critic of Truman's and Marshall's war strategies.

Once more, Marshall retired in September 1951, after he had completed his tasks and the war against communist North Korea had come to a stalemate. He remained a high-ranking advisor to the U.S. government. Marshall died at Walter Reed General Hospital in Washington, D.C., in 1959 after suffering a series of strokes. He was buried in Arlington National Cemetery. In 1964, the George C. Marshall Research Library was dedicated in Lexington, Virginia.

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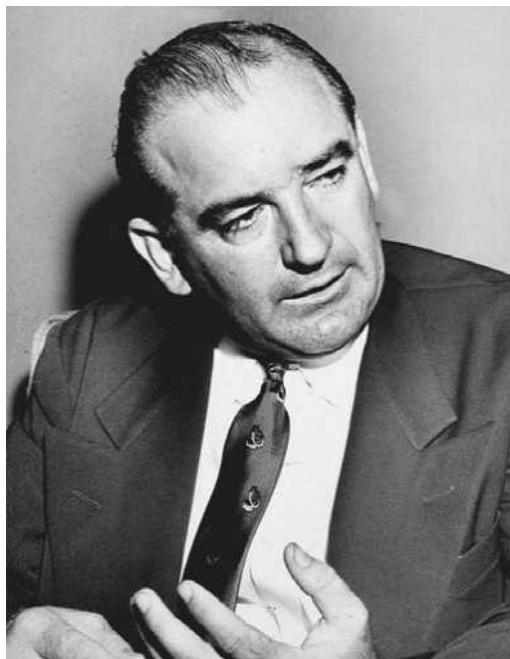
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# Joseph R. McCarthy

**Born November 14, 1908**  
**Appleton, Wisconsin**  
**Died May 2, 1957**  
**Bethesda, Maryland**

**U.S. senator**



Joseph McCarthy, an infamous and highly controversial U.S. senator from Wisconsin, became America's leading anti-communist figure. His influence peaked between 1950 and 1953. McCarthy gained national attention by asserting that communists had infiltrated the U.S. government at its highest levels. Some called McCarthy a patriot; others accused him of making vicious, untrue charges against innocent Americans, ruining their careers. McCarthy's sensationalized committee investigations greatly contributed to the anticommunist hysteria sweeping the country. The United States' diplomatic efforts toward the communist countries of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Asia were adversely affected for several decades.

## Pre-Senate years

Joseph Raymond McCarthy was the fifth of seven children born to Timothy and Bridget McCarthy. The McCarthys, of Irish descent and faithful Roman Catholics, worked long, hard hours on their isolated rural 142-acre Wis-

*"Have you no sense of decency, sir? At long last, have you left no sense of decency?" — U.S. Army attorney Joseph N. Welch, speaking to Joseph McCarthy at the Army-McCarthy hearings*

**Joseph R. McCarthy.**  
*Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

consin farm. McCarthy's father, a strict disciplinarian, expected his son to take on many farm responsibilities. McCarthy's mother, realizing her son possessed a strength of character and deciding at least one of her children had to rise above the family's simple rural life, urged her son to become "somebody." However, at fourteen, McCarthy dropped out of school to work in the family's potato and cabbage fields. Uncomfortable working under his father's supervision, he soon began raising poultry on an acre of land rented from his father. He was an amazingly successful poultry entrepreneur until a cold spell killed his flock.

At nineteen, McCarthy moved to the nearby town of Manawa, worked as a store manager, and talked and argued ceaselessly about community issues with his customers. Realizing his gift of oratory and perhaps even then thinking in terms of running for a town office, McCarthy decided he must have a formal education. He returned to high school at age twenty. After completing high school in one year, he entered Marquette University. After two years of engineering studies, he switched to the field of law, which accommodated his love of debate and drama. McCarthy also was a member of the university boxing team where, even when clearly outclassed, he was known for boxing with fierce aggression until thoroughly bloodied. McCarthy graduated from Marquette in 1935.

McCarthy opened his first law practice in the Wisconsin town of Waupaca and joined a number of civic organizations. As a Republican in 1939, he made his first successful run for office, a circuit judgeship in Wisconsin's tenth district. World War II (1939–45) interrupted McCarthy's budding political career. He joined the Marine Corps and served in the Pacific primarily at a desk assignment as an intelligence officer. Riding in the tail gunner section of an aircraft, McCarthy apparently flew several times on noncombat missions. Always keenly aware of appearances for political purposes, however, he made sure he was photographed sitting in the tail gunner (back) section. Suggesting he served as a tail gunner of a dive bomber, the pictures would be widely used in his later Senate campaigns in Wisconsin.

In 1944, McCarthy returned to Wisconsin on a thirty-day leave and ran against incumbent (currently serving) U.S. senator Alexander Wiley (1884–1967) in the Republican pri-

mary. “Tail-Gunner Joe,” as McCarthy referred to himself, lost but won a great deal of name recognition. Following the war, in 1946, he ran for the Senate again, this time taking on popular incumbent senator Robert M. La Follette Jr. (1895–1953), who had served for twenty-one years. With a surprise victory over La Follette, McCarthy took his place as the new U.S. senator from Wisconsin in January 1947. Soon, McCarthy would play a major role in the second “Red Scare” that was sweeping over America (see box).

### **Troublemaker in the Senate**

By the end of 1949, McCarthy’s Senate career had been ineffective. His only accomplishment had been to team with Pepsi-Cola Company to lift controls on sugar rationing. He had developed a reputation in the Senate as a troublemaker. With arrogant, rude, and inconsistent behavior, he had made many enemies. He knew he had little support in Wisconsin for reelection in 1952. McCarthy needed control of a powerful issue to draw attention and support his way. Friends suggested that a forceful anticommunism campaign, a subject he had never expressed any interest in before, might just resonate with voters. Communism is a governmental system in which a single party controls all aspects of society. In economic theory, it bans private ownership of property and businesses, so that goods produced and wealth accumulated are shared equally by all.

With little knowledge or preparation, McCarthy latched onto the anticommunism idea and launched his campaign on February 7, 1950, in a speech before the Ohio County Women’s Republican Club in Wheeling, West Virginia. McCarthy would dub himself the exposé of communists, and the American people and press listened intently. McCarthy played on Cold War (1945–91) and Red Scare fears by maintaining that the communist world, particularly the Soviet Union, was in a showdown with the democratic nations led by the United States. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, falling just short of military conflict. In the Wheeling speech, McCarthy held up a list he claimed contained 205 names of U.S. State Department employees who





## Second Red Scare

Red Scares occurred during a time when Americans were especially fearful that communists would edge closer to the United States and eventually take over. The term “red” was used to refer to communists. The first Red Scare occurred after World War I between 1918 and 1920. The second Red Scare peaked after World War II between 1947 and 1953. This time period paralleled the first years of the Cold War, an intense ideological battle between the democratic United States and the communist Soviet Union.

Americans became obsessed with the fear and hatred of communism and subversive elements, real and imagined, within their homeland. By the end of 1948,

Americans believed if they were not constantly vigilant the Cold War could be lost right on U.S. soil. Contributing to this viewpoint were the investigations of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). Reinstated in 1945, the HUAC, charged with investigation of subversive activities that posed a threat to the U.S. government, labeled roughly forty organizations as communist “front” groups. Front groups had patriotic names but, according to the HUAC, really were organizations intent on promoting communist ideas.

**Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; see entry), then a young Republican congressman from California, was an aggressive

supposedly were known members of the Communist Party. McCarthy refused to reveal his sources or give all but a few names on the list. Sometime later, it was discovered that the list he held up was his laundry list. But he had caught Americans’ attention and became an instant celebrity as the nation’s leading anticommunist, appearing on the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines.

### McCarthyism

McCarthy’s strategy was attack then avoidance. He attacked by casting doubt on an individual’s political loyalties, forcing the individual to defend himself publicly. He then avoided producing any real evidence, saying that his job was not to provide all the evidence but to make the charges. However reckless and irresponsible the charges, they were nevertheless unnerving. By early 1951, many Americans did not care if the charges were true or not—they were mesmerized

member of the HUAC. In late 1947, the HUAC investigated ten members of the Hollywood film industry for communist leanings. In 1948, the strange case of former U.S. State Department official Alger Hiss (1904–1996) went before the HUAC. Eventually, in early 1950, Hiss was found guilty of supplying State Department documents to the Soviets. The HUAC also charged that civil rights groups were filled with communists.

Other occurrences leading to heightened apprehensions were repeated public statements by **J. Edgar Hoover** (1895–1972; see entry), director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), that communism could spread like a disease across

America. The most chilling news to reach Americans came in the fall of 1949, when President Harry S. Truman revealed that the Soviet Union had successfully tested an atomic bomb. Within a few years, several spies who had funneled U.S. atomic secrets to the Soviet Union were unmasked, tried, and convicted. Meanwhile, Chinese communist rebels had overtaken Mainland China in October 1949. By 1950, loyal Americans, to protect their country, were on the lookout for communists even in the smallest village. Americans were highly sensitive and receptive to the dramatic and aggressive communist charges that Senator Joseph McCarthy began to level in February 1950.

by McCarthyism. The term McCarthyism entered the U.S. vocabulary permanently and came to mean challenging a person's individual freedoms and character with lies and mean-spirited suggestions.

Simply being named by McCarthy as a possible subversive was career ending. (A subversive is a person who attempts to overthrow or undermine an established political system.) Many innocent Americans were devastated. Republican leadership knew the outrageousness of McCarthy's charges but also knew it was political suicide to try and reel him in. McCarthy stayed on the offensive, suggesting anyone who criticized his tactics must also be a communist. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) energetically investigated all those on whom McCarthy cast suspicion. Not only did he attack many lower-level government officials, but knowing no bounds, he attacked at the highest levels. McCarthy went after celebrated former army general and current secretary of defense **George C. Marshall** (1880–1959; see

entry), eventually contributing to his resignation. He attacked Secretary of State **Dean G. Acheson** (1893–1971; see entry) as the “Red Dean,” and proceeded right to personal attacks on President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry). McCarthy’s talent lay in just the right timing and drama to grab headlines. He became the center of the Red Scare hysteria. He was reelected to his Senate seat in 1952. In 1953, McCarthy, a bachelor, showed a human side by marrying his political assistant, Jean Kerr. Together, they adopted a baby daughter in January 1957.

### **Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee**

In 1952, Republican candidate **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–1961; see entry) was elected president. McCarthy was assigned to a seemingly unimportant committee called the Government Operations Committee in an effort to take him largely out of public view. However, McCarthy figured out a way to regain headlines once again. He created and made himself chairman of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. With the assistance of a bright young lawyer, Roy Cohn (1927–1986), McCarthy again attacked the State Department. The committee became known as the “McCarthy Committee.”

Among other things on the committee, McCarthy charged that communists within the State Department were subverting the radio programming of Voice of America. Voice of America routinely broadcast democratic messages to over eighty foreign countries. The program barely survived the assault. The McCarthy Committee also targeted public libraries, demanding the removal of any book that appeared to support communism. Even President Eisenhower was constantly under attack. Angered over McCarthy’s antics, the president nevertheless wanted to avoid any public confrontations with him. However, McCarthy’s plans to investigate the CIA were stopped.

By early 1954, public criticism of McCarthy began to rise. In March, noted television journalist Edward R. Murrow (1908–1965) contended in his television program that McCarthy was exploiting America’s fears for personal gain and was intimidating honest Americans. Finally, McCarthy pushed too far when he attacked the U.S. Army. McCarthy



had declared that the U.S. Army's base at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, harbored a communist spy ring. In hearings, no evidence was uncovered to back McCarthy's charges. Ultimately, in the spring of 1954, the army's lawyer, Joseph N. Welch (1890–1960), was able to bring McCarthy's long stream of unjustified attacks to an end with the famous utterance: "Have you no sense of decency, sir? At long last, have you left no sense of decency?" During the hearings, known as the Army-McCarthy hearings, McCarthy's bullying tactics had been thoroughly exposed to the public.

The Senate voted to censure, or officially reprimand, McCarthy, meaning his behavior from 1950 to 1954 had been highly dishonorable. Though he remained in the Senate, he was ostracized, or ignored, by his colleagues. McCarthy, who sometimes drank heavily, died on May 2, 1957, of an inflamed liver at the age of forty-eight.

Through the following decades, Americans struggled to comprehend how a person in a place of authority could

**Senator Joseph R. McCarthy points to a map of the United States labeled "Communist Party Organization" at a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing in June 1954. U.S. Army attorney Joseph N. Welch is seated at the table in front of McCarthy.**

use fear to discredit innocent lives and so thoroughly trample their constitutionally protected rights. Many Americans would consider McCarthy's tactics not much different in spirit than the terror orchestrated by harsh communist rulers in the Soviet Union on Soviet citizens. The Red Scare and McCarthyism shook the foundation of individual liberties in America during the early Cold War years.

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# Robert S. McNamara

Born June 9, 1916  
San Francisco, California

U.S. secretary of defense



**R**obert S. McNamara played an important role in U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War period of the 1960s. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry from 1945 to 1991 between the United States and the Soviet Union, falling just short of direct military conflict. Smart and ambitious, McNamara came from the business world to serve as U.S. secretary of defense under Presidents **John F. Kennedy** (1919–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) and **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69; see entry).

McNamara was one of a group of superior managers emerging from World War II (1939–45)—smart, arrogant, and seemingly capable of tackling anything. He was young and vigorous and seemed—along with the rest of young President Kennedy’s advisors—to be the new face of the new superpower, the United States. McNamara became famous for applying his sharp, mathematical mind to the problems of troop deployment and arms requirements during the peak of the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War (1954–75). As the military engagement in Vietnam grew, he became a lightning rod for criticism of U.S. war policy. He was seen as cold and harsh, as

“Coercion ... merely captures man. Freedom captivates him.”

**Robert S. McNamara.**  
*Courtesy of the Library  
of Congress.*

the war continued, and the number of lives lost rose. McNamara came to represent all that was good and bad about the United States during the Vietnam War.

## **A business scholar**

Robert Strange McNamara was born on June 9, 1916, to Robert J. and Claranell Strange McNamara in San Francisco, California. The man who would later be considered one of the smartest men of his generation was raised by parents who never went to college. In fact, his father did not attend school past the eighth grade. Robert J. McNamara was from a family of Irish immigrants. Raised in poverty and sick throughout much of his childhood, through hard work McNamara's father created a middle-class life for his family.

McNamara graduated from the University of California at Berkeley in 1937. He went on to earn a master's degree in business administration at the Harvard School of Business in 1939. His strength as a mathematician and his expertise in statistical analysis were emerging. Following an impressive performance at Harvard, he was asked to come back and teach. He became a junior faculty member. He also married Margaret McKinstry Craig in 1940; the couple would have two daughters and a son.

At this time, Europe was disintegrating into what would become World War II, and some of the power brokers in the United States were beginning to prepare for the United States' entrance into the war. One of these people was U.S. War Department official Robert A. Lovett (1895–1986). Lovett believed that the Air Force would play a key role in the coming conflict, and that the United States was woefully unprepared. He needed men who could calculate how many planes were needed, and how many inductees would be needed to fly them. Also, he needed to know how many trainers would be required to train the inductees—and then get the planes and the inductees and the trainers all to the right place at the right time.

Lovett asked Harvard Business School to train the men he needed. McNamara was one of the teachers. He was so good that, in 1943, he was commissioned as a captain in the Air Force and sent to help Lovett plan the continuing

conflict. For his work during the war, McNamara was presented with the Legion of Merit Medal.

## **A manager for Ford Motor Company**

As the war ended, the team that had managed the U.S. Air Force was noted as being, perhaps, the best group of young managers around. The group, including McNamara, had experienced twenty years of organizational challenges in just a few short years. Recognizing their strengths as a team, a group of the Air Force managers decided to market themselves to corporate America as a group. They were smart, hard working, and could make an impact on a business. In 1946, McNamara and the group, which later became known as the “Whiz Kids,” joined Ford Motor Company in Dearborn, Michigan.

In the mid-1940s, Ford was losing more than nine million dollars a year. McNamara was initially part of the Finance Division of Ford. He quickly established a reputation for using numbers to show how to add value to the company’s automobiles without adding manufacturing costs, so that Ford could better compete in the marketplace. Over the years, McNamara rose through the company ranks and was elected to director of Ford in 1957. In 1960, he was elected president of Ford. He had just taken office, however, when he received a call from President-elect John F. Kennedy.

## **Secretary of defense**

President Kennedy was about to take office and was looking to fill key positions within his government. On the advice of Lovett, Kennedy asked McNamara to meet with him. Impressed with McNamara, Kennedy offered him a choice of positions, either the secretary of treasury or the secretary of defense. McNamara was not interested in becoming secretary of treasury. He felt he had more impact on the national economy as president of Ford. But he was interested in secretary of defense, seeing it as a good platform for a commitment to national service.

Prior to accepting the position, McNamara expressed to Kennedy his concern that he was not qualified for the po-



**Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara (center) consults with President John F. Kennedy at a Cabinet meeting.** *Courtesy of the John F. Kennedy Library.*



sition. Kennedy, impressed with McNamara's intellect, was not concerned. After all, he reasoned, there were no schools for being president either. McNamara served as secretary of defense from 1961 to 1968, first under President Kennedy and later under President Johnson.

Early in the Kennedy administration, a number of foreign events occurred that challenged the new administration. In particular, the failed invasion of Cuba by U.S.-supported Cuban exiles at the Bay of Pigs left the impression that President Kennedy did not know how to handle communist expansion backed by the Soviets. Communism is a system of government in which a single party, the Communist Party, controls all aspects of people's lives. In economic theory, it prohibits private ownership of property and business, so that goods produced and wealth accumulated are shared relatively equally by all. McNamara's statistical analysis prior to the invasion turned out to be flawed, when the administration later learned the estimated number of Cubans who were being

counted on to rise up against Cuban leader **Fidel Castro** (1926–; see entry) proved far too high. The smaller-than-expected force experienced immediate defeat by Castro's army. Later, McNamara learned the information given to him for his analysis was inaccurate.

In 1961, many in the White House and Congress were debating what to do about the U.S. arms race with the Soviet Union. McNamara was no exception. The United States had 450 missiles. The joint chiefs of staff, the key military advisory group to the president, was advising Kennedy to increase the number to 3,000. However, McNamara recommended 950. In terms of military effectiveness, the military experts concluded that 450 missiles were just as effective as 950. Though McNamara agreed from a military standpoint, for political reasons, McNamara asserted the United States needed at least 950.

In the Kennedy White House and later during the early Johnson days, McNamara was considered a man of action: always in control, always rational, always organizing. He could read faster than people could talk and demanded that briefings be written rather than orally presented to save him time. He always supported his reasons with statistics. As a result, as the country became mired in the Vietnam War, statistics became the focus of anger and derision.

## **The Vietnam War**

For many people in the 1960s, the Vietnam War was "McNamara's War." The Vietnam War primarily involved U.S. efforts to protect noncommunist South Vietnam from takeover by communist-ruled North Vietnam. U.S. aid to South Vietnam began as early as January 1955. Steadily, U.S. military support escalated until hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops were in Vietnam by 1967. As the war evolved, McNamara was often the face of the war, explaining victories and defeats in numbers and body counts. The costs in human lives aside, progress was often measured in the cost of air power used compared to the dollars of resulting damage. As the war continued and took more lives, McNamara's approach seemed cold and harsh. It seemed to ignore some key questions, such as why Vietnam was important to the United



## From Cultured Businessman to Cold Warrior

While Robert McNamara worked at Ford Motor Company, he was known as a driven and exacting man. But he also had another side. He removed himself from the world of the automotive executives, choosing to live in Ann Arbor, Michigan, a cultured college town. There, he attended art openings and concerts with his wife, and belonged to a book club. He prided himself on having broad interests.

Years later, when friends of his from Ann Arbor would see McNamara on television, talking about body counts and kill ratios and tramping around with troops fighting Cold War communist expansion in the jungles of far-off Vietnam, they would wonder what had happened to the man they had known.

States, and just how committed the North Vietnamese were to their cause.

Initially a strong supporter of the war, McNamara became known as the architect of early U.S. policy in Vietnam. By the mid-1960s, however, he was becoming disillusioned. He no longer believed what the generals were telling him, and he was increasingly vocal about his concerns. At the end of 1965, U.S. general William Westmoreland (1914–) in Vietnam requested 200,000 more troops—bringing the total number in Vietnam to 410,000. McNamara was skeptical. He went to Vietnam himself to review the situation and did not like what he saw. He was not sure the United States could win—or that if it did, the price would be worth it.

McNamara voiced his concerns within the Johnson administration, but not to the public. While his son was protesting the war, McNamara still publicly supported President Johnson and the generals. But his challenges to

the generals within White House walls were not received well, and he gradually became distant from the joint chiefs of staff and other Johnson advisors. In 1967, McNamara wrote a memo to Johnson stating that the war could not be won, largely due to the weakness of the South Vietnamese government. He recommended a political compromise. The generals were furious at McNamara's memo. In 1968, Johnson removed him from the White House by appointing him head of the World Bank, an international organization created by the United Nations for financing projects in developing nations.

McNamara came to represent to the American public both the strengths and the weaknesses of American intervention in Vietnam. He appeared consistently rational, full of good intentions, and sure he was doing the right thing. However, he seemed blind to indications that perhaps he was not doing the right thing. After the war ended, McNamara pub-

licly admitted some of the doubts and debates of the U.S. leadership during the Vietnam War.

## After the war

In 1981, McNamara retired from public service, but not from controversy. He authored several books, including *The Essence of Security; One Hundred Countries, Two Billion People*; and *Out of the Cold*. The book that revived debate on the Vietnam War, however, was *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam*. In the book, McNamara discussed the tensions within the White House during the Vietnam War.

While McNamara confessed his growing doubts about the war at the time more soldiers were being sent to Vietnam and the bombing of North Vietnam was increasing, the admission pleased no one. Supporters of the war felt he had betrayed the soldiers' sacrifice. Opponents of the war felt he should have spoken out much earlier. The aging McNamara weathered the controversy, as he had the social unrest spurred by massive antiwar protests during the 1960s.

Over the years, McNamara—the scholar, the mathematician, the Whiz Kid—has received numerous awards and recognition. He was honored with the Presidential Medal of Freedom (with Distinction), the Albert Einstein Peace Prize, the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Freedom from Want Medal, and the Dag Hammarskjöld Honorary Medal.

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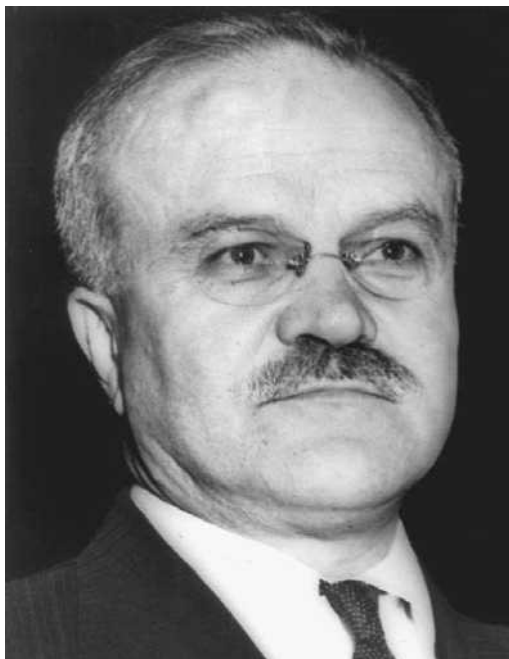
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# Vyacheslav Molotov

**Born February 25, 1890**  
**Kukarka, Nolinsk region,**  
**Vyatka province, Russia**  
**Died November 8, 1986**  
**Moscow, Russia, Soviet Union**

**Soviet revolutionary,**  
**politician, and statesman**



**V**yacheslav Molotov was the closest friend and loyal aide of **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry) throughout Stalin’s reign as leader of the Soviet Union. Won over to communism as a teenager, Molotov never strayed from the strict party line and always viewed Stalin’s policies, however terror-filled, as correct. Molotov’s talks with Western powers in the years following World War II (1939–45) helped fuel the Cold War (1945–91). The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry from 1945 to 1991 between the United States and the Soviet Union, falling just short of military conflict.

## Young revolutionary

Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich Scriabin was born to middle-class parents in the small central Russian town of Kukarka. Around 1912, he adopted his revolutionary surname “Molotov,” which means hammer. Molotov was related to Russian composer Aleksandr Nikolaevich Scriabin and as a youngster studied the violin. During this time, the tsars, Russia’s monarchy, ruled the country harshly, decreasing local rule and ap-

“Stalin’s henchman Molotov, 96, died old and in bed, a privilege he helped to deny to millions.” — *U.S.*

*commentator George F. Will*

**Vyacheslav Molotov.**  
*Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

pointing aristocrats to administer over the industrial workers and peasants. This led to poor working conditions, greater poverty and hunger, and growing discontent among the citizens. As Molotov's family became more interested and involved in the peasant and worker unrest in the early and mid-1900s, he decided to forgo study in music for a more practical education. He attended high school in the nearby city of Kazan. There, Molotov was introduced to the ideas of German philosopher Karl Marx (1818–1883), considered the father of communism. Communism is a system of government, where a single party, the Communist Party, controls all aspects of people's lives. In economic theory, it prohibits private ownership of property and business, so that goods produced and wealth accumulated are shared relatively equally by all.

Revolutionary ideas had reached into the Nolinok region by 1905. The young, impressionable Molotov and his friends listened to speeches and heard of the general railroad strikes, the workers' rebellion in Saint Petersburg, and landowners' estates burning in several Russian provinces. Molotov joined student Marxist groups and began learning about the Bolsheviks (communists) when a close friend's father began financially supporting them. Molotov joined the Social Democratic Party in 1906 at the age of sixteen and leaned toward the Bolshevik faction.

Molotov soon learned revolutionary tactics such as agitation, which involved getting workers riled up about injustices they were being subjected to and inciting them to take action, and getting the communist message to everyday Russians. Arrested and exiled for two years for radical politics in opposition to the tsar, he ended up in Vologda near the city of Saint Petersburg. Even in exile, Molotov continued to hone his revolutionary skills, as he worked among railroad workers. After his release from exile, he studied at Saint Petersburg Polytechnic. Molotov met Joseph Stalin in 1912 through his aunt who rented a room to Stalin. Stalin was already constantly sought after by police for spreading revolutionary communist propaganda, but Molotov and Stalin struck up a life-long friendship. Also that year, Molotov became associated with the new Communist Party newspaper, *Pravda*, which means "truth."

Through the next five years, Molotov was exiled several more times for revolutionary activities but maintained

his work for *Pravda*. Back in Saint Petersburg by 1916, he worked closely with Bolshevik leader Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924) and Stalin in opposition to the Provisional Government. Molotov helped organize workers' strikes, which preceded the February Revolution in 1917. Molotov was a member of the Military Revolutionary Committee that planned the successful Bolshevik coup, known as the "October Revolution," that same year. The October Revolution marked the beginning of the communist state in Russia.

Continuing to gain Stalin's trust and holding several party posts in the provinces, Molotov rose through the Communist Party ranks, establishing himself as a strict party line administrator. In November 1920, he was appointed secretary, or chief official, of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Bolshevik Party. On a trip to the Ukraine, Molotov met a young Jewish female party worker, Polina Zhemchuzhina, on a sugar beet farm where she labored. They were soon married. Stalin was the best man.

## **Communist Party ascent**

In March 1921, Molotov was elected to full membership in the Central Committee of the entire Communist Party, a membership he would retain until 1957. In 1921, he was briefly the secretary (head) of the Central Committee before being replaced by Stalin in 1922. Molotov, now Stalin's most trusted and faithful aide, remained second in command of the Central Committee. Upon Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin, with Molotov's help, continued to concentrate power in his hands, fighting off all opponents. Stalin arranged for Molotov to gain full membership in the Politburo on January 1, 1926, a membership he retained until 1952. The Central Committee was the administrative body of the Communist Party that ruled the Soviet Union. The secretary of the Central Committee was the top power in the party, therefore the top power in the country. The Politburo, known as the Presidium between 1953 and 1966, was contained in the Central Committee and directed party policy.

## **Stalin loyalist**

Molotov and Stalin worked together constantly, as Stalin managed to take full control of the Soviet government



by the late 1920s. Molotov took the lead in Stalin's plan of collectivization of agriculture, in which private ownership of land was abolished and all farmers on state farms were grouped together. It was Molotov who "dealt" with the wealthier peasants resisting collectivization, murdering many or sending them to labor camps in Siberia. Molotov also wholeheartedly went along with Stalin's political purges of the 1930s. Many of those purged were Stalin's and Molotov's old Bolshevik friends and colleagues. Without hesitation, Molotov signed their death warrants or approved their removal to the labor camp system. Even his own wife, who was a Jew, was sent to the labor camps without Molotov's protest. Molotov was able to work with Stalin without challenging his authority, so he was able to avoid being purged himself. On December 19, 1930, Stalin made Molotov chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the Soviet Union. This title was much like the prime minister or head of government in other countries. Of course, Stalin was the real head of power, but Molotov, in name, was head of the Soviet government.

## **World War II**

In 1939, with Europe headed for war, while still chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars, Molotov also became Commissar of Foreign Affairs. Molotov opened talks with such Western powers as England and France but also began secret talks with Germany's Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and his Nazi Party, known primarily for its brutal policies of racism. Dismayed at the rise of Nazi Germany, Stalin and Molotov secretly decided to try and deal with Hitler. Shocking the United States and Western Europe, on August 23, 1939, Molotov and Stalin concluded a treaty of nonaggression with German foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop (1893–1946). The Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, also called the Soviet-German Nonaggression Treaty, divided Europe into Nazi and Soviet spheres. Despite the treaty, Hitler surprised Stalin by invading the Soviet Union on June 21, 1941.

Talks with Western countries took on a great deal of urgency. In May 1942, Molotov worked out a treaty with England for mutual economic and military aid. He proceeded on to the United States and worked out further military agree-



ments. To stop the advance of Hitler's Nazi army that was overrunning Europe, the Soviets became uneasy allies of Britain and the United States. In October 1943 Molotov met with Allied leaders to plan a conference in November in Tehran, Iran. British prime minister **Winston Churchill** (1874–1965; see entry), U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45), and Stalin, with Molotov by his side, attended. Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin were dubbed the "Big Three." Molotov would attend all postwar conferences.

The Big Three met again in February 1945 in Yalta in the Crimea region (a peninsula that juts out into the Black Sea) of the Soviet Union to decide defeated Germany's postwar fate. Always sullen and serious, Molotov was even less willing than Stalin to come to agreement with Churchill and Roosevelt. Eventually the latter two gave in to many of the Soviets' demands. Roosevelt, realizing the great devastation the Nazis had caused the Soviet Union, wanted to go along with the Soviets as much as possible. It was Molotov who was

**Vyacheslav Molotov signs a document in 1939.**

*Reproduced by permission of Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.*



## The Molotov Cocktail

Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov had the privilege of having a weapon named after him during World War II. As the Nazi Germany army was launching a massive offensive against the Soviet Union in 1941, the retreating Soviet Army was desperate to try to repel the attack any way they could. A key element of the German attack was large numbers of armored tanks. An effective, but simple, weapon against tanks was a crude bomb made of a bottle filled with a flammable fluid, usually gasoline, and fitted with a wick at the neck, often a rag soaked in gasoline. A Soviet soldier would ignite the wick and hurl it at a German tank, aiming for the engine compartment and trying to set the engine on fire, or aiming it at the space between the turret, or gun enclosure, and the main tank shell. The soldiers began calling these antitank weapons Molotov Cocktails after the foreign minister.

Though simple in construction, it took daring to use the Molotov Cocktails, as the thrower had to be within a throwing



A soldier prepares to throw a Molotov Cocktail, named after Vyacheslav Molotov. *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

distance of the often-advancing tank with enemy foot soldiers shortly behind. The association of his name with a crude but deadly weapon added to Molotov's communist hard-line public image through the Cold War.

largely responsible for beginning the division of Europe into the Eastern (Soviet) European sphere of influence and the Western (United States, Britain, and France) European sphere.

## Cold War tensions

Roosevelt died suddenly on April 12, 1945, and Vice President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry) took over the U.S. presidency. Within two weeks, Truman called Molotov to the White House and thoroughly be-

rated him for the way the communists were taking over Eastern Europe. Molotov was enraged. Molotov and Stalin realized that the wartime Allied cooperation was at an end. The Cold War was at hand. At the next postwar conference in July 1945 in Potsdam, Germany, President Truman took Stalin and Molotov aside and told them the United States had a new powerful weapon. Truman did not think they realized he was speaking of an atomic weapon. However, the Soviets had had spies deep within the U.S. atomic weapon development program, the Manhattan Project, for some time and already knew of the successful U.S. detonation of the world's first atomic bomb. The Soviets were already pursuing their own atomic program, of which Molotov was initially in charge.

In February 1946, Stalin made a speech in Moscow that seemed to declare another war, this time on all capitalist countries. At the Council of Foreign Ministers Conference in Paris in April, Molotov inflamed Cold War tensions more by speaking as though all countries must come under communism sooner or later. It was in Paris that Molotov became known as Comrade Nyet (the Russian word for “no”). The Soviets, defensive about their own weakened condition after the war, wanted desperately to build a buffer zone around the Soviet Union to protect it from future Western aggression. They refused to budge on their occupations of Eastern European countries that were forming the buffer zone. Molotov also stressed his country wanted to keep Germany in a weakened state and divided. But on this point the United States wanted to strengthen and reunite Germany to resist what it saw as a real possibility of Soviet expansion farther west. Because of these unbending opposite viewpoints, the Paris Peace Conference from the end of July into October 1946 was a failure.

Meanwhile, the United States detonated two atomic bombs in the Pacific to remind the Soviets of its nuclear monopoly. But the Soviet atomic project was progressing rapidly. By that time, Stalin had taken the busy Molotov off the atomic development project and replaced him with Lavrenty Beria (1899–1953), head of the KGB, the dreaded Soviet secret police. Also inside the Soviet Union, Stalin had resumed his purge of all individuals he deemed anti-Stalin in any way. The loyal Molotov, however, continued to hold Stalin's trust.

What to do with the divided Germany continued to be a point of debate between the Soviets and the United States,

Britain, and France. In March 1948, Molotov, still Soviet foreign minister, charged the Western powers with using the Germany issue to annoy Soviet leadership. With Molotov's approval in June 1948, the Soviets began a total land blockade of the Western sectors of the city of Berlin that had been divided after World War II among the Allies, just as the whole of Germany had been divided. Inflaming Cold War tension even more, the blockade lasted until May 1949. The Allies, through a massive airlift of goods, supplied the blockaded city.

### **Fall from power**

About March 1949, Molotov seemed to have possibly landed at last on Stalin's purge list. Unexplainably, he disappeared from Soviet politics. Then sometime in midsummer, he was relieved of his foreign minister position. However, Molotov remained a member of the Politburo. Nevertheless, by late 1952, the ever more paranoid Stalin was clearly suspicious of Molotov, even thinking he may have been spying for the United States.

Only Stalin's death in March 1953 saved Molotov from being another purge victim. Even so, Molotov was the only Soviet official to show emotion at Stalin's funeral in 1953. Upon Stalin's death, Molotov was returned to his post as Soviet foreign minister, and he retained that position until June 1956, when disagreements grew with innovative **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry), the Soviet Union's new leader. Molotov's hard-line stance against the United States and Western European nations did not correlate with Khrushchev's idea of peaceful coexistence. Molotov also denounced Khrushchev's speeches against Stalin. Molotov firmly held to the correctness of Stalin's policies.

In early 1957, Molotov joined with the so-called Anti-Party group of party conservatives to remove Khrushchev from power at a Presidium (formerly the Politburo) meeting in June. The attempt failed. Molotov refused to admit he had been wrong. Molotov was stripped of all his posts and practically exiled when sent to Mongolia as ambassador between 1957 and 1960.

Between 1960 and 1962, Molotov managed to head the Soviet delegation to the International Atomic Energy

Agency in Vienna, Austria. His consistent criticism of Khrushchev, however, cost him that post. He began a long retirement in 1962. During Khrushchev's last months as secretary general in 1964, he had Molotov expelled from the Communist Party. Molotov continued to live in Moscow in obscurity with his wife, who had returned from the labor camps. In 1984, he was readmitted to the party due to the influence of **Andrey Gromyko** (1909–1989; see entry), Soviet foreign minister from 1957 to 1985. Gromyko had once worked under Molotov. Molotov wrote his memoirs, but they remained unpublished at his death in 1986.

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## Richard M. Nixon

**Born January 9, 1913**  
**Yorba Linda, California**  
**Died April 22, 1994**  
**New York, New York**

**U.S. president, vice president,  
senator, and congressman**

“The Cold War isn’t thawing; it is burning with a deadly heat. Communism isn’t sleeping; it is, as always, plotting, scheming, working, fighting.”

**Richard M. Nixon.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

**R**ichard Nixon was the thirty-seventh president of the United States. He also served as vice president for both terms of U.S. president **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61; see entry) through the 1950s and before that was a member of the U.S. Congress from 1947 to 1953. As a result, his public career spanned over half of the forty-six years of the Cold War (1945–91). Politically benefiting from a strong public anticommunist position in the 1940s and 1950s, Nixon would open the door to formal relations with communist China and pursue détente, or the easing of tensions, with the Soviet Union in the early 1970s. He would also become the first U.S. president to resign from office after facing almost certain impeachment over a domestic scandal.

### **From debate team to the navy**

Richard Milhous Nixon was born on January 9, 1913, in Yorba Linda, California, near Los Angeles. He was the second of five sons. His father, Frank, ran a service station and grocery store in nearby Whittier. His mother, Hannah Mil-

hous, was from a Quaker background. Nixon's father was combative and volatile, but his mother was much more restrained. Nixon would show traits of both in his later life, though his mother was his main lasting influence.

Nixon was also a hard worker, which led him to be an excellent student. At Whittier High School, Nixon was particularly good in debate, winning many debate contests. Graduating as an honors student, Nixon received a scholarship to Harvard University, but his family could not afford to send him there. He attended Whittier College instead. Graduating second in his class at Whittier, Nixon earned a scholarship to Duke University Law School in Durham, North Carolina, in 1934. He graduated third in his class in 1937. Moving back home to Whittier, Nixon practiced law from 1937 to 1942. As a young successful lawyer, he met Thelma "Pat" Ryan, a schoolteacher, in 1937, while they both were participating in an amateur play. They would marry in 1940 and have two daughters.

With the entrance of the United States in World War II (1939–45) in December 1941, Nixon moved his family to Washington, D.C., where he worked for several months in the Office of Price Administration. Unhappy with the administrative process, he joined the Navy in August 1942 and served in the South Pacific from 1942 to 1946. He attained the rank of lieutenant commander.

## **Young politician in Congress**

Upon returning to California after the war, Nixon entered politics at the encouragement of a group of influential Whittier businessmen. In 1946, he surprisingly defeated popular five-term Democrat Jerry Voorhis (1901–1984) for a seat in the U.S. Congress. During the campaign, Nixon suggested that his opponent had communist leanings. He would use this strategy again in 1950, when he defeated another popular Democrat, Helen Gahagan Douglas (1900–1980), for a U.S. Senate seat. Nixon found he could use Cold War issues to his benefit and gained both a reputation for his campaign methods and the nickname "Tricky Dick."

While in Congress, Nixon continued to pursue anti-communist issues to gain notoriety. He introduced a bill in

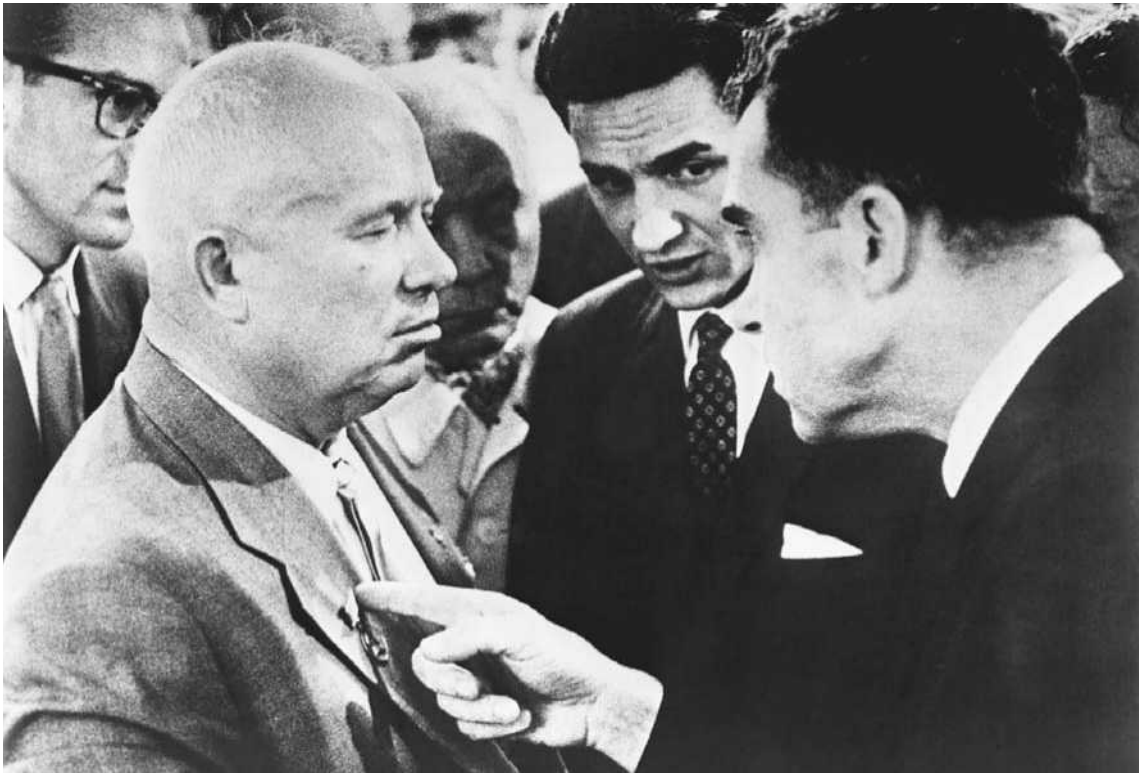


1948 that would require individual Communist Party members and organizations with connections to the Communist Party to register with the government. The Senate killed the bill. He also served from 1948 to 1950 on the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), a congressional group established to investigate and root out any communist influences within the United States. He gained much public attention in his pursuit of former State Department employee Alger Hiss (1904–1996), who had also been a foreign policy advisor to President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45). Nixon charged that Hiss was a spy for the Soviet Union in the late 1930s. Though Hiss forever denied the charges and no hard evidence was found, Nixon did obtain an indictment for perjury that led to a later conviction.

### **Vice president**

In 1952, World War II hero Dwight D. Eisenhower won the Republican presidential nomination. He selected Nixon as his running mate. Eisenhower believed Nixon would satisfy the more conservative elements of the Republican Party plus attract votes from the western United States. While Eisenhower took a more positive approach to the campaign, Nixon tended to raise more personal issues concerning the Democrats and their candidates. He even delved into personal issues about himself and his family to help his campaign. During the campaign, for example, Nixon was accused of accepting money from wealthy businessmen for his personal use. To save his place on the Republican ticket, Nixon provided a detailed explanation to a national television audience in what became known as the “Checkers Speech,” for his reference to the family dog named Checkers. The speech worked: the public came to strongly support him. He remained Eisenhower’s running mate and the two won the election handily.

Nixon was Eisenhower’s vice president for eight years. During that time, he was never fully accepted into the administration’s inner circle of advisors. However, he did campaign vigorously for Republican candidates, and many believe he redefined the vice president’s position into a more active role. Known more for his hard-hitting campaign tactics, Nixon did



make gains in working educational reform and a civil rights bill through Congress.

Through his years as vice president, Nixon also began redefining his personal political position to more of a moderate in politics to attract broader support for a possible presidential nomination in 1960. Through a series of illnesses suffered by Eisenhower from 1955 to 1957, Nixon gained much experience and public visibility while presiding over numerous Cabinet (a president's closest set of advisors) and National Security Council meetings in Eisenhower's temporary absences. He also made several foreign trips. One trip to Moscow led to a famous impromptu confrontation with Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry) at an international trade fair. Known as the “kitchen debate,” because the dialogue took place in front of an exhibit that highlighted an American kitchen, they had a spirited discussion of the merits of communism and capitalism. This episode further increased Nixon's popularity in the United States.

**U.S. vice president Richard Nixon makes a dramatic point with Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev in 1959.**  
*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

## A successful return to politics

Nixon won the Republican nomination for president in 1960 but lost a very close race to his Democratic opponent, U.S. senator **John F. Kennedy** (1919–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) of Massachusetts. A major factor in the race was a series of four televised debates between the two candidates. Though Nixon appeared to do well on the debate issues, Kennedy portrayed an image of youthful energy and poise. Many, including Eisenhower, urged Nixon to challenge the election results, but he chose not to and gained much public respect for not doing so.

Returning to private life, Nixon wrote a best-selling book, *Six Crises*, in 1961 (published a year later). In 1962, he reluctantly agreed to run for governor of California and lost his second straight election. Discouraged with politics, Nixon moved to New York to join a prestigious law firm. For the next five years, Nixon worked to build a strong political base for future campaigns. Following the Republicans' landslide loss in the 1964 presidential election behind U.S. senator Barry Goldwater (1909–1998) of Arizona, interest in Nixon rose again as a party moderate. Politics even entered other parts of Nixon's family life as his daughter Julie married Eisenhower's grandson, David Eisenhower, in 1967. Nixon gained the Republican nomination once again in 1968, reflecting a remarkable political comeback.

This time, the Democrats were greatly divided over the Vietnam War (1954–75). President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69; see entry), beleaguered by anti-war protests, had announced he would not seek reelection. The leading Democratic candidate, U.S. senator Robert F. Kennedy (1925–1968) of New York, was assassinated while campaigning in Los Angeles. Nixon ended up winning in another very close race over Democrat Hubert Humphrey (1911–1978), who had served as vice president in Johnson's administration.

## White House years

As president, Nixon proved to be aggressive on both domestic and foreign issues. He introduced environmental legislation as well as welfare and health care reform. He also addressed civil rights needs by introducing the nation's first

affirmative action programs to require government contractors to hire minorities. It was the most active domestic legislative agenda since Roosevelt's of the 1930s.

Nixon's Cold War accomplishments included obtaining a cease-fire in the Vietnam War, normalizing relations with communist China, and easing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, including the signing of arms control treaties. To assist in foreign matters, Nixon appointed Harvard professor **Henry Kissinger** (1926–; see entry) first as national security advisor and later as secretary of state.

During his 1968 presidential campaign, Nixon claimed to be the "peace candidate." He promised to bring an honorable end to U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. He did begin withdrawing ground troops from the region, but in turn escalated bombing campaigns. He adopted the policy that South Vietnam would assume greater responsibility for the ground war with support from the United States in the form of supplies and air support. The policy was called Vietnamization of the war. Meanwhile, negotiations with North Vietnam proved very slow. At first, Kissinger conducted them in secret, but in 1972 they became more public. Nixon expanded the ground war into the neighboring countries of Laos and Cambodia with U.S. and South Vietnamese troops to destroy enemy staging areas.

During the three years of negotiation under Kissinger, over twenty thousand more U.S. soldiers died. Throughout his time in office Nixon, like President Johnson before him, was the target of major antiwar protests. Nixon countered that he was supported by what he called the "silent majority," which Nixon believed were most Americans who simply were not politically vocal. On May 4, 1970, Ohio National Guard troops fired on a crowd of two thousand war protesters on the campus of Kent State University, killing four and wounding nine. The incident became a further rallying point for protesters. With negotiations continuing to falter, Nixon ordered intense bombing of North Vietnam cities in late December 1972, known as the "Christmas bombings." Finally, a cease-fire agreement was reached in January 1973.

The agreement succeeded in getting the United States out of Vietnam, but it did not save South Vietnam. In April 1975, the last few Americans were evacuated from the U.S.

embassy, as South Vietnam fell to the North. The collapse of South Vietnam led to the fall of noncommunist governments in Laos and Cambodia, and massive numbers of deaths.

## Improving relations with China and the Soviet Union

The United States had refused to recognize the Chinese government, known as the People's Republic of China (PRC), since it was established in October 1949. This had occurred for two reasons: An influential group of Chinese Americans known as the China Lobby and other Americans who were pro-Chinese had strongly lobbied to recognize only the Taiwanese government of the Republic of China (ROC) and keep the PRC out of the United Nations (UN); also, there was a strong anticommunist mood in the United States as well as a fear that a unified global communist movement led by China and the Soviets was underway.

Upon taking office, Nixon sought to establish discussions with the PRC through low-level contacts. After Nixon lifted travel and trade restrictions on the PRC in 1971, China officials responded that they were interested in increased talks. Nixon sent Kissinger to the PRC that year to lay plans for Nixon to visit. Nixon journeyed to China the following year for ten days in February 1972. Since the communist takeover, he was the first U.S. president to visit China while in office. The talks progressed well, resulting in the Shanghai Communiqué, a statement in which Nixon accepted only one China. Nixon agreed that the Taiwanese government of the Republic of China (ROC) was part of the PRC, not a separate nation. Later in 1979 (after Nixon's presidency), the United States would establish formal relations with the PRC.

Nixon next also sought improved relations with the Soviets. Fearing the new U.S. relations with the PRC and struggling with their own growing economic problems, the Soviets were ready to talk as well. In May 1972, Nixon traveled to Moscow to meet with Soviet leader **Leonid Brezhnev** (1906–1982; see entry). There, they signed two arms control treaties, including the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), and several other agreements focusing on such topics as cultural exchanges, space exploration, and health research. The treaties strictly limited de-



fensive antiballistic missile systems (ABMs) and froze offensive intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) at certain levels. Later in 1972, Nixon established a trade agreement providing the Soviets with grain and some new Western technologies. This period of *détente*, or the easing of tensions, however, would be short-lived and end not long after Nixon left office.

In Latin America, Nixon continued past U.S. policies of seeking to overthrow governments suspected of being pro-

**U.S. president Richard Nixon is surrounded by American and Chinese officials as he walks along the Great Wall of China in February 1972.** *Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.*



**U.S. president Richard Nixon (left) exchanges signed copies of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in May 1972.**

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communist. After President **Salvador Allende** (1908–1973; see entry) nationalized, or took control and ownership of, U.S. mining interests in Chile as part of economic reform measures, Nixon imposed economic restrictions on Chile from 1971 to 1973. These included restrictions on foreign financial assistance and private investments from the United States. In addition, millions of dollars were secretly given to opposition groups in Chile, leading to Allende's eventual overthrow and death in September 1973. Chilean army commander-in-chief Augusto Pinochet (1915–1999) took over leadership of the country.

### **A controversial second term**

In 1972, Nixon ran for reelection. He won in one of the largest landslides in U.S. history over the still badly divided Democrats and their candidate, U.S. senator George McGovern (1922–) of South Dakota. After securing the Vietnam

cease-fire agreement in January 1973, Nixon's main foreign policy involvement following reelection was an attempt to settle the Middle East dispute between the Arab nations and Israel. The October War of 1973 proved a major hurdle, as Israel, with limited support from the United States, badly defeated Arab forces. Following the brief war, in what became known as "shuttle diplomacy," Kissinger journeyed back and forth between the two sides, trying to create a breakthrough in resolving longstanding problems. However, in retaliation for U.S. support of Israel during the war, the oil-producing Arab nations through the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) limited oil exports to the United States. The fuel shortages led to higher gas prices and long lines at U.S. service stations as well as much less support for U.S. negotiation with the Arab nations.

Much of Nixon's second term of office was consumed with a scandal that eventually led to his resignation. What became known as Watergate involved employees of the Republican Party's Committee to Re-elect the President. They were caught burglarizing and wiretapping the national headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in June 1972 at the Watergate hotel and office complex in Washington, D.C. The burglars included former CIA and FBI agents hired by the Republicans with party campaign funds to conduct political espionage. Many Republican Party officials—as well as some of Nixon's closest advisors—received criminal convictions.

Eventually, astonishing connections to the White House were uncovered, including attempts at a cover-up and bribery of indicted defendants. Much evidence came from recorded White House conversations: it was revealed, for instance, that Nixon participated in the cover-up by directing the CIA to interfere with the FBI investigation and by giving "silence" money to the defendants. Spectacular televised Senate hearings extended into the summer of 1974. During Nixon's last eighteen months in office, he was consumed by the Watergate scandal, leaving Kissinger to run foreign affairs.

Facing certain impeachment by the House and conviction by the Senate, Nixon announced his resignation from the presidency on national television the evening of August 8, 1974. As Nixon and his family departed the White House grounds by helicopter the following day, millions watched on





## The Final Comeback

Richard Nixon resigned as U.S. president on August 8, 1974, and left the following day in disgrace. Many would have disappeared from public view the remainder of their lives after what he experienced. His actions relating to the Watergate burglary had been subjected to lengthy public hearings televised to the nation. Evidence mounted concerning his alleged cover-up of domestic political espionage activities. However, Nixon had been a fighter all his life, and he did not simply fade away once having left office.

Instead, in an effort to set his place in history, he wrote a series of books, including his memoirs, *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (1978). These books set his place in history, and he regained recognition as an expert in foreign relations by 1985. Several of the books were best-sell-

ers. Nixon would serve as advisor at times to presidents **Ronald Reagan** (1911–; served 1981–89; see entry), **George Bush** (1924–; served 1989–93; see entry), and Bill Clinton (1946–; served 1993–2001).

Richard Nixon wrote the following books after 1978:

*Leaders*. New York: Warner Books, 1982.

*Real Peace*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1984.

*No More Vietnams*. New York: Arbor House, 1985.

*1999: Victory without War*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988.

*In the Arena: A Memoir of Victory, Defeat, and Renewal*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990.

*Beyond Peace*. New York: Random House, 1994.

television. One month later, on September 8, his successor in the White House, Gerald R. Ford (1913–; served 1974–77), pardoned Nixon of all charges.

### Life after resignation

Nixon led an active private life after leaving office, despite the controversies leading to his downfall. Nixon retired first to his secluded estate in San Clemente, California, for six years and then moved to New York City, then New Jersey. Through a series of widely read books he authored, Nixon salvaged his career and enjoyed the status of an elder statesman in his last years. He remained active in various issues. For example, after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Nixon

campaigned for political support and economic aid for Russia and the other former Soviet republics. In 1994, Nixon announced the creation of the Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom, which focused on foreign policy issues. Later that year, he died of a massive stroke. He was buried next to his wife, who had died in 1993, on the grounds of the Nixon presidential library in Yorba Linda.

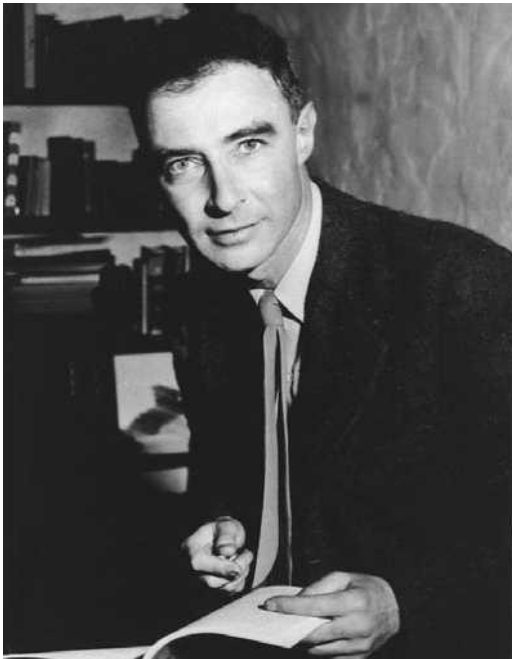
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## J. Robert Oppenheimer

**Born August 22, 1904**  
**New York, New York**  
**Died February 18, 1967**  
**Princeton, New Jersey**

**Physicist and developer of the  
U.S. atomic bomb**

"We knew the world could not be the same. A few people laughed, a few people cried. Most people were silent. I remembered the line from the Hindu scripture, the Bhagavad Gita: 'I am become Death, the destroyer of worlds.' I suppose we all thought that, one way or another."

**J. Robert Oppenheimer.**  
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Getty Images.*

**A**t 5:30 A.M. on July 16, 1945, the United States successfully detonated the world's first atomic bomb. The scientist in charge of the U.S. project to develop the bomb was J. Robert Oppenheimer. A brilliant physicist, Oppenheimer watched in amazement as the New Mexico sky and landscape lit up brighter than a hundred sunrises. That moment marked the dawning of the nuclear age. Nuclear weapons developed and manufactured for decades thereafter influenced Cold War (1945–91) politics more than any other single issue after 1945. Oppenheimer's part in the Cold War would be a push for arms control and turning nuclear power into a benefit for mankind.

The Cold War was a prolonged conflict for world dominance between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. Communism was a political and economic system, in which the Communist Party controlled all aspects of citizens' lives, as well as all economic policies. Private ownership of property was banned. Communism was not compatible with America's democratic way of life. The Cold War was a war of mutual fear and distrust. The scorecard was kept by the number of

nuclear weapons each superpower possessed and had pointed at the other.

## Young Oppenheimer

On August 22, 1904, J. Robert Oppenheimer was born to Julius and Ella Oppenheimer at their home on West Ninety-fourth Street in New York City. Many surmised the “J” in Oppenheimer’s name stood for Julius, but apparently it was simply a “J,” tying him to his father without making him a “junior.” A partner in a fabric importing business, Oppenheimer’s father immigrated to America from Germany in 1888 at the age of seventeen. He reportedly thrived on intellectual challenges concerning many topics, such as philosophy, religious freedom, and the art world. Oppenheimer’s mother, an artist with German heritage from Baltimore, Maryland, gave her son her enthusiasm and her time—reading with him and listening to his thoughts.

Just before Oppenheimer’s brother Frank was born in 1912, the family moved to a spacious upscale apartment overlooking the city and the Hudson River. The family lived comfortably, had a summer house on Long Island, took trips to Europe, and sent the boys to the private Ethical Culture School through high school. The Oppenheims were of Jewish descent but were not members of a temple. Instead, they belonged to the Society for Ethical Culture, which was based on ethics, not religion, and undertook social reform campaigns.

As a child, Oppenheimer received from his grandfather in Germany a small mineral collection. Young Robert was fascinated with the rocks, their crystalline structure, and avidly added to the collection throughout his teen years. He became the youngest member ever of the New York Mineralogical Club, where he delivered a paper at the age of twelve. Oppenheimer, shy and awkward among his peers, was clearly brilliant in the classroom. Before long, his parents suspected he was a genius. He could easily identify obscure pieces of classical music, had a keen interest in scientific subjects, and could learn foreign languages with ease. Both parents created a home environment where the young Oppenheimer’s independence and intellectual talent was nurtured.

Two teachers at his Ethical Culture High School had a lifelong influence on Oppenheimer. The first was Herbert

Smith, who had just completed a master's degree in English at Harvard when he came to the school. Oppenheimer was in Smith's homeroom all four years, and they developed a lasting friendship. The second was Augustus Klock, a highly skilled physics and chemistry teacher. In the book *Robert Oppenheimer, Letters and Reflections*, Oppenheimer explained that he first took physics and the next year chemistry from Klock, and he felt "a great sense of indebtedness to him ... he was a remarkably good teacher." Francis Ferguson, a student from New Mexico, entered Smith's homeroom his senior year and also became another lifelong friend of Oppenheimer's.

Graduating from Ethical Culture in 1921, both Oppenheimer and Ferguson expected to attend Harvard University that fall. However, Oppenheimer, on a family trip to Europe, became very ill and had to spend the 1921–22 school year recuperating. Doctors advised that Oppenheimer be removed from the cold, damp winter in New York. His parents asked Smith to accompany Oppenheimer on a trip to New Mexico—to the Page Dude ranch near Cowles, and to visit with Ferguson and his family in Albuquerque.

The New Mexico high country of western mountains and plateaus enthralled Oppenheimer. He became an expert horseman, exploring the Sangre de Cristo Mountains region northeast of Santa Fe. During these explorations, Oppenheimer first came upon the Pajarito Plateau and the boys school, Los Alamos Ranch School. Twenty years later, this would be the site recommended by Oppenheimer for the laboratory of the Manhattan Project, the U.S. wartime project to build an atomic bomb.

## **Harvard, September 1922 to June 1925**

In September 1922, Oppenheimer entered Harvard, where he thrived. Years later, he looked back to say how exciting his Harvard years were, how much he loved the unlimited opportunity to learn. Having taken advanced studies at Ethical Culture High School, he entered Harvard as a sophomore. During his second year, he took seven required classes, several electives, and still found spare time to read classics and literature from around the world. He also developed a sense of humor and a bit of a social life. He majored in chem-

istry, but his passion soon became physics, figuring out concepts and equations before professors finished presenting problems. Oppenheimer graduated summa cum laude (with highest honors) in June 1925 at the age of twenty-one.

## Cambridge and Göttingen

In September 1925, Oppenheimer entered Cambridge University to study at the prominent Cavendish Laboratory, where many of the world's most forward-thinking physicists researched. There, Oppenheimer was immersed in the “new” physics—the theory of relativity from Albert Einstein (1879–1955) and the quantum theory, to which Oppenheimer would make significant contributions. In September 1927, Oppenheimer continued his graduate study in Germany at the University of Göttingen. On May 11, 1927, Oppenheimer took and passed all his oral exams for his doctorate degree. Oppenheimer had completed his Ph.D. only two years after leaving Harvard.

Oppenheimer returned to the United States near the end of the summer of 1927. Due to his outstanding reputation in Europe, he was soon offered teaching positions at about ten of America's finest universities. He spent part of the 1927–28 school year at Harvard and part at the California Institute of Technology, known as Cal Tech, in Pasadena. Then, in the fall of 1928, he returned for one more time to study and work with physicists in Europe, first at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands, then in Zurich, Switzerland. Between 1926 and 1929, Oppenheimer authored sixteen papers on quantum theory.

## Research, teaching, and marriage

From fall 1929 to 1942, Oppenheimer's days were spent teaching and researching at both the University of California at Berkeley and Cal Tech in Pasadena. For Oppenheimer, the social upheavals of the 1930s—involving the stock market crash and the Great Depression (1929–41), the worst financial crisis in American history—had little meaning. He remained immersed in his research and teaching, conveying to his students the new physics and the beauty of

its patterns. However, a sad time for Oppenheimer came in 1931, when his mother died, then his father in 1937.

By 1937, Oppenheimer finally awakened to the social hardships and unrest caused by the economic woes of the Depression. Some of his students had no money to continue in school. Others could find no work upon graduation. Oppenheimer became interested in communism, as did many American intellectuals of the time. To many young intellectuals, it seemed to be a perfectly logical way to organize society and solve social problems. However, Oppenheimer had nagging suspicions that were confirmed in 1938, when he met three physicists who had just returned from Russia. They all reported a suffering society that endured murder and terror at the hands of Soviet dictator **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry). As a result, Oppenheimer completely turned his back on communist thought.

In 1938, word came that German scientists had successfully carried out nuclear fission, the splitting of an atom. Oppenheimer's mind began to race even faster than usual. The lab at Berkeley, where Oppenheimer headed up the staff, was known as the University of California Radiation Laboratory. Immediately, tests were set up to check the validity of the German experiments. Fears abounded that Germany would use the knowledge to build an atomic bomb, enabling them to hold the rest of the world hostage under threat of its use.

Meanwhile, Oppenheimer's brother Frank had married in 1937 and was scheduled to receive his doctorate in physics in the summer of 1939 at Cal Tech. Oppenheimer went to Pasadena for the occasion. There, he met Katherine (Kitty) Puening Harrison. The two were married in late 1940 and had their first child, Peter, on May 12, 1941. In August 1941, the Oppenheims bought a home in Berkeley and settled there. They would have a daughter, Katherine (called Toni), in 1944 and would be married for twenty-seven years until Oppenheimer's death.

## **The Manhattan Project**

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, and the United States entered World War II

(1939–45). Earlier in 1941, the National Academy of Sciences had proposed an all-out effort to build an atomic bomb before the Germans did. No one realized that the Germans, wrapped up in the war in Europe, had halted all work toward the bomb. U.S. efforts centered at the University of Chicago's Metallurgical Laboratory with Enrico Fermi (1901–1954) as principal investigator; at the University of California at Berkeley's Radiation Laboratory, where Oppenheimer researched; and at Columbia University's physics department. Fermi, a Nobel Prize-winning Italian physicist, had fled his native country a few years earlier.

Beginning in 1942, General Leslie R. Groves (1896–1970), who was in charge of carrying out the atomic bomb project, established two large engineering production centers at remote sites for manufacture of material needed to make atomic bombs: the Clinton Engineer Works in Oak Ridge, Tennessee (site Z), and the Hanford Engineer Works in eastern Washington State (site W), near the town of Richland. By mid-1942, research on the bomb project occurred at several universities across the country. Oppenheimer realized that one central site was needed to bring scientists together to design a bomb using material being manufactured at Oak Ridge and Hanford. Oppenheimer suggested to Groves that a site might be located in a remote area of New Mexico. They chose a site 100 miles (160 kilometers) north of Albuquerque that was once the Los Alamos Ranch School that Oppenheimer had visited on horseback as a teenager.

In November 1942, Groves selected Oppenheimer to be scientific director of the Manhattan Project at the new Los Alamos laboratory. Oppenheimer would lead his team of physicists to success in only two-and-a-half years. On Monday, July 16, 1945, the world's first atomic bomb was successfully detonated. The test's code name was Trinity (see box). One atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, Japan, on August 6, and another on Nagasaki, Japan, on August 9. The Japanese surrendered, and World War II came to an end.

Oppenheimer became known as the “father of the atom bomb.” It was a title he continually tried to correct by saying he was not the “father” but the director of the laboratory where the bomb was developed. In the book *The Story of J. Robert Oppenheimer*, Denise Royal reported that Oppenheimer had some misgivings about the accomplishment, stating, “I’m a little scared of what we built ... [but] a scientist





## “Trinity”

The location of the actual test site of the United States’ first atomic bomb detonation was near the northwest corner of the Alamogordo Air Base in New Mexico. J. Robert Oppenheimer, scientific head of the bomb project, gave the code name “Trinity” to the test. The name came from one of his favorite poems by John Donne (1572–1631).

On Saturday, July 14, 1945, the “gadget,” as the bomb was called, was placed at the top of a 100-foot (30.5-meter) steel tower, where it would be detonated. The test was set for 4:00 A.M. Monday morning, July 16. Thunder rumbled, and rain poured down Sunday night and in the early hours of Monday morning. Oppenheimer and General Leslie R. Groves, military head of the project, popped out of their dugout every few minutes to check the weather. The tension during those early hours was high. The weather finally began clearing by 4:00 A.M., and Trinity was a go for 5:30 A.M.

The moment before detonation, no one breathed. As noted on the Los Alamos National Laboratory Web site, Groves remembered he could only think what he would do if the count went to zero and nothing hap-

pened. But at exactly 5:29:45 A.M., the gadget exploded. The tension in Oppenheimer’s face relaxed immediately. General Thomas Farrell, deputy to Groves, later wrote that the force of the gadget, equivalent to 21,000 tons (19,000 metric tons) of TNT, lit up the country “with the intensity many times that of midday sun.... It lighted every peak, crevasse, and ridge of the nearby mountain range with a clarity and beauty that cannot be described but must be imagined. Seconds after the explosion came first the air blast pressing hard against the people, to be followed almost immediately by the strong, sustained awesome roar that warned of doomsday and made us feel we puny things were blasphemous to dare tamper with the forces heretofore reserved for the Almighty.” Oppenheimer quoted a line from the Bhagavad Gita, an ancient Hindu sacred text: “I am become Death, the destroyer of worlds.”

World War II would be over in a few weeks. On August 6, 1945, the first atomic bomb, named “Little Boy,” was dropped on Hiroshima, Japan. On August 9, 1945, the second atomic bomb, “Fat Man,” was dropped on Nagasaki. Japan surrendered unconditionally on August 14, 1945.

cannot hold back progress because he fears what the world will do with his discoveries.”

### A national figure

Oppenheimer resigned as director of the Los Alamos Laboratory in October 1945 and returned to university life at

Cal Tech. A year later he resumed teaching at Berkeley. Oppenheimer soon realized he had become a national figure, and a quiet life of university teaching would not be possible. On January 12, 1946, President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry) awarded Oppenheimer the “United States of America Medal of Merit” for his leadership on the Manhattan Project. Oppenheimer graciously accepted, but he had by that time devoted himself to seeing that atomic energy became an instrument of peace, for mankind’s benefit. Correctly predicting that international control of the new atomic weapons technology would prove difficult, he dedicated the rest of his life to that goal.

In 1946, Oppenheimer played an active role developing the U.S. congressional report, the Acheson-Lilienthal Report, calling for an international authority to control all atomic energy research. Bernard Baruch (1870–1965), the U.S. representative to the United Nations (UN), delivered the report to the UN. The Soviets completely rejected the suggestions in the report because they were deeply involved in the development of their own atomic bomb. They feared that the United States would use its monopoly in atomic weapons to attempt to gain influence over the Soviet Union and the communist countries of Eastern Europe under Soviet control. The Soviets were not about to turn over their atomic research to international control before they caught up with the United States.

On August 29, 1949, the Soviets succeeded in detonating an atomic bomb. Atomic weapons became a focal point of the Cold War. The United States and the Soviet Union would continuously attempt to one-up the other in nuclear weaponry.

## The H-bomb debate

Becoming a familiar person in Washington, D.C., from 1947 to 1953 Oppenheimer served on many govern-



## For the Benefit of Mankind

**Igor Kurchatov** (1903–1960; see entry) successfully directed the Soviet atomic bomb project, holding the same position in the Soviet project as Oppenheimer had in the Manhattan Project. However, following detonation of the Soviet atomic bomb, Kurchatov, just like Oppenheimer, devoted the rest of his life to stressing the peaceful uses of the atom for the benefit of human society.



**J. Robert Oppenheimer (far left) points to a picture of the atomic bomb blast in Hiroshima, Japan. American Chemical Society official H. D. Smythe, Manhattan Project engineer K. D. Nichols, and chemist Glenn Seaborg look on.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

ment committees, traveling to meeting after meeting. Most importantly, he began a six-year term on the General Advisory Committee (GAC) within the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). AEC was the governmental agency in charge of the nation's nuclear program (the terms atomic and nuclear were used interchangeably, but nuclear soon became the more updated term). GAC was composed of prestigious scientists who had been with Oppenheimer at the Manhattan Proj-

ect. Those scientists included Fermi, James B. Conant (1893–1978), and I. I. Rabi (1898–1998).

From the time Moscow tested its first atomic bomb in 1949, the national debate over arms control turned almost exclusively to whether or not to develop the thermonuclear or hydrogen bomb (H-bomb). The H-bomb was many times more powerful than the atomic bombs dropped on Japan. Its development had been considered at the start of the Manhattan Project, but too many technical problems pushed it to the background. The H-bomb was the special interest of physicist Edward Teller (1908–2003).

The highly influential GAC was asked to report on H-bomb debate. The report was delivered on October 30, 1949. Oppenheimer at that time was chairman of the GAC. Recognizing there was no nuclear arms control treaty on the horizon between the United States and the Soviet Union, the GAC called for intensified efforts to develop nuclear weapons for defensive purposes. They also recommended conducting further research in the thermonuclear process that involved nuclear fusion (combining nuclei of atoms), as opposed to nuclear fission (splitting nuclei) that had been used in the already developed atomic weapons. However, most importantly, the report opposed using the fusion process to develop a very powerful and destructive bomb. The GAC objected on moral grounds that its only use would be to exterminate civilians. Oppenheimer's stand against the H-bomb would not be forgotten.

Three of the five AEC commissioners agreed with the GAC report. Nevertheless, President Truman authorized development of the H-bomb in January 1950. Teller became the lead scientist. Technical problems were overcome, and the United States successfully tested its first H-bomb on November 1, 1952. A year later, not to be left behind, the Soviets tested an H-bomb on August 12, 1953. **Andrey Sakharov** (1921–1989; see entry) was the chief developer of the Soviet H-bomb.

## Oppenheimer caught in Red Scare

Oppenheimer had moved, in 1947, from California to Princeton, New Jersey, and become director of the Institute for Advanced Study. During Oppenheimer's service on the GAC

and at the Institute, a communist scare, called the “Red Scare,” was sweeping America. Influenced greatly by U.S. senator **Joseph R. McCarthy** (1908–1957; see entry) of Wisconsin, the government and American public began to see “red” everywhere. (“Red” was another word for communist.) Hundreds of innocent Americans were accused of being involved in communist plots to overthrow the U.S. democratic way of life.

Suddenly in early 1953, Lewis Strauss (1896–1974), chairman of the AEC, ordered the removal of classified documents from Oppenheimer’s safe. Apparently, Strauss had been greatly angered by Oppenheimer’s opposition to development of the H-bomb. Nothing more came of it until November, when **J. Edgar Hoover** (1895–1972; see entry), director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), received a letter from William L. Borden, who had been secretary of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. In the letter, after pointing out the access Oppenheimer had to national security issues, Borden accused Oppenheimer of being a Soviet spy. Hoover drew up a report on Oppenheimer. Strauss then met with President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61; see entry), who decided to withdraw Oppenheimer’s security clearance. Oppenheimer met with Strauss on December 21, 1953, and looked over the twenty-four points against him. Amazingly, twenty-two dealt with his left-wing political associations back in the 1930s, one with his association with French physicist and friend Haakon Chevalier (1901–1985), and the twenty-fourth with his opposition to the H-bomb development.

The Red Scare, or communist witch-hunt, had reached all the way to the developer of America’s atomic bomb. Hearings on the accusations against Oppenheimer were held in April and May 1954 before the AEC’s Personnel Security Board. On June 29, 1954, Oppenheimer’s security clearance was not renewed. Oppenheimer emerged from the hearings a changed man. His energy seemed drained, and as noted by former students and fellow scientists who visited him back at the Institute, he appeared old and frail, even though he was just fifty years old.

Oppenheimer was strongly backed by the scientific community and reappointed as director of the Institute. Strauss, who was on the Institute’s board of directors, approved, saying security was not a problem in the job. Howev-

er, in the minds of the American public, Oppenheimer appeared to have been a communist or a subversive, one who attempts to overthrow or undermine an established political system.

## Honors

While maintaining his position at the Institute, Oppenheimer devoted the rest of his life to the advancement of physics, traveling, lecturing, and writing. In 1958, the French government awarded him the Legion d'honneur (Legion of Honor). He was invited to participate in the Organization of American States (OAS) Professorship Program and traveled to Mexico and South America in 1961. The OAS was an organization of Central and South American countries that sought to maintain political stability in the region by providing a means to resolve disputes. Oppenheimer continued to travel and lecture throughout the world. He spent the last thirteen years of his life speaking on the need for the people of the world to communicate and understand one another.

In the early 1960s, President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63; see entry) invited Oppenheimer to the White House for a dinner honoring Nobel Prize winners. Some Americans saw this as a step toward an apology for the government's wrongdoing against Oppenheimer in 1954. Before Kennedy's assassination in November 1963, the president approved Oppenheimer for the AEC's Enrico Fermi Award, in honor of the late Italian-born physicist who had initiated the atomic age with his first controlled nuclear chain reaction at the University of Chicago in 1942. Oppenheimer and Fermi had worked together on the Manhattan Project. The award included a citation, gold medal, and \$50,000. President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69; see entry) presented the award to the fifty-nine-year-old Oppenheimer on December 2, 1963, in the White House Cabinet Room. Oppenheimer grasped his wife's hand as Johnson made the presentation, and in a thank you he acknowledged that it must have taken some courage for the president to make the award.

In 1964, Oppenheimer and his wife made a nostalgic trip back to Los Alamos. Returning to the Institute, Oppenheimer focused on the building and the development of a

new library. A lifelong chain smoker, Oppenheimer was diagnosed with cancer of the larynx in March 1966. He retired from the directorship of the Institute in mid-1966 but in the fall served as senior professor of physics, a position Albert Einstein once held. He continued going to his office until just before he died on February 18, 1967.

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# Ayn Rand

**Born February 2, 1905  
St. Petersburg, Russia  
Died March 6, 1982  
New York, New York**

**Novelist and philosopher**



In describing her beliefs, Ayn Rand stated, as noted on the Ayn Rand Institute Web site, “My philosophy, in essence, is the concept of man as a heroic being, with his own happiness as the moral purpose of his life, with productive achievements as his noblest activity, and reason ... his only absolute [most important quality].” Rand’s early experiences while growing up in Russia, coupled with the philosophy of objectivism (which says a person’s own life and happiness is the ultimate good; see box), made her a vocal opponent of communism. Her position as an internationally published author and widely read philosopher made her a prominent and highly respected figure during the Cold War (1945–91).

## Earliest years

Alissa (Alice) Zinovievna Rosenbaum, later known as Ayn Rand, was the first of three daughters born to Zinovy Zacharovich (“Fronz”) and Anna Borisovna (Alice) Rosenbaum. Her younger sisters were Natasha and Elena. The Rosenbaum family lived in a large, comfortable apartment overlook-

“The smallest minority on earth is the individual. Those who deny individual rights cannot claim to be defenders of minorities.”

**Ayn Rand.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*



ing one of the great squares of the Russian city of Saint Petersburg. They lived above the pharmacy owned by Rand's father. She respected her father, but he was distant. In addition, Rand did not get along well with her mother, seeing her in a negative light as a very social person who was fundamentally indifferent to the world of ideas. Rand's mother would often show her off at parties when she was very young because she was so bright and intelligent. The young Alissa learned she was admired by adults for the qualities of her mind.

### **Winds of change**

In the 1910s, Russia was at war with Germany and Austria. Times were difficult under the leadership of the tsar, the emperor of Russia. People stood in long bread lines in the cold Russian winter. Mass strikes by workers kept production of goods at a very low level. To make matters worse, over one million Russian army deserters from the front lines began looting shops and homes as they retreated back into Russia. Unrest gripped the entire country.

It was on Rand's birthday in 1917 at the age of twelve that she witnessed the first shots of the Russian Revolution from her balcony in Saint Petersburg. Huge angry crowds gathered, protesting the current regime. A unit of the National Guard appeared and ordered the crowd to break up. When they screamed in defiance, the soldiers began shooting and the crowd scattered. But the next day, they returned and were joined by the very soldiers who had shot at them. By the end of February, the tsar had abdicated, or given up the throne, and political power passed to the citizens of Russia.

The euphoria over the downfall of the tsar and new freedom did not last long. By the end of October, the Bolshevik revolutionaries saw their opportunity and conducted a bloody coup. The Bolsheviks made up a revolutionary political party of Russian workers and peasants that became the Communist Party after the Russian Revolution of 1917; the terms Bolshevik and communist became interchangeable, with communist eventually becoming more common.

A communist gang nationalized Rand's father's shop. Nationalization refers to a government taking ownership of a

business. She watched her father stand helpless and frustrated at the loss of the business he had built by himself. The communists demanded her family give up everything they had worked for; this horrible injustice came to signify what communism was all about in young Alissa's mind.

Communism, which was promoted everywhere, was based on the principle that one must live for the state and not for oneself. To Rand, communism was the horror at the root of all the other horrors taking place around her. This was the source of the bloodshed, the confiscation of property, the night arrests, and the fear gripping her beautiful city. She viewed communism as an unspeakable evil, the destroyer of individual freedom and initiative. This viewpoint was to become the basis for her new philosophy and would define her life thereafter.

## Moving on

After communism was instituted, there was little money in the Rosenbaum household. Food and fuel were scarce in the city and crime was rampant. In 1918, the family was able to obtain travel permits and left for Crimea, by the Black Sea in southwestern Russia, where the family had spent many summers. In 1921, Rand graduated from high school and then Crimea also fell to the Bolsheviks. As the family prepared to return to Saint Petersburg, which was now called Petrograd, Rand burned her diary. She had written down her philosophical ideas and plans for stories, but she knew those would be considered heretical, or against the established views, if discovered by the communists in Petrograd.

Rand began studies at the University of Petrograd, majoring in history with a minor in philosophy. It was here that she watched her first American movies and was fascinated by the bright world projected there. It was in sharp contrast to the dark, brooding atmosphere of Russia. Rand graduated with highest honors in 1924 from the newly renamed University of Leningrad. The city had once again been renamed, to Leningrad, in 1924 when Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924), considered the father of communism, died. While in her undergraduate program, Rand took a class from Professor Nicolas O. Lossky (1870–1965), a distinguished in-



## Objectivism

According to objectivism, a person's own life and happiness is the ultimate good. To achieve happiness requires a morality of rational selfishness, one that does not give undeserved rewards to others or ask them for oneself.

Objectivism was made for the era of industrial capitalism. It teaches that a harmony of interests exists among rational individuals, so that no one's benefit need come at the price of another's suffering. Because the human mode of living is production, we are all creators, making new goods through our productive work. Because reason is our means of survival, we stand to benefit from every discovery oth-

ers make, every image or story they share, and every dollar they earn by production and trade.

Objectivism honors achievement and celebrates greatness because civilization rests on the shoulders of the industrious. It holds that humans live best as rational traders, dealing with others by exchanging value for value. It teaches integrity because rational beings are honest—they love truth more than deception. Objectivism values reasonable action, purposeful living, and self worth. Its major element of individualism operates in a capitalist economy, leaving no room for collectivism or communism.

ternational authority on Plato. Through his course, she found further definition for her emerging philosophical system, which she termed objectivism.

### New beginnings

Rand gathered together the necessary paperwork to visit relatives in Chicago, Illinois, and was able to leave Russia in January 1926. She never returned. She left France by ship February 10 and arrived in New York City on February 18 with fifty dollars in her pocket. During her six-month stay in Chicago, she adopted the pen name Ayn Rand. Ayn was the name of a Finnish writer whose work she had not read but whose name she liked and took as her own. Following her time in Chicago, she left for Hollywood, California.

The very day Ayn arrived in Hollywood, she found a job as a movie extra with director Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959). It was on the set of his film *King of Kings* that she met actor

Frank O'Connor (1897–1979). They were married on April 15, 1929, and remained married until he died in 1979. They never had any children as Rand considered writing her priority in life. She became a naturalized U.S. citizen on March 13, 1931.

## Writing for life

As a young child, Rand had begun to invent her own stories and movie scenarios. It was while on a summer family trip to Austria, Switzerland, and England in 1914 that she had decided to become a writer. She read *The Mysterious Valley* by French writer Maurice Champagne (1868–1951) and fell in love with its hero, Cyrus. This character became the model for the heroine in her first novel, *We the Living*, which she completed in 1933. In her novel, the heroine's name is Kira, the feminine form of Cyrus.

In 1918, the works of French writer Victor Hugo (1802–1885) influenced her. His was a world of unprecedented scope and imaginative plots, and man was seen as a hero. At this time, Rand became conscious of style in writing. Her belief in the heroic character of man would be the underlying theme of all her writings and indeed of her philosophy of objectivism.

Rand spent several years in Hollywood until she and O'Connor moved to New York City in 1934. Her days were spent writing screenplays, short stories, and a novel, and also working odd jobs and mastering English. Her talent paid off with two Broadway plays and publication of *We the Living* in the United States and England in 1936.

The book that made Rand famous was *The Fountainhead*. Published in 1943 after a dozen rejections, this novel presented her mature portrait of "man as hero." Rand had become a significant influence on American culture and history. The novel was later to become a film starring Gary Cooper (1901–1961) and Patricia Neal (1926–). Rand moved back to Los Angeles with O'Connor in 1943 to write the screenplay.

*The Fountainhead* created controversy with its very strongly conservative tone in which the individual is praised above the common good of society, but her epic novel *Atlas Shrugged* was the literary and philosophical high of Rand's career. It combined her philosophy of strong individualism (anticollectivism) with a science fiction setting. By 1957, the



**Writer Ayn Rand testifies before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) on October 20, 1947.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Cold War was well entrenched and the American economy was strong, so the theme of individualism over collectivism had a stronger appeal. After the publication of *Atlas Shrugged* in 1957, she turned to nonfiction. She wrote many essays and columns and made numerous public appearances as a lecturer.

Rand was an active and vocal opponent of communism and collectivism, a theory that promotes group control. In 1947, Rand was called as a “friendly witness” by the U.S. House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). The committee was charged with investigating activities by organizations and individuals posing a threat to the U.S. government. Rand testified about the communist penetration of the film industry in Hollywood. She primarily discussed the movie *Song of Russia*, which she felt totally misrepresented life in the communist Soviet Union as being

better than it actually was. She claimed that “anticapitalist” themes were often included in Hollywood productions. HUAC drew deep divisions in the country as it led to blacklisting, or refusing to employ, some workers in a system that claimed to honor freedom.

### **Creating an institute**

Rand met future associates Barbara Branden (1929–) and Nathaniel Branden (1930–) in 1950. With Nathaniel, she prepared a course entitled “The Basic Principles of Objectivism,” to be presented at the Nathaniel Branden Institute to promote her philosophy. This institute, formed in 1958, promoted lectures, courses, and publications in philosophy. It was the first formal organization to promote objectivist ideas.

The world was in the grips of an intense political and economic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet

Union from 1945 to 1991. This showdown of capitalism versus communism was a fight for freedom called the Cold War. It was being played out on the world stage, and it touched the heart of Rand's philosophy. The Cold War was a battle of philosophies, or ideas on how to live life, between the communist Soviet Union and the democratic, capitalist United States. From Rand's early years, communism had evolved into a system of government in which a single party, the Communist Party, controlled all aspects of people's lives. In economic theory, it prohibited the private ownership of property and business so that all goods produced and wealth accumulated were supposedly shared by all. In reality, the Soviet people lived in poverty and had no individual liberties. Communism also banned all religious practices.

Democracy, on the other hand, is a system of government consisting of several political parties whose members are elected to leadership roles by the general population. Citizens enjoy individual liberties such as freedom of speech, press, and religion. Capitalism promotes and encourages private ownership of property and businesses. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention. Communism and capitalism are completely incompatible.

To further promote her cause of capitalism and objectivism, Rand began publishing a newsletter known in 1962 as the *Objectivist Newsletter*. It became the *Objectivist* in 1966 and the *Ayn Rand Letter* in 1971. In 1963, Rand received an honorary doctor of humane letters degree from Lewis and Clark College in Oregon.

In October 1951, Rand and O'Connor moved back to New York City on a permanent basis. O'Connor died in 1979; Rand died in her New York apartment on March 6, 1982. At the funeral, Rand's body was laid next to the symbol she had adopted as her own—a 6-foot dollar sign. In the years since her death, interest in her ideas has only increased and many of her writings have been published posthumously.

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# Ronald Reagan

Born February 6, 1911  
Tampico, Illinois

U.S. president, governor, and actor



**R**onald Reagan was the fortieth president of the United States. Previously a radio sportscaster and Hollywood actor, his exceptional skills as an orator brought him the label “the Great Communicator” during his political career. Appearing easygoing with a folksy charm, he brought a hardline anticommunist direction to the White House. Reagan has been credited as one of the key individuals responsible for ending the Cold War (1945–91). The Cold War was a prolonged conflict for world dominance between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats.

## Sportscaster and movie actor

Ronald Wilson Reagan was born in Tampico, Illinois, in February 1911. He was the second child born to Jack Reagan and Nelle Wilson. Reagan acquired the nickname “Dutch” from his father while an infant. Reagan’s father was a struggling shoe salesman who had periodic bouts with alco-

“Freedom is a fragile thing and is never more than one generation away from extinction. It is not ours by inheritance; it must be fought for and defended constantly by each generation, for it comes only once to a people. Those who have known freedom, and then lost it, have never known it again.”

**Ronald Reagan.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*



holism. For several years, the family moved from town to town as Jack Reagan held various jobs. In 1920, the family settled in Dixon, Illinois. Despite poor finances, Reagan was able to attend Eureka College in Eureka, Illinois. He played football and participated in the drama society. Though not earning exceptional grades, he was very popular and elected class president his senior year.

Reagan graduated in 1932 with a degree in economics and sociology. He decided to enter the new and growing field of radio broadcasting. His first broadcasting job was with WOC in Davenport, Iowa. He provided play-by-play descriptions of Eureka College football games, entirely from memory when he would return to the radio station. He next moved to WHO in Des Moines, where he broadcast Chicago Cubs baseball games. Because the station could not afford for him to broadcast directly from the games, his accounts came from ticker tape summaries arriving in the station.

In the early spring of 1937, Reagan attended Cubs spring training camp in Southern California. While there, he took a screen test with Warner Brothers studio in Hollywood. The studio signed him to a five-year acting contract. Though he appeared mostly in low-budget “B” movies (as opposed to big-budget blockbusters), he commonly played the role of an easy-going, All-American “good guy.” Many claimed he was essentially playing himself. Reagan appeared in more than fifty movies over a twenty-seven-year period. His most notable films were *Knute Rockne—All American* (1940) and *Kings Row* (1942). While filming a movie in 1938, he met actress Jane Wyman (1914–). They married in 1940, had one daughter, Maureen, and adopted a son, Michael. The couple divorced in 1948.

During World War II (1939–45), Reagan was commissioned as a cavalry officer and assigned to the army film unit in Los Angeles, where he made training films. To the public, however, he was portrayed as a combat field soldier.

## **From liberal Democrat to conservative Republican**

Following the war, Reagan was voted president of the actors’ union, called the Screen Actors Guild, from 1947 to

1952 and again in 1959. To the dismay of many of its members, Reagan testified as a “friendly witness” before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). With the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union taking shape, the committee was created to search for communist influences within the nation. Communism is a system of government in which the nation’s leaders are selected by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. All religious practices are banned. Reagan helped rid the Hollywood film industry of supposed communist sympathizers. As a result, actors, directors, and writers suspected of communist ties were blacklisted, meaning they could not be hired without fear of the employer being accused of aiding the communist cause. Many of the union members were disgusted with his committee appearance.

During this early postwar period, Reagan maintained a Democratic Party allegiance. He had been influenced by his father, who had landed a federal administrative role in the New Deal programs of President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45). The programs were designed to combat economic hardships brought on by the Great Depression (1929–41), the worst financial crisis in American history. Reagan supported Roosevelt’s Democratic successor, President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry), in the 1948 presidential elections. Reagan’s views, however, were becoming increasingly conservative and influenced by his future wife, Nancy Davis (1923–), whom he met in 1949 (and married in 1952).

By 1950, Reagan began supporting Republican candidates, including the successful presidential campaigns in 1952 and 1956 of **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61; see entry) Through the 1950s, Reagan’s movie acting career declined. He became host of the popular television drama series *General Electric Theater*. Reagan also became a spokesman for General Electric, touring company offices across the nation giving inspirational speeches. Yet his increasingly conservative views led General Electric to fire Reagan as its spokesman and television program host when his speeches became more ultraconservative, which alienated some middle-of-the-road viewers.

Reagan's political visibility was steadily growing. In 1960, he delivered over two hundred campaign speeches in support of Republican candidate **Richard Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74; see entry), who lost to Democratic challenger **John F. Kennedy** (1919–1963; served 1961–63; see entry). By 1962, Reagan formally changed his political party affiliation to the Republican Party. He also actively campaigned for Nixon's unsuccessful bid for the California governorship that year. He next campaigned on behalf of the 1964 Republican presidential candidate, U.S. senator Barry Goldwater (1909–1998) of Arizona. In the last week before election day, Reagan gave a thirty-minute nationally televised speech. The speech brought him to national prominence in politics and made him a key spokesman for the Republican right, or most conservative members.

### **Governor Reagan goes to the White House**

With his newfound prominence, Reagan ran for governor of California in 1966 and upset Democrat incumbent Pat Brown (1905–1996). Reagan pledged to crack down on campus antiwar protesters opposing the Vietnam War (1954–75). He served two terms until 1974. During that time, he erased a large state budget deficit through large tax increases and reductions in state education and welfare programs.

While governor, Reagan became the most recognized national spokesman for conservative causes. He made a belated run at the Republican presidential nomination in 1968 and then supported Nixon again in 1972. In 1976, Reagan made his first hard run for the party's nomination in a harsh attack on a fellow Republican, President Gerald Ford (1913–; served 1974–77). Reagan was critical of SALT I (a strategic arms agreement with the Soviet Union) and the détente policies of U.S. secretary of state **Henry Kissinger** (1923–; see entry). (Détente was a mutual agreement to relax or ease tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.) Ford barely managed to win the Republican nomination but lost to his Democratic opponent, Georgia governor **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81; see entry) in the national election.

By 1980, Reagan was in a good position for a strong showing in the presidential race. He easily won the party's



nomination for president and chose longtime politician **George Bush** (1924–; served 1989–93; see entry) as his running mate. Reagan proposed major tax cuts and increased defense spending while balancing the budget.

Reagan's opponent, President Carter, running for reelection, was facing serious problems at home and abroad. The U.S. economy was struggling with high inflation, or rising price of goods, and unemployment rates, and Carter had been unable to resolve the ongoing Iran hostage crisis. A group of militant Iranian students had stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran in November 1979, taking the American staff hostage. The Iranians demanded that Carter return the former unpopular leader of Iran, the shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919–1980), who had been given permission by Carter to come to the United States for cancer treatment. Negotiations between the United States and Iran led nowhere, and a military rescue operation to free the hostages ended in disaster, when eight U.S. soldiers died in a helicopter crash. Carter was seen as weak and ineffective on international issues.

**U.S. president Jimmy Carter (left), the Democratic nominee, shakes hands with his Republican challenger, former California governor Ronald Reagan, during a 1980 presidential debate in Cleveland, Ohio.** *Photograph by Ron Kuntz. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Reagan campaigned to bring America back to international respectability and charged that Carter had underfunded the military, allowing the Soviets to gain a military advantage. He also claimed the strategic arms agreement SALT II that Carter had signed in 1979 gave the Soviets an advantage. Reagan handily defeated Carter and became president at sixty-eight years of age. On the very day of Reagan's inauguration in January 1981, the hostages were freed from Iran. Questions were later raised if secret deals had been made to ensure the release came after Reagan had won the election, since an earlier release might have benefited Carter's reelection chances.

Only weeks after Reagan took office, a mentally disturbed individual named John Hinckley (1955–) fired six shots at the president and his entourage as they were leaving a Washington, D.C., building. Reagan was wounded in the chest with a bullet lodged only one inch from his heart. His press secretary, James Brady (1940–), was critically wounded in the head. Though out of the hospital soon, Reagan was physically weakened for several months.

Reagan began pressing a major economic program that became known as "Reaganomics." He and his advisors believed major tax cuts would stimulate business activity, produce more jobs, and reduce the need for welfare programs. Reagan managed to get major income tax reductions through Congress in addition to sizable increases in military spending and cuts in social service programs. When a severe recession struck the U.S. economy in 1982, the unemployment rate reached its highest level, 11 percent, since the Depression. Bankruptcies, farm foreclosures, and the trade deficit soared. A modest tax increase was passed in 1982, and by 1983, the economy had begun to improve. For the remainder of Reagan's time in office, the economy steadily grew. The huge increase in military spending, however, when combined with the tax cuts, tripled the national debt to over \$3 trillion by 1988.

## **Cold War tensions rise**

A pressing Cold War issue for Reagan was the war between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. The Soviets had invaded Afghanistan in December 1979 to support an unpopu-

lar pro-Soviet leader against rebel forces trying to take over the government. With the fall of a pro-U.S. government in Iran at about the same time as the Soviet invasion, U.S. officials feared the Soviets would seek control of the Persian Gulf oil fields. Carter had responded by cutting U.S. grain sales to the Soviets and increasing U.S. naval presence in the region. Reagan restored the grain sales, claiming it hurt American farmers more than the Soviets, and began secret support of the Afghan rebels. For example, in 1985, the United States provided \$300 million to help finance the war effort. The Afghan war became an unpopular, costly guerrilla, or irregular and independent, war for the Soviets through the 1980s.

The increases in military spending were designed to expand and modernize the armed forces and increase respect for the United States in the world. The military budget rose from \$126 billion in 1979 to \$312 billion in 1988. More specifically, Reagan denounced the policies of détente, which called for equality between the two superpowers in terms of nuclear weapons strength. Instead, Reagan wanted to build a clear military superiority over the Soviets. The tough actions were accompanied with tough talk as well. Reagan publicly referred to the Soviet Union as the “evil empire” in a Florida speech. He also referred to the Soviet leaders as “godless” monsters. Defense spending included monies for the MX missile defense system, an expanded naval fleet, new army tanks, and the B-1 bomber. He also assembled new intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe in the face of large antinuclear public protests.

In March 1983, Reagan proposed a massive new missile defense system called the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). More popularly known as “Star Wars” after the popular science fiction movie, SDI was envisioned as a space-based network of satellites armed with lasers and other complex technologies to destroy Soviet missiles fired at U.S. targets. The initial cost estimates of developing the system were staggering, and critics questioned the technical feasibility. The Soviets were alarmed and claimed it violated existing arms control agreements. The science community, though skeptical of the proposal, enjoyed the additional funding for research. The Soviets were further troubled by what it would cost them to keep up with the new technologies. SDI became the biggest issue between the United States and the Soviet Union.



**U.S. president Ronald Reagan addresses the nation on March 23, 1983, to talk about the development of the new Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) missile defense system, also known as "Star Wars."** *Photograph by Larry Rubenstein. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

During this period, U.S. officials began publicly talking of a winnable nuclear war and developing measures for a quick recovery. Public fear of nuclear war rose to levels not seen since the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962, when the Soviet Union and the United States came close to war over the existence of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba. The Soviets responded with a tough stance in maintaining their rule in the communist world.

In December 1981, the communist government of Poland, under pressure from the Soviets, imposed martial law, or military rule over civilians, to break a strike by a labor union that became known as the Solidarity Movement. With tensions peaking over Reagan's aggressive style, the Soviets shot down a Korean commercial airliner in September 1983 that strayed into Soviet airspace, killing 269 people onboard. The Soviets, on heightened alert probably because of the escalation in U.S. Cold War rhetoric, suspected the airplane was a U.S. spy plane testing Soviet defenses in a sensitive area. Reagan called the downing a barbaric act.

As with previous presidents, Reagan moved decisively to combat the possible spread of communism in Latin America. In the Caribbean island nation of Grenada, Reagan seized on the occurrence of domestic strife between two procommunist factions to launch an invasion by U.S. troops in late October 1983 to supposedly protect U.S. medical students and restore order. After U.S. forces gained control of the country, a new democratic pro-U.S. government was established. Reagan came under much international criticism for becoming involved in an internal political struggle without United Nations (UN) support. The Grenada invasion, however, was the first successful military operation since before the Vietnam War and helped reestablish confidence in U.S. military capability. With the U.S. economy growing, Reagan easily won reelection in 1984. Reagan won the most electoral votes, 525, in history.

## Relations with Soviets

During the early 1980s, the Soviets experienced a series of aging leaders including the last years of **Leonid Brezhnev** (1906–1982; see entry), then the brief tenures of Yuri Andropov (1914–1984) and Konstantin Chernenko (1911–1985). The Communist Party and the Soviet Union were run by aging hard-liners, but the death of Chernenko in March 1985 made way for the younger, college-educated **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1931–; see entry) to take over.

Recognizing the looming economic crisis of the Soviet Union, Gorbachev introduced major changes under the policies of *perestroika* (reform) and *glasnost* (openness). Gorbachev appointed **Eduard Shevardnadze** (1928–; see entry) as Soviet foreign minister to seek an end to the Cold War rivalry with the West. U.S.-Soviet relations began to improve significantly. Reagan began to back off from his tough language towards the Soviets. The Soviets cut back on their foreign commitments, including withdrawing troops from Afghanistan and cutting aid to Cuba.

Reagan met with Gorbachev in a series of summit meetings through the next few years. At the Reykjavik, Iceland, summit in October 1986, despite the two leaders laying a foundation for later meetings, Gorbachev and Reagan came away strongly disappointed that no agreement could be reached, with Reagan resolved to pursue the SDI initiative and





## Did Reagan End the Cold War?

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991, debate focused on President Ronald Reagan's role in ending the Cold War. Some historians and Reagan supporters have claimed Reagan was the primary figure leading to the downfall of communist governments in Eastern Europe in 1989 and the Soviet Union. His aggressive Cold War policies in fueling an expensive arms race in the 1980s, they have argued, caused an economic collapse in the Soviet Union. Other historians and critics of Reagan's hard-line policies have asserted that the Soviet economy was already struggling by the late 1970s. In addition, they reasoned, Soviet social problems were mounting under the leadership of aging communist leaders in the early 1980s.

When Mikhail Gorbachev assumed the Soviet leadership in 1985, corruption

and economic problems were so severe major reforms were obviously needed. Because the Soviet Union was already progressing toward internal collapse, critics have claimed Reagan's hard-line policies needlessly endangered the world with nuclear destruction. They believed that the buildup of weapons not only hastened collapse of the Soviet economy but crippled the U.S. economy as well with massive national debt.

Perhaps the more reasonable assessment of Reagan's role came from longtime U.S. foreign policy expert **George Kennan** (1904–; see entry). In the 1990s, Kennan contended that the two individuals most responsible for ending the Cold War were Gorbachev with his reforms, and Reagan, despite whether Reagan knew what the implications of his policies would be.

Gorbachev insisting the United States stop it as a basis for beginning more detailed negotiations. Gorbachev would later back off from his demand in order to rejuvenate discussions.

By December 1987, new arms control treaties were signed. These included a treaty eliminating intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) from Europe. The INF treaty was the first to actually reduce the level of nuclear arsenals, or collections of weapons, rather than simply freeze them at certain levels. Reagan's willingness to negotiate arms control agreements and support Gorbachev's reform efforts within the Soviet Union was key to the eventual fall of communist governments, first across Eastern Europe in 1989, and soon after in the Soviet Union in 1991. The foundation for ending the Cold War had been laid.



## Controversy in Latin America

In 1985, Reagan had introduced the Reagan Doctrine to guide U.S. Cold War policy in Third World countries. Under the doctrine, the United States would provide military and economic support to various military dictatorships in Third World countries to resist possible revolutionary movements. He also supported oppositional forces rising up against potentially pro-Soviet governments such as cases in Angola, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua.

U.S. president Ronald Reagan (left) says goodbye to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev (far right) following a tense summit in Reykjavik, Iceland, in October 1986. *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

The one country that attracted perhaps the most interest from the Reagan administration was Nicaragua. The pro-Soviet Sandinista government led by Daniel Ortega (1945–) had overthrown a U.S.-supported military dictatorship in July 1979. U.S. officials believed Ortega was building a pro-Soviet government.

In 1981, Reagan cut off U.S. and international aid and provided \$10 million and another \$19 million a year later to recruit and train a guerrilla army known as the contras. Congress was not supportive of the administration's efforts and passed a law in 1982 restricting assistance to overthrow the government. In response, the administration switched to more covert, or secret, operations. In 1984, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) mined Nicaraguan harbors (placed military explosives at or near the surface of the water), essentially constituting an act of war under international law. Congress passed a second law cutting off all funds for U.S. operations in Nicaragua.

The Reagan administration, however, remained persistent. In November 1985, a new covert plan was approved to sell arms to Iran in exchange for the release of American hostages being held by terrorists in Lebanon and to funnel some of the money gained from the sales to the contras in Nicaragua for weapons and supplies. The illegal arms-for-hostages deal was publicly revealed in November 1986. A few weeks later came the revelation that some of the \$48 million funds had gone to Nicaragua, breaking more laws.

Following the investigations of special commissions and an independent investigator, two in the Reagan administration were convicted of obstructing justice and other offenses. They were the head of the National Security Council (NSC), Rear Admiral John Poindexter (1936–), and NSC aide Marine Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North (1943–). Both Reagan and Vice President Bush persistently denied knowledge of the covert operation. A later investigation released in late 1992—long after Reagan was out of office and just before Bush had lost his presidential reelection bid—suggested otherwise. Though Reagan's popularity declined during the early months of the scandal revelations, it soon rebounded.

During Reagan's second term of office other skirmishes broke out in various parts of the world. Libya caught Rea-

gan's attention as a promoter of international terrorism in the early 1980s. In 1986, Reagan ordered air attacks against Libyan targets on the North African coast after a reported Libyan missile attack on U.S. aircraft. The Soviets condemned U.S. actions and terrorist attacks increased. U.S. naval ships also began escorting Kuwaiti oil tankers through the Persian Gulf region as the Iran-Iraq War expanded in the region. Several military encounters resulted and became increasingly deadly. In July 1988, the U.S. Navy shot down an Iran Air commercial airliner with over 100 people onboard, mistaking it for an attacking jet fighter. Not long afterwards, a Pan Am airliner containing 270 people was sabotaged and crashed in Lockerbie, Scotland, as a reprisal by terrorists supported by Iran, Libya, and Syria.

## Declining health

In 1989, Bush succeeded Reagan in the White House and Reagan retired to his Los Angeles home. He published an autobiography, *An American Life*, in 1990. In 1994, Reagan publicly acknowledged that he was suffering from Alzheimer's disease, a degenerative brain condition. Though Reagan would make few public appearances through the 1990s, his popularity among conservative Republicans remained high. In February 1998, Congress renamed National Airport in Washington, D.C., to Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport.

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# Condoleezza Rice

**Born November 14, 1954  
Birmingham, Alabama**

**U.S. national security advisor**



Condoleezza Rice was America's top advisor on the Soviet Union during the administration of President **George Bush** (1924–; served 1989–93; see entry), helping to write U.S. policy regarding the unification of Germany at the end of the Cold War in November 1990. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry from 1945 to 1991 between the United States and the Soviet Union, falling just short of military conflict. For her part, Rice said she felt fortunate to have been given the chance to help shape America's response to these extraordinary events.

Rice was front and center at one of the most historic scenes in modern political history—the end of the Cold War era: In 1991, the Soviet Union broke apart and relations between the United States and the Soviets normalized. Returning to Washington, D.C., in January 2000 as part of the administration of President George W. Bush (1946–; served 2001–), Rice took on the role of national security advisor, the chief foreign policy advisor to the president.

"It is a dangerous thing to ask why someone else has been given more. It is humbling—and indeed healthy—to ask why you have been given so much."

**Condoleezza Rice.**  
*Photograph by Linda A. Cicero.  
Reproduced by permission of  
AP/Wide World Photos.*

## Early life

An only child born to John Wesley Rice and Angelena Ray Rice, Condoleezza Rice was surrounded by love from the very beginning. Her father called her his “little star” and worked very hard to give her every advantage. An ordained Presbyterian minister, he also worked as a teacher, coach, and guidance counselor. Her mother was a teacher and a pianist. She named her daughter after an Italian musical term, *con dolcezza*—“to play with sweetness.” Condi, as she is called, was the delight of her parents and they were the driving force in her life.

Her education began in her hometown of Birmingham, Alabama. It was evident early on that she was a high achiever, and she rose to any challenge. She excelled both in academics and in the arts. Under the guidance of her educator parents, she skipped first and seventh grades. After her father moved the family to Denver, Colorado, Rice decided to take college courses while still in high school. She enrolled at the University of Denver at the age of fifteen. She graduated with a bachelor’s degree in political science cum laude (with honors) in 1974 when she was nineteen. Rice earned a master’s degree at the University of Notre Dame in 1975 and a doctorate from the University of Denver’s Graduate School of International Studies in 1981. Both of her advanced degrees were also in political science.

After graduation, Rice went to work at Stanford University as a Soviet expert on the political science faculty. She was twenty-six years old at the time.

## Influences

Condoleezza Rice was born at a time when her country was dealing with civil rights on a national level and the Cold War on an international level. Civil rights are personal liberties that belong to an individual such as freedom of speech and freedom from discrimination. A descendent of black Americans from the South, Rice was raised in Titusville, a middle-class suburb of black professionals in Birmingham, Alabama. In the 1950s and 1960s, Birmingham was the most racially segregated city in the South and was a focal point of the civil rights movement. Efforts to achieve civil rights often resulted in violence.

On September 15, 1963, a bomb killed four young girls while they were attending church at the 16th Street Baptist Church. Eleven-year-old Denise McNair was the youngest who died. She had attended kindergarten with young Condoleezza. A group called “nightriders” came out at night to start fires or hide bombs in the segregated black neighborhoods. Rice’s father was one of the men who took to the neighborhood streets with a shotgun to protect their families.

Even though her parents could not sit down to eat at the local Woolworth’s counter, they wanted their daughter to believe she could one day be U.S. president. In 1965, when Rice was eleven, her father took her to Washington, D.C., where she stood in front of the White House. Even though at the time most blacks were not allowed to vote, according to Antonia Felix’s *Condi: The Condoleezza Rice Story*, she told her father, “One day, I’ll be in that house.”

Rice’s parents were devoted to education and achievement, which they felt would enable Rice to be a success in whatever profession she chose. She was also often reminded that she would have to be “twice as good,” but never to think of herself as a victim. Her ancestors had taken every opportunity to learn and had passed that appreciation of learning to their children. In the end, it was Rice’s own family legacy of dedication to the educational process and not the civil rights struggle that defined her story.

## The Cold War

While a junior at the University of Denver, Rice attended a lecture given by Professor Josef Korbel (1909–1977) that would change her life. He was a former central European diplomat and a Soviet specialist. His daughter, Madeleine Albright (1937–), later became secretary of state for President Bill Clinton (1946–; served 1993–2001). Rice spent time in the Korbel home and decided she wanted to study the Soviet Union. She had recently given up on her dream of becoming a concert pianist, and Russia became her new passion. Her attraction for Soviet studies came into focus at Notre Dame. She also had an interest in military strategy. She wrote about the problems of arms control and U.S.-Soviet relations in a research paper, which, in turn, led to her doctoral dissertation. Rice visited Russia several





## Firsts

Condoleezza Rice became the first female national security advisor in U.S. history in January 2001. As a faculty member at Stanford University, she was the youngest provost in the institution's 110-year history and the first African American to hold the position.

times over a five-year period in the late 1970s and early 1980s while doing research for her dissertation. When she arrived at Stanford University, she was a member of the Center for International Security and Arms Control.

As noted in Antonia Felix's book *Condi: The Condoleezza Rice Story*, *George* magazine's Ann Reilly Dowd wrote a profile on Rice that summarized her position: "Condi came to see the Cold War not as a war of ideas between communism and democracy but as something more primordial

[basic or elemental]—a raw contest between two great competing national interests." Communism is a system of government in which a single party controls all aspects of society. In economic theory, it bans private ownership of property and businesses so that all goods produced and wealth accumulated are supposedly shared equally by all. Democracy is a political system consisting of several political parties whose members are elected to various government offices by vote of the people. Its economic system is called capitalism, where property and business are privately owned and competition in the marketplace establishes financial success or failure.

### A call to Washington, D.C.

In 1989, while Rice was teaching at Stanford, she received a call. It was from Brent Scowcroft (1925–), the national security advisor to President George Bush. He wanted Rice to come to Washington. They got along well; both spoke fluent Russian and were academically oriented. Both had taught Soviet history. Bush asked Rice to serve on the National Security Council (NSC), an advisory group in the executive branch of government consisting of the president; the secretaries of state, defense, army, navy, and air force; and the national security advisor and staff. She took a leave of absence from Stanford and put her Soviet expertise into practice.

Rice joined the forty-member team as director of Soviet and East European affairs. Four months later, she was se-

nior director for Soviet affairs. She was also named special assistant to the president for national security affairs. She served as an aide to Scowcroft and helped coordinate the U.S. foreign policy-making process by gathering information and writing briefing papers.

Events climaxed in December 1989 at the Malta Summit. (Malta is an island nation in the Mediterranean Sea 60 miles [97 kilometers] south of Sicily, Italy.) Rice accompanied Scowcroft as part of the U.S. delegation when President Bush met with Soviet leader **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1931–; see entry). They met on the Soviet cruiser *Maxim Gorky* to discuss the reunification of Germany. At Malta, the two leaders opened up a new age of cooperation between the superpowers—and Rice was there. With the collapse of the communist government in East Germany as well as other Eastern European countries in 1989, the Soviet Union soon broke apart in the next two years. Rice was at the center of American-Soviet policy during the breakup until she left her post in March 1991. The Soviet Union would cease to exist on December 31, 1991.

## The professor

Returning to Stanford, Rice was again an educator. In 1993, she was appointed provost (a university's chief budget and academic officer). It was a bumpy ride, as the university was facing several financial problems. She was also criticized for not doing enough to promote diversity.

Rice's professional activities were not limited to the university. She volunteered her time as cofounder of the Center for a New Generation. The center was an after-school



## Publications and Awards

Condoleezza Rice's books include:

*The Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Army, 1948–1983: Uncertain Allegiance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.

*The Gorbachev Era* (edited with Alexander Dallin). Stanford, CA: Stanford Alumni Association, 1986.

*Germany Unified and Europe Transformed* (with Philip Zelikow). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.

She also wrote numerous articles on Soviet and Eastern European foreign and defense policy.

Rice was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and was awarded honorary doctorates from Morehouse College in 1991, the University of Alabama in 1994, and the University of Notre Dame in 1995.

**U.S. national security advisor Condoleezza Rice meets with Secretary of State Colin Powell (far left) and President George W. Bush.** *Photograph by J. Scott Applewhite. Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*



academy in East Palo Alto, California, that helped children from underfunded public school districts. She also served as a corporate board member for several corporations, including Chevron, a giant in the U.S. oil industry. Chevron named a supertanker after her. She also resumed her writing career.

### **Back to Washington, D.C.**

In 1999, Rice left Stanford to join the presidential campaign of then-Texas governor George W. Bush. Upon Bush's election in 2000, the president-elect named her as his national security advisor. She filled the crucial role of presidential sounding board. Her combination of charm, intelligence, and charisma served her well as the chief referee between the often powerfully divided opinions within a presidential administration. She was said to deliver her considered wisdom in whispers, not shouts. Her role as national security advisor within the Bush administration brought her

into the forefront on the declared war on terrorism following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., and in the war against Iraq in 2003.

Rice claimed her dream job would be to one day become the National Football League commissioner. A huge sports fan, she also worked out regularly. It was reported that more business was conducted on the tennis court at Camp David, the presidential retreat in Maryland, than sitting on the porch. Despite giving up her early ambitions of becoming a concert pianist, she continued to play regularly on the Steinway her parents had given her when she was fifteen. She was accomplished enough to have performed with cellist Yo-Yo Ma (1955–) at Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C., in 2002.

Rice has described herself as a deeply religious person. Like her parents before her, she wanted to make a difference in the lives of young people. As noted in Antonia Felix's *Condi: The Condoleezza Rice Story*, while speaking to a group of graduates at Stanford University in 1985, she urged them to make a difference in their world. She talked to them about tackling the problems of the Cold War. "All you have to do with the large, huge, and very frightening problems that we face is to make a contribution," she said. "If you focus too much on solving that problem, rather than just making a contribution to its solution ... you will become paralyzed at the enormity of the task and be unable to do anything at all."

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## Andrey Sakharov

**Born May 21, 1921**

**Moscow, Russia**

**Died December 14, 1989**

**Moscow, Russia**

**Physicist and Soviet dissident**

"Intellectual freedom is essential to human society. Freedom of thought is the only guarantee against an infection of people by mass myths, which, in the hands of treacherous hypocrites and demagogues, can be transformed into bloody dictatorships."

**Andrey Sakharov.**

*Photograph by Bruno Mosconi.  
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AP/Wide World Photos.*

**A**ndrey Sakharov, one of the greatest theoretical physicists of the twentieth century, was often called the father of the Soviet Union's hydrogen bomb. He also spoke out internationally against the oppressive Soviet system of government. His wife, Yelena Bonner (1923–), was also greatly involved in protecting the human rights of Soviet citizens. Together, they were among the leading advocates of democracy, economic reform, and intellectual freedom in their country. A democratic system of government allows multiple political parties whose members are elected to various government offices by popular vote of the people. Sakharov and Bonner's principled dissent and compassion would be acknowledged the world over when he won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1975 for his courageous efforts.

### Early years

Andrey Dmitrievich Sakharov was born into a solid, middle-class family of professionals in Moscow. His mother was Ekaterina (Katya) Sofiano and his father was Dmitri

Sakharov, a physics teacher. A brilliant student, young Sakharov was considered a science prodigy, or highly talented child, and attended Moscow State University. He graduated with a physics degree in 1942, then worked as an engineer in a military factory.

In 1945, Sakharov entered the Lebedev Physics Institute in Moscow. Shy and thoughtful, he spent the genius and energy of his young adult years developing thermonuclear weapons, so called because of the incredible heat associated with their reaction. During his time at the Institute, he published numerous articles on fusion thermonuclear reactions. Fusion involves the joining together of atomic nuclei with other elements such as hydrogen. Bombs based on fusion are referred to as hydrogen bombs (H-bombs). They are vastly more powerful than the atomic bombs the United States dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki near the end of World War II (1939–45).

In 1948, Soviet authorities, fearing the United States was developing an H-bomb, commanded Sakharov to work on the Soviet hydrogen bomb project. He was sent to the newly established super secret weapons laboratory, Arzamas-16. Located about 250 miles (400 kilometers) east of Moscow, Arzamas-16 was nicknamed Los Arzamas after Los Alamos, New Mexico, site of the Manhattan Project, the secret U.S. nuclear weapons development project. All of the Soviets' great physicists would live and work there for periods of time.

In 1949, Sakharov married his first wife, Klavdia (Klava) Vikhiveva. They would have two daughters, Tanya and Lyuba, and one son, Dmitri (Dima).

## **Dangerous thoughts and the father of the H-bomb**

Back in 1948, Sakharov had thoughtfully considered the Soviet policy of collectivism. Collectivism is when a business such as a farm is jointly owned and operated by those farming the land. Farmers share equally in the production and profits. In collectivism, private ownership of property is not allowed. In Sakharov's opinion, collectivism had been carried to excess by Soviet leaders. He was also dismayed at the arrests

and murder of citizens who dared to speak against the policies of Soviet leader **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry). Sakharov turned down an offer to join the Communist Party. This party existed within communism, a system of government in which a single party, the Communist Party, controls all aspects of people's lives. In economics theory, communism prohibits private ownership of property and business so that all goods produced and wealth accumulated are supposedly shared equally by all. Because of Sakharov's standing among the elite community of Soviet scientists, his boldness was not punished. Stalin desperately needed Sakharov to apply his brilliance to the development of the H-bomb.

On November 1, 1952, the United States detonated its first hydrogen bomb. On August 12, 1953, the Soviet Union successfully detonated "Joe-1." Although much smaller and not a true H-bomb, "Joe-1's" detonation meant the Soviets were in the Cold War race with the United States for weapon superiority. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry from 1945 to 1991 between the United States and the Soviet Union, falling just short of military conflict.

Sakharov and his staff continued to work on the development of a true hydrogen bomb. On November 22, 1955, at the Semipalatinsk Test Site, the Soviets detonated their first real hydrogen bomb. Sakharov was credited with working out its theoretical basis. For his efforts, he was awarded several of the Soviet Union's highest honors. He received the Order of Stalin, the Order of Lenin, and was made a Hero of Socialist Labor three times. He had been elected a member of the prestigious Soviet Academy of Sciences in 1953.

## **Budding dissident**

Sakharov was profoundly affected by the destructive power of what he had developed. During the late 1950s, his concern grew over the dangerous effects of nuclear testing. He considered the testing unnecessary and contrary to humanity and international law. Interestingly, **J. Robert Oppenheimer** (1904–1967; see entry), developer of America's first atomic bomb in 1945, and **Igor Kurchatov** (1903–1960; see entry), also at Arzamas-16 and developer of the Soviet's first atomic bomb in 1949, came to similar conclusions. The

atomic bombs developed by Oppenheimer and Kurchatov, the type dropped on Japan in August 1945, were much less powerful than the new H-bombs.

Sakharov asked questions about nuclear responsibility and the rights of human beings in the same manner he asked questions about the physical world—formulating hypotheses and searching for reliable evidence to support his hypotheses. He quickly found that his thinking and the openness with which he discussed his ideas automatically made him a dissident, an individual who disagrees with the ideas of those in power. He soon came to sympathize with other dissidents. Sakharov's moral awakening prompted him to risk both life and reputation in a prolonged confrontation with his government over issues of nuclear responsibility and human rights.

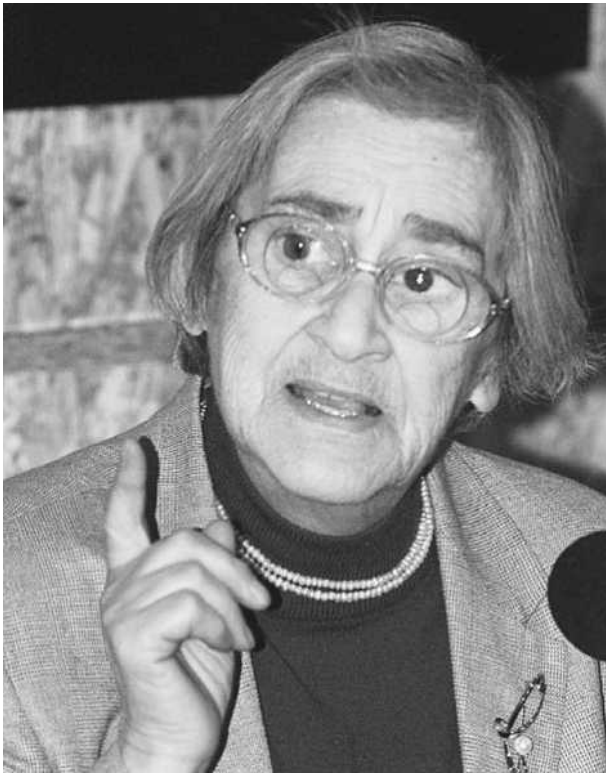
## Outspoken

Sakharov first collided with authority in 1961 in his opposition to further nuclear testing. Soviet prime minister **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry) rejected all of Sakharov's arguments for containing nuclear weaponry. The more Sakharov attempted to express his opinions about cutting back on nuclear testing, the more he was threatened by Soviet authorities. At a time when few others dared, Sakharov readily assumed grave personal risks for his views.

In an international publication in 1968, Sakharov called for an end to the arms race and asked for cooperation between the United States and Soviet Union on world problems. He was pulled off secret projects and dismissed as head consultant of the State Committee for Atomic Energy. Stripped of his security clearance and dismissed from weapons research, Sakharov returned to research in fundamental science at the Lebedev Institute. Shortly after this, his wife died and left him a widower after twenty years of marriage.

In the late 1960s, Sakharov began an open campaign to make Soviet society more humane. He attended trials of political prisoners and publicized the plight of persecuted religious believers and oppressed populations within the Soviet Union as well as the countries under Soviet control such as Poland and Czechoslovakia. He called on the government to





**Human rights activist Yelena Bonner, wife of Andrey Sakharov.** *Photograph by Ivan Sekretarev. Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

allow citizens to exercise freedoms guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution but denied in practice. Sakharov was perceived as the salvation of the dissident movement. Political dissidents were a disorganized and repressed group. The Soviet official propaganda presented them as minor figures who were victims of foreign influence. When the famous physicist joined them, he gave the human rights groups in Moscow a needed jolt of respect.

### **Yelena Bonner**

It was while attending a human rights trial in 1970 that Sakharov met Yelena Georgyevna Bonner. She was born in Merv, Turkmenistan, on February 15, 1923, the daughter of a prominent Armenian communist and Comintern secretary. The Comintern was a political body formed to guide the expansion of communism in the world

by the Soviet Union. Her father was arrested at the height of the Stalinist purges when she was fourteen. Stalin directed purges that killed millions and sent many more millions to isolated, harsh labor camps. Most of the people were killed for reasons no one but Stalin understood. Bonner's father was shot, and her mother was exiled to the labor camps. Bonner was wounded twice while serving as a nurse in World War II. After the war, the determined young woman earned a degree in pediatrics from the First Leningrad Medical Institute.

Sakharov and Bonner were married in 1972. She spurred Sakharov on, expanding his network of contacts and giving international dimension to their common cause of human rights. In 1975, Sakharov received the Nobel Peace Prize. The citation called him "the conscience of mankind." With acts of courage and moral conviction, he held the Soviet Union accountable to the world for the treatment of its citizens. It was Bonner who read his statement of acceptance and received the Nobel Peace Prize on his behalf since he was forbid-



## The Helsinki Accords

One of Andrey Sakharov's most powerful alliances was with prizewinning novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (1918–), another internationally known dissident. Helsinki, the capital of Finland, became the location for important international conferences. One such conference, held in 1975, produced the Helsinki Accords. It was attended by thirty-three European nations and the United States and Canada. European security and cooperation in economic, technological, and humanitarian concerns dominated discussions. The Western world saw this agreement among European countries as a significant contribution to détente, or easing of tensions between countries.

Soviet leader **Leonid Brezhnev** (1906–1982; see entry) was among those

who signed the agreement. He was greatly enthused about most parts of the agreement but was very displeased with the section addressing human rights. He and other Soviet leaders decided to ignore that part.

After the agreement was signed, Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov, along with Yelena Bonner and a group of prominent civil rights activists, organized the Moscow Helsinki Group. This group monitored human rights violations within the Soviet Union and proved very unpopular with the Soviet government. Many of those who participated in the group were imprisoned or exiled. Nevertheless, the group managed to alert the rest of the world to the oppression of Soviet citizens by their government.

den to travel to Oslo, Norway. He was denied a visa on the grounds that he knew too many state and military secrets of the Cold War. Yuri Andropov (1914–1984), head of the Soviet secret police (KGB), placed Sakharov under constant surveillance.

## Gorky

Sakharov helped organize the Committee on Human Rights and openly protested the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979. This enraged Soviet leaders, and in January 1980 Sakharov was stripped of all his state titles, seized by the secret police, sentenced, and removed to internal exile in Nizhny Novgorod, then known as the closed city of Gorky. Bonner was allowed to freely come and go from Gorky. She served as Sakharov's connection to the outside world until 1984, when she was no longer allowed to leave Gorky as well.



**Andrey Sakharov reads his Nobel Peace Prize citation in 1975.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Gorky, a port city 250 miles (about 400 kilometers) from Moscow, was not open to Western journalists and foreigners. Sakharov lived there in forced residence until December 1986. Although Sakharov and Bonner were constantly insulted in the Soviet press, they remained somewhat protected by Sakharov's status as a nuclear scientist. In 1986, a work crew arrived at their apartment and installed a telephone. Sakharov soon received a phone call from Soviet president **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1931–; see entry), who lifted the sentence of exile, calling Sakharov and Bonner back to Moscow. Gorbachev had inherited an immensely depressing economic situation in the Soviet Union. Sakharov's official return became a symbol of Gorbachev's *perestroika* (reform) and *glasnost* (openness) as he strove to build a socialist democracy.

## Politics

Sakharov emerged from exile to become leader of the new opposition in the Congress of People's Deputies. He was

elected in 1989 and appointed as a member of the commission responsible for drafting a new Soviet constitution. On the day he died in December 1989, he had made a plea before the Soviet Congress for multiple political parties and an open market economy. Bonner found him dead of a heart attack in his study later that evening. He did not live to see the crumbling of the Soviet state that came in 1991. Bonner continued to campaign for democracy and human rights in Russia into the twenty-first century and worked tirelessly for the defense and self-determination of all the peoples of the former Soviet Union.

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# Eduard Shevardnadze

**Born January 25, 1928  
Mamati, Georgia, Soviet Union**

**Soviet foreign minister and  
president of Georgia**



**E**duard Shevardnadze, foreign minister of the Soviet Union from 1985 to 1990, helped reform and transform the internal structure and international relations of his country. Led by Soviet president **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1931–; see entry), their overall policies were known as *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring).

Shevardnadze encouraged cooperation and compromise with the United States. He and Gorbachev became the much-heralded architects who brought about the end of the Cold War (1945–91). The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry from 1945 to 1991 between the United States and the Soviet Union, falling just short of military conflict. Following the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, Shevardnadze returned to his native Georgia to head its government.

## **Reformist**

Eduard Amvros'evich Shevardnadze, the son of a teacher, was born in the village of Mamati in western Geor-

gia. Georgia was then a republic in the Soviet Union. As a youth, he joined the Komsomol, the Communist Youth League, and rose to leadership positions within the organization. He graduated from K'ut'aisi State Pedagogical Institute, where he majored in history.

Shevardnadze joined the Communist Party in 1948 and diligently worked his way through the ranks. Between 1964 and 1968, he served in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) as the minister of public order maintenance. Between 1968 and 1972, he was the minister of foreign affairs for the Georgia republic. During these years, when corruption was rampant in all levels of the Georgia government, Shevardnadze began his campaign of reform. Ultimately, Shevardnadze removed roughly 75 percent of local Georgian leadership. In 1972, Vassily Mzhevandze, Georgian Communist Party chief, was brought down by Shevardnadze, who then replaced him.

Between 1972 and July 1985, Shevardnadze was the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia. Not only was he successful in his fight against corruption, but he also developed Georgia's economy and culture. His work in these areas greatly exceeded the progress made in the Soviet Union as a whole. His accomplishments did not go unnoticed in Moscow.

## Foreign minister

Soviet general secretary **Leonid Brezhnev** (1906–1982; see entry) died in November 1982. Yuri Andropov (1914–1984) replaced Brezhnev as general secretary but died in February 1984. During his short time as the most powerful Soviet, Andropov began to reform government and improve the inefficiency of Soviet industry. In government, his efforts were aimed at the corruption permeating the massive Soviet bureaucracy. In industry, he tried to put more planning and decision making into the hands of local managers. Most importantly, Andropov elevated a younger generation of Communist Party members, including Gorbachev and Shevardnadze, to positions where they could aid his reform efforts.

At Andropov's death, Konstantin Chernenko (1911–1985) took over and allowed the Party's old guard to hang on to power a bit longer. But Chernenko died on March 10,

1985. By 11:00 P.M. that day, the Politburo decided the fifty-four-year-old Gorbachev would be the new leader of the Soviet Union. The next day, Gorbachev called for a reformed Soviet government with more openness (*glasnost*) and a more democratic approach. He called for restructuring of the Soviet bureaucracy (*perestroika*) and wanted to stop the nuclear arms race. An overwhelming majority of the Soviet Communist Party gave enthusiastic support to their leader's new thinking. Although Gorbachev expected to breathe new life into the existing Soviet system, he also believed the Soviet Union would remain communist.

Gorbachev appointed Shevardnadze as his foreign minister. A Georgia native, Shevardnadze was the first foreign minister not from Russia itself. Gorbachev and Shevardnadze both supported economic and democratic experiments in the Eastern European countries that had long been under communist control. Gorbachev also brought Boris Yeltsin (1931–; see box) to Moscow as the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Moscow Communist Party. This position was similar to that of a mayor of a large U.S. city. Yeltsin, wide open to reform, set about revitalizing Moscow's government administration. Yeltsin eventually followed Gorbachev as head of Russia.

Gorbachev and Shevardnadze knew defense spending was hurting the Soviet Union's economy. Shevardnadze found that the money needed for the arms race with the United States left many other problems within the Soviet Union unattended. The two leaders intended to replace antagonism toward the United States with cooperation.

Within a week after Shevardnadze became foreign minister, he announced a summit meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, set for November 1985 in Geneva. Shevardnadze met with U.S. secretary of state George Shultz (1920–) in September to pave the way for the summit meeting. By the end of the November summit, U.S. president **Ronald Reagan** (1911–; served 1981–89; see entry) and Gorbachev had reached a comfortable rapport. Although no decisions on arms reduction were agreed to, the two leaders agreed talks would continue toward scaling down nuclear weapon arsenals.

After more arms reduction talks between the two leaders at Reykjavik, Iceland, in October 1986, Shevardnadze and



## Boris Yeltsin

Boris Yeltsin was born in 1931 in Sverdlovsk, Soviet Union. Possessing the soul of a radical reformer, Yeltsin did not join the Communist Party until he was thirty years old, probably because he was impressed with attempts by Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971) to repair the crimes of former Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. Yeltsin rose rapidly within the Communist Party structure. From 1976 to 1985, he served in the Presidium, the important policy-making body of the party. He acquired a reputation as bright, open to new ideas, and willing to act on those ideas.

In 1985, the newly appointed leader of the Soviet Union and Communist Party, Mikhail Gorbachev, brought Yeltsin to Moscow. Within six months, Yeltsin was first secretary of the Moscow Communist Party Central Committee. He brought sweeping reform to the Moscow administration.

Between 1985 and 1990, Gorbachev allowed a new thinking to dominate the Soviet Union and Eastern European nations. By mid-1990, Gorbachev, who never intended for the Communist Party to be brought down, decided he must turn more conservative and go back to hard-line communist rule in order for him to survive politically. Yet in mid-1991, when Gorbachev left Moscow for a holiday, the conservatives who were still disgruntled about Gorbachev's changes attempted a coup to oust Gorbachev completely from rule. Yeltsin stepped in as leader of the reform democratic forces that opposed the

conservative communists and brought Gorbachev safely back to Moscow. The coup failed, but it was the radical democratic Yeltsin who took power.

Yeltsin became the first president of the Russian Republic. He moved Russia toward a market-based economy. Despite difficulties with Muslim separatists in the region of Chechnya and two heart attacks, Yeltsin was again elected president in 1996. He underwent quintuple heart bypass surgery performed by famed U.S. heart surgeon Michael DeBakey (1908–) and was able to continue running the Russian government. He remained president until 2000 when Vladimir Putin (1953–), Yeltsin's preferred successor, was elected. Yeltsin authored *Against the Grain* (1990) and *The Struggle for Russia* (1994).



Shultz continued to meet regularly for talks and to set the agenda for yet another summit meeting. Meanwhile, Gorbachev was withdrawing Soviet forces from a civil war situation in Afghanistan. Shevardnadze strongly supported this action.

## Ending the Cold War

In December 1987, the summit meeting in Washington, D.C., led to the signing of the historic Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force (INF) treaty. For the first time, the United States and Soviet Union agreed to actually eliminate certain nuclear weapons. At the signing on December 8 in the East Room of the White House, Shevardnadze sat in the front row along with other dignitaries.

When Reagan's vice president, **George Bush** (1924– ; served 1989–93; see entry), was inaugurated as the next U.S. president in January 1989, his administration took a much more cautious approach to the Soviets than had Reagan in his last years in office. New secretary of state James A. Baker (1930–), however, made his first visit to Moscow in May 1989 and quickly developed a respectful and trusting relationship with his Soviet counterpart, Shevardnadze. Baker realized Gorbachev and Shevardnadze clearly needed international support to carry out continued reform in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, but it was slow in coming from Washington.

In September, Shevardnadze traveled to Moscow to garner support from Washington for the reforms. He and Gorbachev were under increasing pressure from conservative old-line communists to halt reform. In the United States, Shevardnadze flew with Baker to his ranch in Jackson Hole, Wyoming. While there, Shevardnadze discussed the pullback of communist influence and control of Eastern European nations, as well as the difficult ethnic problems arising within the republics of the Soviet Union. The terror campaigns of former Soviet leader **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry) were still remembered in various republics and continued to generate the hatred and mistrust of those in Moscow. Shevardnadze said Gorbachev was struggling with keeping those republics, such as the Baltic states and his own Georgia, within the Soviet Union yet give them some sense of reform and local rule. The Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia

had been brought into the Soviet Union by force in 1940, under Stalin, and sought freedom.

In Wyoming, Shevardnadze and Baker also discussed arms control. Shevardnadze informed Baker that the Soviet Union would no longer insist on limiting the so-called “Star Wars” program, a plan to devise a shield of satellites armed with laser weapons over the United States for protection against incoming missiles. Shevardnadze also agreed to dismantle the Soviet early warning system at Krasnoyarsk in Siberia. Baker made no similar concessions, which disappointed both Shevardnadze and Gorbachev. Nevertheless, for the first time, Baker knew the Soviets were genuinely attempting reform and urged the still-reluctant President Bush to support Moscow in its undertakings.

By the fall of 1989, Hungary, Poland, and East Germany had abandoned communism without Moscow intervention. In November, the Berlin Wall, symbol of the Cold War, came down. Many people believed this symbolically and fully ended the Cold War. Gorbachev was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in June 1990 for his efforts. In spite of Iraqi ties to the Soviet Union, Gorbachev and Shevardnadze fully backed the United States in its intentions to free the Middle Eastern country of Kuwait from the army of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein (1937–) in 1990. The Persian Gulf War ensued in 1991, and the United States successfully freed Kuwait.

Despite the easing of international tensions, Gorbachev and Shevardnadze were under continued pressure at home. Conservative communist critics and the Soviet military wanted a much stronger old-line communist rule. Critics bitterly opposed the concessions in Eastern Europe and Germany, and Gorbachev’s siding with the United States in the Persian Gulf War. In contrast, the various nationalist forces within many areas of the Soviet Union demanded a lessening



**U.S. secretary of state James A. Baker, who worked closely with Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze during the Bush years.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

of communist rule. Demonstrations and bloody confrontations had ensued. By the end of 1990, Gorbachev and Shevardnadze were fighting for their political lives.

Gorbachev, while letting Eastern European countries go their own way, always intended to keep the Soviet Union intact and communist. He turned to the conservative faction and vowed to control the nationalistic uprisings. On December 20, Shevardnadze, fearing a return to a hard-line communist dictatorship and the planned use of military force to put down unrest in the Soviet Union, resigned from his foreign minister position.

Conservative Soviet communists attempted a coup in August 1991 against Gorbachev while he and his family vacationed at their villa on the Black Sea. In Moscow, Yeltsin opposed the coup and Shevardnadze immediately supported Yeltsin. Gorbachev was brought back to Moscow, but Yeltsin was now clearly in charge. By the end of August, the Communist Party no longer existed. Shevardnadze would be briefly appointed foreign minister in November 1991, but he served only until the dissolution of the Soviet Union at the end of December. By December 25, 1991, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics ceased to exist. The Baltic states and at least eight other republics—Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kirghizia, Moldavia, Tadjikistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan—had declared independence.

## **Return to Georgia**

Unrest continued in Georgia throughout 1991 and a bloody civil war resulted in the ousting of the old regime president Zviad Gamsakhurdia (1939–1994). The office of president was dissolved. Shevardnadze became the chairman of the State Council of Georgia in 1992, heading the now independent republic of Georgia. In a direct referendum, he was elected to the post with approximately 90 percent of the popular vote.

In his personal life, Shevardnadze was christened in the Georgian Orthodox Church and was given his Christian name, George. Previously, all religious activities had been banned in communist regimes. Also in 1992, he founded the

Eduard Shevardnadze Foundation for Democracy and Revival. As head of Georgia, Shevardnadze first had to deal with separatists in Abkhazia, located in the northwest portion of the region. After considerable military engagements, Abkhazia declared itself an independent state in November 1994. Shevardnadze enrolled Georgia in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), a group of former Soviet republics, in October 1993.

Amidst political criticism in Georgia, Shevardnadze formed a new political party in November, the Citizens' Union of Georgia. In early 1994, he signed a military cooperation treaty with Russia that allowed Russia to operate three military bases in Georgia. This move also angered his critics. Pushing forward, Shevardnadze proposed the office of president be reinstated in Georgia. The Georgia legislature approved this reinstatement in August 1995. In November elections, Shevardnadze was elected president with over 70 percent of the vote and was subsequently reelected on April 9, 2000. He also survived two attempts on his life by reactionary forces, one in August 1995 and the other in February 1998. Shevardnadze continued to focus on developing the economic and political independence of Georgia as well as taking an active role in regional and international activities. He also authored a book of his memoirs, *My Choice*, that became very popular and was translated into a number of languages.

## **Mrs. Shevardnadze**

Nanuli Shevardnadze, like her husband and also like Gorbachev's wife Raisa, was very active publicly. She was president of the international society Georgian Women For Peace and Life, honorary president of the international society "Fetri Mandili" (White Scarf), and editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Mshvidoba Kovelta* (Peace to All). The Shevardnadzes have a son and a daughter.

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# Joseph Stalin

**Born December 21, 1879**  
**Gori, Georgia, Russia**  
**Died March 5, 1953**  
**Kuntsevo, Russia, Soviet Union**

**Premier of the Soviet Union**



Joseph Stalin was the brutal and absolute leader of the communist Soviet Union from 1929 until his death in 1953. By the late 1930s, Stalin staunchly opposed the growth across Europe of the Nazi Party of Germany's Adolf Hitler (1889–1945). When cutting deals with Hitler failed to halt the Nazi army, Stalin allied with the United States, Great Britain, and France during World War II (1939–45).

At the end of the war, Stalin immediately imposed communist rule over the countries of Eastern Europe, giving government positions to men who adhered to the strict Communist Party line and answered directly to him. Yet soon the Soviets became locked in the Cold War (1945–91). The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, falling just short of military conflict. Stalin was the dominant figure in the Soviet Union for twenty-four years, a larger-than-life personality, a hero to many, and yet a ruthless and feared ruler.

"A single death is a tragedy; a million deaths is a statistic."

**Joseph Stalin.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

## Early years

Stalin was born Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili in Gori, Georgia, in the Tiflis province of southwestern Russia, to an alcoholic shoemaker and a devoutly religious peasant woman of the Orthodox church. As a young adult, Iosif changed his name to Stalin, which meant “man of steel.” Stalin owed his education to his mother, who planned for him to become a priest. His father died when he was about ten years old, but his industrious mother saw that he attended Orthodox elementary school in Gori. Although small in stature, Stalin excelled in school and was generally the brightest student in his classes.

In 1894, he entered the Tbilisi Orthodox Seminary in the Georgian city of Tbilisi. There he was introduced to a wide range of literature and exposed to new philosophical and social ideas. He studied the teachings of English scientist Charles Darwin (1809–1892); the revolutionary social ideology of German philosopher Karl Marx (1818–1883), considered the “father” of communism; and Russian Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924).

Marxism had just reached Georgia and its ideas captivated young Stalin, who had come from the poorest of peasant backgrounds. The communist movement opposed the longtime rule of the Russian tsarist, or royal, government, whose members lived lavishly while all other Russians lived in poverty. Communism represented a new ideal, one where government consisted of a single party, the Communist Party, which controlled all aspects of people’s lives. In economics, communism prohibited private ownership of property and business so all goods produced and wealth accumulated were supposed to be shared equally by all. In contrast, a democratic system of government, such as that of the United States, allowed multiple political parties whose members were elected to various government offices by popular vote of the people. Private property is allowed and encouraged, while prices of goods are determined by competition in the marketplace.

## Communist revolutionary

By the late 1890s, Stalin dedicated his life to communist revolutionary ideas and joined the Social Democratic Party in 1898. He was expelled from the seminary in 1899 for

revolutionary activities, including spreading communist propaganda to Georgian railroad workers. Between 1900 and 1917, Stalin, by then a communist underground organizer and agitator, was arrested, released, arrested, exiled, and released over twelve times. The early Social Democratic movement split in the early 1900s into the Bolshevik (communist) faction and the Mensheviks (the more democratic minority party). Stalin sided with the Bolsheviks as the party organized in about 1903. Stalin's activities in Georgia actually caught Lenin's attention, but the two had little contact before 1912.

Stalin, as a Bolshevik and a disciple of Lenin, was in conflict with many of the Social Democrats in Georgia who were Mensheviks. He moved to Saint Petersburg in 1912, where he first adopted the name Stalin, and became a member of the Bolshevik Party's Central Committee, its primary leadership committee. For a time, he served as editor of *Pravda*, the Bolshevik or communist (the terms came to be used interchangeably) newspaper.

Life as an underground revolutionary was not stable and Stalin was in exile in Siberia by early February 1917. He managed to return to Petrograd (later called Leningrad during the Cold War and then Saint Petersburg after the Cold War) in March 1917. The Bolshevik Revolution toppled the tsarist government in October 1917. In the new Soviet government, Stalin relocated to Moscow and served as the people's commissar of Nationality Affairs between 1917 and 1922. He held on to the position during this period of instability and civil war, which ended with the communists firmly in power. As people's commissar, Stalin took the responsibility of holding together the vast ethnic minorities within the Russian Empire.

Stalin gained a reputation as an efficient organizer for the communists fighting during the civil war. He also served



**A young Joseph Stalin (here, in 1899) joined the Social Democratic Party in 1898.**  
*Reproduced by permission of The Granger Collection Ltd.*



**Soviet leaders Vladimir I. Lenin (left) and Joseph Stalin.**

*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*



on various defense commissions and as political advisor to fighters and to local communities. For the first time, Stalin condoned brutal killings and torture to advance communist political ideas. It was at this time that Stalin developed a hatred of the Western powers such as the United States, Great Britain, and France, who were helping supply those opposed to communism. Years later, after World War II, this hatred played a part in Stalin's foreign policy during the Cold War.

### **General secretary**

From 1921 onward, Lenin's and Stalin's ideas began to conflict. Lenin did not entirely approve of Stalin's fiercely nationalist approach. Nationalism refers to the strong loyalty of a person or group to its own country. Stalin increasingly expected all factions and parts of the Russian Empire to march in unison with him and his ideals. Lenin was crippled by a stroke in late 1922, and before his death in 1924 he all but

called for Stalin's removal, saying Stalin employed crude tactics and would not properly use caution. Lenin's concerns and subsequent warnings, however, came too late.

In 1922, Stalin was appointed general secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee. At the time, the position was an unheralded administrative post. However, Stalin, with his crafty political instinct, managed in a short time to turn the post into the dominant authority of the Soviet Union. In doing so, he pulled all control into his camp and away from his chief rival, Leon Trotsky (1879–1940). Stalin held the general secretary post until his death in 1953. For decades after Stalin's death, it remained the key position of central leadership in the Soviet Union. Stalin used the office to brilliantly outmaneuver various political alliances that might have drained power from him. Outwitting and defaming all rivals, he was firmly in control of the Communist Party and country by 1927.

## **Collectivization and industrialization**

In 1928 and 1929, Stalin tossed out Lenin's economic policies and launched into a government campaign to reform Soviet agriculture and focus industry on building large industrial complexes for heavy construction. In agriculture, Stalin destroyed the prosperous peasant farmers and ordered rapid collectivization of all agriculture. Private ownership of land was banned, and farmers were collected, or grouped together, to work the land. Much of what they produced was turned over to the government, with approximately twenty-five million farmers being regrouped on state farms.

Although many farmers resisted and tried to hold on to their land, most resisters were shot or sent to a system of labor camps known as the Gulag. Because of the displacement and disruption of farming, approximately ten million people died from famine. Those sent to the Gulag became the slave labor for Stalin's heavy industry construction programs. By the late 1930s, Soviet agriculture patterns under collectivization were set and would last for most of the twentieth century. The Soviet Union soon became second only to the United States in heavy industrial output. Light industry, however, such as the production of consumer goods, was ignored.

## **Personality cult and purges of terror**

By the early 1930s, Stalin ruled over the Communist Party in such totality that all party members and military elite answered only to him. Reaching into all aspects of Soviet culture, Stalin even fancied himself the ultimate expert and judge of the arts, such as literature, poetry, theater, and music. He controlled the education of Soviet youth and the daily press. Many Soviets followed Stalin in a cult-like fashion. The term “adulation,” meaning excessive flattering or admiration, was often used in praise of Stalin.

In 1934, Stalin decided to rid any lingering opposition to his rule by the use of terror, torture, and execution. Stalin began a ferocious campaign that by 1939 successfully eliminated almost all individuals of the old Bolshevik party, and upwards of 70 percent of leaders in the Communist Party and military. Many of the best-known persons in the country unexplainably disappeared.

Stalin also ordered showy trials of many leaders to make a public example of them and encourage them to confess to false charges. Stalin’s purges struck not only the top party leadership, but the local levels and even the arts community. He introduced the phrase “enemy of the people,” which automatically made proof of any guilt unnecessary. Brutal acts were carried out against “enemies,” frequently without any grounds, and millions of Soviets were murdered. During this period, however, most Soviets thought of the hostilities as what must happen in a class struggle or during class warfare. Stalin hid his ruthlessness behind the idea that many must die before the common people could rise up.

## **World War II**

Although Stalin’s domestic agendas had occupied most of his time in the 1930s, on the foreign front he was a practical politician. He strengthened the Soviet economy and his own lock on power by broadening trade and diplomatic relationships through Europe and even with the United States. While praising U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45), Stalin at the same time kept his distance, saying Roosevelt was “captain of the modern bourgeois [middle or upper class] world.” Stalin also impressed upon Western nations

that the Soviet Union was an enemy of the menacing Nazi German leader Hitler. Stalin tried to make alliances with France and Great Britain against the growing threat of Hitler's Nazi army. Unsuccessful, Stalin decided to try and deal with Hitler himself. In August 1939, to the surprise and shock of Western leaders, Stalin signed a treaty with Hitler that in turn led to the Nazi invasion of Poland and the start of World War II.

When the Nazi army later invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, Stalin was stunned. Quickly regaining his composure, Stalin stayed in Moscow, assumed the chairmanship of the State Committee of Defense, and declared himself the Supreme Commander of the armed forces. Although never visiting front lines, he gathered a highly competent group of generals and was able to understand complex military strategies. By 1942, Stalin directed successful counterattacks at the battles of Stalingrad and Kursk.

In 1943, Stalin met with British prime minister **Winston Churchill** (1874–1965; see entry) and U.S. president Roosevelt in Tehran, Iran. The three became known as the “Big Three.” The first postwar planning took place with Stalin largely having his way. Stalin successfully argued that the Soviet army and people were bearing the brunt of the ground fighting. By war's end, millions would have died. He stressed that the Soviet Union must protect itself by ensuring a strong influence in Eastern European countries such as Poland, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Albania, and Bulgaria. These countries would then serve as a barrier between the Soviets and Western Europe.

Throughout its history, Russia had periodically been invaded by groups from Western Europe, and Stalin felt he must protect his country from future attacks. Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt met again in the Soviet town of Yalta in 1945, and later that year Stalin met in Potsdam, Germany, with U.S. president **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry), who had replaced Roosevelt upon his death; Churchill; and **Clement R. Attlee** (1883–1967; see entry), who would replace Churchill. At that time, the “Red” (Soviet) Army occupied all of Eastern Europe and half of Germany. Poland was a major point of contention, but Stalin was able to satisfy Western leaders by promising to quickly hold open elections in Poland. In actuality, those elections would never be held.

Also during the Yalta meeting, Roosevelt and Stalin negotiated that the Soviets would enter the Pacific front in the war against Japan for Roosevelt, allowing the Soviets to occupy northern Korea and the islands north of Japan. These agreements assured Stalin a “sphere of influence,” or leadership, over vast regions, including Eastern Europe and Asia. When the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, in August 1945, the war with Japan ended before the Soviets became highly involved. The United States was, at the time, the only nation possessing atomic weapons.

## Cold War begins

At the end of World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the two superpowers of the world. Stalin established communist leaders at the head of governments of Eastern Europe. Wary of future East-West relations, Stalin realized the United States must not be allowed to maintain an atomic weapon monopoly. In mid-1945, Stalin placed Lavrenty Beria (1899–1953; see box) in charge of organizing the Soviet atomic bomb project. The arms race soon became the primary way America and the Soviets kept score as to who was winning the Cold War.

Stalin worked to control gains made by the Soviets. Western leaders soon realized that any negotiations with Stalin had to be resolved under his terms or not at all. At first, knowing the tremendous sacrifices the Soviet people had made during the war, sentiment among Western leaders was, in general, to back off from demands conflicting with those of Stalin. What to do with postwar Germany was the first challenge; it had been divided into four occupied sectors—Soviet, American, British, and French. Stalin was intent on dismantling German industrial equipment and carting it off to the Soviet Union to be reassembled. He was determined to so weaken Germany that it could never be a threat to the Soviet Union again. Conversely, the three Western powers began to view a rebuilt, revitalized, and reunified Germany as a block to the spread of communism to the West. Eventually, these basic differences resulted in a permanently divided Germany—the closed Soviet-supported German Democratic Republic, or East Germany, and the open democratic U.S.- and British-supported Federal Republic of Germany, or West Germany.



## Lavrenty Beria

Born in southern Russia in Georgia on March 29, 1899, Lavrenty Pavlovich Beria would become head of the KGB, the dreaded Soviet secret police, and the organizational chief of the Soviet atomic bomb project. Svetlana Alliluyeva, Stalin's daughter, often referred to Beria as "my father's evil genius."

Young Beria, much as Stalin had been, was caught up in the communist movement sweeping over Russia and joined the Communist Party in 1917, the same year the revolutionary Bolsheviks triumphed over Russia's tsarist government. Committed to the cause and not averse to brutal tactics, Beria quickly rose by 1921 to the leadership of Cheka, the forerunner of the KGB. Between 1921 and 1931, he "eliminated" anyone who deviated from communist ideals or orders. Stalin appointed Beria head of the Soviet People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD). NKVD was another early name for the KGB. Beria specialized in terror, torture, executions, and for the lucky ones, facilitating banishment to the Gulag, the harsh Soviet prison system. Beria destroyed tens of thousands of lives.

Beria was also put in charge of efforts to build a Soviet bomb, with **Igor**



**Lavrenty Beria.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*

**Kurchatov** (1903–1960; see entry) as the organization's top scientist. Beria constantly bellowed to Kurchatov, "You will be camp dust," if the scientist was unsuccessful in developing the bomb. Upon Stalin's death in March 1953, Beria was one of a handful of leaders assuming they might take over from Stalin. Yet others, including Nikita Khrushchev, saw to it that Beria was falsely accused of being an agent for the West and was shot in late 1953. The announcement of his death was made in December 1953.

Stalin not only strengthened his hold on Eastern European countries but also supported communist uprisings in Greece, Turkey, and Iran. At Britain's urging, the United States intervened to stop communist takeovers in those countries. The Cold War rivalry was becoming increasingly defined. Stalin was convinced communism would eventually spread to

a worldwide movement and overcome the democratic, capitalist countries of the West. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established in 1949 for mutual protection of Western countries, and Stalin formed Cominform to direct communist activities around the world.

In September 1949, the Soviets successfully detonated an atomic bomb, eliminating the U.S. monopoly on atomic weapons. About the same time, Chinese communists successfully took power in China. Then in 1950, the Korean War (1950–53) started between the communist North Korea and the democratic U.S.-supported South Korea. At this point, Stalin and the spread of communism were greatly feared in the United States and Western Europe, still trying to recover from World War II. Yet unknown to Western leaders, by the early 1950s, Stalin would slip into a paranoia so severe his mind would become completely occupied by internal matters.

## Great terror continued

In Eastern European countries after World War II, tensions were high at the local levels between Stalin's communists, the local communists, and anticommunists. One of the countries, Yugoslavia, under leader **Josip Broz Tito** (1892–1980; see entry) was able to maintain some independence apart from Stalin's influence. Partly due to Tito's rebellion, Stalin began an intense Sovietization of Eastern Europe in 1948. The central Communist Party in Moscow had men in place in Eastern Europe, who ruled the countries with absolute iron control. Repression of any independent thought and total conformity to party line were demanded. Any dissent was punished brutally. The countries were forced, between 1948 and 1953, to adhere to Stalin's Soviet plan of agricultural collectivization and to turn all manufacturing into heavy industry. Stalin demanded that his instructions be carried out without question throughout Eastern Europe.

To be sure both local Communist Party officials and the general public adhered to his rule, Stalin used his "show trials." False accusations were made against various leaders. Under torture, they would usually confess and then be executed. Two of the most famous show trials involved Foreign Minister Laszlo Rajk (1909–1949) in Hungary and Rudolf

Slansky (1901–1952), general secretary of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia. Eventually, one in four Czech party members disappeared during Stalin's reign of terror.

Inside the Soviet Union, Stalin obsessed over total party loyalty. He saw an enemy or conspiracy around every corner. Just as in the 1930s when he called on the Soviets to uncover "enemies of the people," Stalin now ordered the addition of more and more labor camps for the Gulag system. One of the most concentrated, brutal purges occurred against the citizens of Leningrad in 1949. Upwards of one thousand party leaders from Leningrad were executed. Stalin's top "henchman" or ally was chief of the KGB (the secret police) Lavrenty Beria, who was also in charge of the Soviet atomic bomb project.

## Paranoid end

According to Stalin's daughter, Svetlana Alliluyeva, her father increasingly and steadily lost touch with reality the last three years of his life. He completely isolated himself at the Kremlin in Moscow or at his nearby country home in Kuntsevo. Stalin was suspicious of everyone, and at the Nineteenth Party Congress in October 1952, he so feared everyone in the room that he sat alone at the end of a long table. At this time, he was also conjuring up an anti-Semitic (Jewish) campaign.

Those around Stalin continued to be terrorized by him and KGB chief Beria. Stalin constantly made up stories that his closest staff and even his family were in conspiracies against him. In his last months in early 1953, he was preparing to possibly purge the people, including the doctors, of whom he was suspicious. Stalin suffered a stroke sometime during the night of February 28, 1953. He was not discovered until late the next afternoon, for his staff had feared entering his room without his permission. Stalin died on March 5, 1953.

Stalin left behind a Soviet Union ruled by a huge government bureaucracy of ministries, party-ruled legislative bodies, and secret police. For many common Soviet citizens, Stalin had been the extremely popular "father" of the Soviet Union. Thousands paid their respects in Moscow, and his body was put on display in the Lenin Mausoleum. His ultimate successor, however, **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see



entry), was bold enough to reveal the “crimes of Stalin” in a secret speech to the Twentieth Party Congress in October 1956. Partly as a result of this speech, Stalin’s body was removed from the mausoleum and buried at the Kremlin Wall.

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# Margaret Thatcher

**Born October 13, 1925  
Grantham, Lincolnshire, England**

**British prime minister**



**I**t was in May 1979 that Margaret Thatcher became Britain's first female prime minister. She would be reelected in 1983 and again in 1987 to become the first British prime minister of the twentieth century to win three consecutive general elections. Thatcher served for eleven-and-a-half years until her resignation in November 1990. Her Conservative Party victory in 1979 was a major triumph over the Labor Party, which had held power for much of the previous fifty years.

The perceived threat of the communist Soviet Union had come to be a dominant concern of the Western world at the time. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), an alliance of Western-styled democracies, was founded in 1949 at the key instigation of Great Britain. It was a response to the growing efforts by the Soviets to control Eastern European countries. This international cooperation between the United States and Western European countries proved far more effective in responding to the Soviet threat than the United Nations, which also included the Soviets and other nations under Soviet control.

"We want a society where people are free to make choices, to make mistakes, to be generous and compassionate. This is what we mean by a moral society; not a society where the state is responsible for everything, and no one is responsible for the state."

**Margaret Thatcher.**

By December 1979, six months after Thatcher took office, NATO agreed to deploy medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe. This put the Soviet Union on the defensive and forced it to decide how to react to NATO's move. The Soviets could no longer be confident of overcoming NATO at one level of weaponry without triggering a response at a higher level that could lead to a full-scale nuclear war. Thatcher was immediately thrust into a situation of rapidly declining relations between the Soviets and the West.

## **Modest beginnings**

Born Margaret Hilda Roberts, Thatcher was the second daughter born to Alfred Roberts and Beatrice Ethel Stephenson. Her sister, Muriel, was born four years before Margaret, in May 1921. Their father was a grocer who became active in local politics. He ultimately became mayor of Grantham. Margaret was especially close to her father and spoke of him as a major influence in her life.

Like most everyone at the time, Thatcher's life was transformed by World War II (1939–45). It overshadowed her entire adolescence from the ages of fourteen to nineteen. A life of thriftiness was the rule, as food and goods were strictly rationed. Thatcher was an excellent student with a competitive nature. She knew education was the key to escape life in the small town where she had grown up. Her social life in Grantham was centered around church, school, and her home life.

Young Margaret came to political awareness just as an international crisis began to dominate the news. There were twenty-one German air raids on the town of Grantham alone, and many bombs fell close to her home and school. She worked as a volunteer during the war and carried a gas mask with her to school. The war influenced Thatcher's political development and specifically her approach to international relations.

## **Education**

Thatcher was educated at Kesteven and Grantham's all-girls high school, winning a scholarship to Somerville College, Oxford. This was a major accomplishment for a woman in the early 1940s from a small town. She received a degree in chemistry and another in law. She also received a master's de-

gree from Oxford. While an undergraduate, she served as president of the Oxford University Conservative Association.

Upon graduation, Thatcher went to work as a research chemist for an industrial firm for four years, from 1947 to 1951. She continued her interest in politics by running in two parliamentary elections in 1950 and 1951. She lost both races. In 1951, she married Denis Thatcher, whom she had met through their common interest in politics. They became parents in 1953 with the birth of their twins, Carol and Mark.

## Politics

In 1959, Thatcher was elected to one of the best Conservative Party seats in the country as a member of Parliament for Finchley, in north London. Thatcher had achieved her goal of becoming a member of the House of Commons. She was to retain this position for twenty years, through six parliaments, until she became prime minister.

Thatcher's first ministerial appointment (administrative head of a department) came in 1961, and she rose quickly through the ranks to the position of education minister in 1970. In 1974, she also worked on environmental issues and then treasury matters as part of the British Cabinet. In 1975, Thatcher was elected leader of the Conservative Party. This made her leader of the opposition (the party not in power) and the first woman to head a political party in Great Britain. She remained head of the Conservative Party for fifteen years until her retirement in 1990.

## At the top

When she won her first general election in 1979, Thatcher inherited two primary challenges as the new prime minister. The first issue was the long-term economic decline in Great Britain, largely owing to over thirty years of social-



### “Feminine Factor”

The British media loved to dwell on the “feminine factor” during Margaret Thatcher's time in office. They often reported on supposed clashes between the prime minister and the queen of England. Thatcher tried to handle it all with a sense of humor. “I would always be asked how it felt to be a woman prime minister. I would reply: I don't know: I've never experienced the alternative.”

ism (government control of industry and extensive social welfare programs) in her country. The other issue was the growing Soviet threat to Europe and the world.

Regarding the Soviet threat, Thatcher repeatedly tried to resolve five different objectives during her time in office. First, there were only limited resources available for defense, particularly with the British economy growing slowly or not at all. This meant that if the defense expenditure was increased, it was vital that a more efficient use of government funds on domestic programs be achieved. Second, Britain needed to maintain its own interests in the world on a regular basis. Third, Britain had to help ensure that NATO responded effectively to the steadily increasing Soviet military threat. Fourth, as part of her third objective, it was vital to maintain Western unity behind American leadership. Britain, among European countries, and Thatcher, among European leaders, were uniquely placed to do that. Britain had always maintained a close relationship with the United States. Lastly, nowhere more than in defense and foreign policy did her own “Thatcher’s Law” apply—that in politics, the unexpected always happens. Thatcher believed one must always be prepared and able to face whatever happened to come one’s way.

## **The Soviet Union**

When Thatcher came to power, the Cold War was at its height and she inherited Britain’s “dual track” agreement with NATO in dealing with it. The Cold War was not so much a fighting war, but primarily a battle of ideologies (ideas or opinions) between the communist Soviet Union and the democratic, capitalist United States. The agreement relied on modernizing NATO’s medium-range weapons while at the same time engaging in talks with the Soviet Union on arms control. The question in Western Europe was always about which should come first.

Thatcher felt the Soviet Union could not be trusted to stop seeking an expanded influence in Europe, as they had in the Third World throughout the 1970s. (Third World refers to poor underdeveloped or economically developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.) By 1980, nuclear weapons were seen as a deterrent, or obstacle, to war, not a means of waging war. Thatcher knew that the essence of deterrence was



U.S. president Ronald Reagan (far left) and British prime minister Margaret Thatcher (next to him) developed a close partnership during the 1980s. Here, the two leaders and their spouses, Nancy Reagan and Denis Thatcher, attend a function at the White House in 1988.

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

its ability to pose a serious threat of retaliation to the Soviets. The Soviets had nuclear weapons targeted on every major European and British city. Britons were vulnerable to a Soviet first strike. If the Soviets doubted America's willingness to launch strategic nuclear weapons in defense of Britain, they would never doubt that the Conservative Party-led British government would do so.

Britain, however, was far behind its industrial competitors in maintaining a suitable defense. Needing modern nuclear weapons in place immediately, Thatcher formed a renewed partnership with America under U.S. president **Ronald Reagan** (1911–; served 1981–89; see entry) to acquire them as part of the Trident project. Meanwhile, the Soviets wanted to split the alliance of NATO. They used propaganda (giving out information to support an idea) to achieve this end. As a result, Thatcher's main emphasis came to be on keeping the alliance together, united behind America's leadership. It was very important that American public opinion remain committed to Western Europe. Britain's security and the free



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West's interests depended on the continued long-term relationship between the United States and Britain. Thatcher's foreign policy was centered on dealing with the Soviet Union.

## Setting the world right

By the early 1980s, the Soviets were at the limit in their expenditure on defense. Internal economic difficulties were increasingly evident, and they could not keep up with the United States in a nuclear arms race much longer. If they could not keep up in weaponry, then the other primary option for remaining equal in world prominence was through arms control and economic trade negotiations.

Thatcher made an effort to establish a realistic relationship with the Soviet Union. The Soviets had reason to do business with her because it had been clearly demonstrated Thatcher had influence with Reagan. She had become Reagan's chief ally in NATO. Invited to visit the Soviet Union, Thatcher visited and returned to the Soviet Union on several occasions. It was there she met new Soviet leader **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1931–; see entry) in 1985.

Gorbachev's steady rise to power and the effects of his economic and political reforms were what ultimately unleashed the forces that swept away the Soviet communist system, and as a result, the Soviet Union itself. The Soviets could not control the public demand for major social reform within the Soviet Union's fifteen republics and in Eastern Europe. A cascade of events beginning in 1989 led to the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991.

## Thatcher's legacy

Margaret Thatcher played a unique role in the world changes leading up to the twenty-first century. She sparked the triumph of capitalism and the collapse of Soviet commu-

nism in promoting free economic markets and freedom of thought and speech. Thatcher resigned as prime minister of Great Britain in 1990, however, after losing support of the Conservative Party over differences concerning post-Cold War European policy. Thatcher left public life in 2002.

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## Josip Broz Tito

**Born May 7, 1892**

**Kumrovec, Croatia, Austria-Hungary**

**Died May 4, 1980**

**Ljubljana, Yugoslavia**

**President of Yugoslavia and revolutionary**

“Any movement in history which attempts to perpetuate itself, becomes reactionary.”

**J**osip Broz Tito established a communist government in the country then known as Yugoslavia. Fiercely independent, Tito managed to successfully distance himself and his country from Soviet leader **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry) and Soviet control. During the entire Cold War period, Tito took his country down a liberalized path in agriculture, management of workers, trade with Western nations, art, education, and travel between Western nations and Yugoslavia. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry from 1945 to 1991 between the United States and the Soviet Union falling just short of military conflict. Tito stressed nonalignment, the right of nations to be neutral and not align with either superpower, the United States or the Soviet Union.

### Early years

Josip Broz was born the seventh child in a large peasant family of fifteen children (he acquired the name Tito in 1934). His hometown of Kumrovec was located northwest of Zagreb, the capital of the province of Croatia. Broz attended

Josip Broz Tito.

school for five years from ages seven to twelve, then was apprenticed to a locksmith. He completed his training in 1910 and joined the Social Democratic Party (Communist Party) of Croatia-Slavonia the same year.

After traveling and working around the region, Broz was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian Imperial Army. He was assigned to fight on the Russian front in 1914 when World War I (1914–18) broke out. Seriously wounded and captured by the Russians in 1915, he was treated at a Russian hospital then detained at a prisoner of war camp. Broz became fluent in the Russian language and also studied the Marxist ideas of the Bolshevik, or communist, revolutionaries. Marxist philosophy was based on the teachings of German philosopher Karl Marx (1818–1883), considered the father of communism. Communism is a system of government in which a single party, the Communist Party, controls all aspects of people's lives. In economic theory, it prohibits private ownership of property and business so that all goods produced and wealth accumulated are shared relatively equally by all. The term "Bolshevik" was later replaced with the term communist.

Broz decided to join the Bolshevik cause and headed for Petrograd, formerly Saint Petersburg, to demonstrate in the streets. He was arrested and imprisoned for a short time until the October Revolution of 1917. In the October Revolution, Bolsheviks overthrew the tsar, or royalty, and put themselves in power in Russia. The Russian Civil War followed, and Broz joined a Red Guard unit. "Red" is a term that often refers to communists, and the Red Army was indeed communist. In 1920, Broz married a Russian woman, Pelege ja Beloussaowa, and they returned to Croatia.

## **Rise in the Communist Party**

A confirmed communist revolutionary, Broz joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). He steadily rose through the ranks, holding several leadership positions and organizing trade unions. In 1928, Broz's revolutionary activities again led to his arrest and imprisonment, this time for five years. Upon his release in 1934, Broz adopted the pseudonym "Tito." He would use the name Tito to work underground in the CPY, since it was banned by the royal Yugoslav dictatorship in power at the time.

In 1935, Tito went back to Russia to work for the Comintern, a Soviet-sponsored organization to promote communism internationally. By 1937, Tito returned to the CPY. As a result of Stalin's purges, many CPY leaders were murdered or disappeared. Tito handpicked new leaders and rebuilt the party. Tito's CPY was ready when World War II (1939–45) started.

## **World War II—Partisans**

In 1941, when the German army invaded the Soviet Union, Tito formed the Partisans to fight German and Italian armies as they moved into Yugoslav territories. Tito named himself military commander about this time and also became known as Marshal. For the rest of his life, he would frequently be called Marshal Tito.

The Partisans came from the well-organized underground cells of the CPY. They staunchly withstood the German army attacks in the first half of 1943 and defeated their rivals, the Serbian Chetniks. The big three Allied powers—the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union—met in Tehran, Iran, in 1943 and officially recognized the Partisans. As a result, Allied aid was parachuted in to support the victorious and continuously strengthening Partisans. Tito consolidated his power at the end of World War II by purging, just as Stalin had done, those who opposed him. From his many loyalists, he formed a large army and secret police. By late 1945, the Communist Party was firmly in control of all of the Yugoslav territories. Tito proclaimed the area as the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in November 1945.

## **Stalin versus Titoism**

Immediately after World War II, the Soviets continued to occupy the countries of Eastern Europe, where communist parties had taken control of several governments. Some officials were local communists and some were appointed by Stalin. Then in 1948, a new, more centralized Sovietization of Eastern Europe began. Each nation was to be controlled by its Communist Party but subject to absolute control from Moscow. Tito immediately balked. Those in Belgrade, the cap-



ital of Yugoslavia, would not seek prior approval from Moscow for their policies and activities. Tito had ignored Stalin's suggestions on how to run the government and the economy. Stalin was enraged, and was also angry at Tito for his support of communists in the Greek Civil War, a war in which Stalin did not want to be involved. Stalin was further displeased with Tito's relations with Bulgaria and Albania.

**Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito (far right) stands with other men in the mountains of Yugoslavia during World War II in 1944.** *Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

For its continuing rebellious attitude, Stalin expelled Yugoslavia from the Cominform. He imposed an economic blockade that negatively impacted Yugoslavia but not its government or people's lives. Stalin even considered military action but refrained. The independent stance taken by Tito came to be known as Titoism. Titoism became the reason Stalin used to further crack down on communist parties in other Eastern European countries. Between 1948 and 1953, the year of Stalin's death, Soviet-styled communism was imposed on the Eastern Bloc. Collectivization of agriculture and development of heavy manufacturing while ignoring consumer goods became the rule. Collectivization meant elimination of all privately owned farms and grouping farmers together to work state-owned land, returning most food produced to the state.

Meanwhile, Tito used his secret police for another purge and a "reeducation" of communists who still supported Stalin. While the economy of the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries remained highly centralized, Tito began a program of decentralization. He began experimenting with allowing worker self-management in local areas. He allowed workers to form councils, and though he did not collectivize smaller farms, he did require them to supply the state with large portions of their goods. Tito also turned to the Western countries for loans and offered some cooperation with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a peacetime alliance of the United States and eleven other nations, and a key factor in the attempt to contain communism. He signed a trade agreement with the United States in 1949 and eventually received \$150 million in aid from the United States. Tito withstood hostility from the Soviet Union and maintained his independent communist state.

## Reconciliation

When Stalin died in 1953, Tito decided to explore a somewhat reconciled relationship with the new Soviet leadership. In May 1955, Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry) surprised other communist leaders when he went to Yugoslavia and visited with Tito. Khrushchev said it was time to "bury the hatchet" and reestablish the Soviet Union's relationship with Tito and Yugoslavia.



Yugoslavian president Josip Broz Tito (left) meets with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev at a United Nations General Assembly in September 1960.

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Nevertheless, Tito's and the Soviet Union's relationship would run hot and cold. It was particularly cold one year later with the Soviet intervention in Hungary to suppress unrest among the population. The Soviets blamed the Yugoslavs for encouraging and supporting Hungarian rebels. Again, twelve years later in 1968, Tito was infuriated with and opposed to the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. He had supported Czech leader Alexander Dubcek (1921–1992) as he attempted to reform and modernize communist policies.

### **Nonalignment and symmetrical federalism**

The independent-minded Tito came to think of his foreign policy as “actively neutral”—neither favoring the communist Eastern Bloc countries nor the democratic Western countries, but occupying a position in between. (A democratic system of government allows multiple political parties; their members are elected to various government offices by popular vote of the people.) Tito was particularly close to



## Yugoslavia after Tito

The nation of Yugoslavia changed at least three times through the twentieth century. During Josip Broz Tito's reign as president, Yugoslavia was a federation of six republics and two autonomous provinces he held tightly together. The republics included Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The provinces were Kosovo and Vojvodina.

Following the death of Tito in May 1980 and the failure of the communist economy, the political federation fell apart. Most of the former republics and provinces wanted independence from the historically dominant Serbia and wished to establish independent nations such as the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, only Serbia and Montenegro were left as members of Yugoslavia, officially called the Federation Republic of Yugoslavia.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) of India and President Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970) of Egypt and tried to develop common policies for a group of nations he hoped would form a nonaligned bloc, neither favoring the East nor the West. In 1956, he called together a meeting of twenty-five neutral countries to his island in the Adriatic Sea. There, he proposed a neutral bloc or his policy of “nonalignment.” In the 1960s and 1970s, Tito traveled to many countries to promote nonalignment.

Between 1945 and 1953, Tito's title in Yugoslavia was premier. Beginning in 1953, he was known as president, which remained his title until 1980, the year of his death. Tito was repeatedly elected president after 1953 and eventually his term was made unlimited—or president for life. In 1971, Tito established a system, “symmetrical federalism,” that he hoped would lead to a systematic succession of power after his death. Symmetrical means having dissimilar or different parts in a balanced fashion, while federalism means forming a political unity of different states under a central power.

The United States, for example, operates under federalism with its fifty states and central government. Tito's federalism consisted of six Yugoslav republics (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia) and two autonomous provinces (Kosovo and Vojvodina). He established a twenty-two member collective presidency of the eight presidents from the republics and provinces and fourteen members chosen from the assemblies in each of the eight regions. Tito, of course, was chairman of the collective presidency, and he purged any leaders who did not go along with his ideals or political agenda.

## Federation breakup

Throughout the decades after World War II, Tito had relied on his strength of character, charisma, and continuing popularity to hold power and to push Yugoslavia down its own independent path. He encouraged relatively broad liberties in culture and education. He allowed Yugoslavs to work and travel in Western Europe. Likewise, the Adriatic coast of Yugoslavia became a popular tourist destination for Westerners. He maintained a strong army, but as the years passed, he lessened the powers of the secret police.

During the 1970s, the economy began to weaken under high inflation (rising cost of goods), inefficient industry, and a heavy foreign debt. Despite his Yugoslav federation, nationalist issues between the republics and provinces continued to surface in ever more radical tones. Croatians called for secession from the federation; Serbia also agitated, or stirred up public debate on the issue, and pressed the federation leaders to give it a greater voice. Croatia and Serbia, the two larger regions, were unhappy that smaller regions had almost as much representation as they did. Tito tightened control, but after a four-month health decline, he died in May 1980. After his death, tensions between the republics and provinces reared up with a vengeance, eventually leading to civil wars and a violent federation breakup in the 1990s.

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## Harry S. Truman

**Born May 8, 1884**

**Lamar, Missouri**

**Died December 26, 1972**

**Kansas City, Missouri**

**U.S. president, vice president, senator**

“All the President is, is a glorified public relations man who spends his time flattering, kissing and kicking people to get them to do what they are supposed to do anyway.”

“I felt like the moon, the stars, and all the planets had fallen on me.” Harry S. Truman spoke these words to a reporter on April 13, 1945, the day after being sworn in as U.S. president. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) had died suddenly of a brain hemorrhage, and Truman was faced with leading the American people through mounting international crises.

Harry S. Truman, the thirty-third president of the United States, would be cast as a central player in the quickly developing Cold War (1945–91). The Cold War was an intense political, ideological, economic, and military global rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union and their allies, involving hostility and conflict but not direct warfare between the two superpowers. Many historians argue that the tensest and most dramatic years of the Cold War were during Truman’s presidency, which coincided with the last eight years of power for Soviet leader **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry).

**Harry S. Truman.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

## Modest beginnings

Harry S. Truman, the oldest of three children, was born on May 8, 1884 to Martha and John A. Truman, a farmer and livestock trader in Lamar, Missouri. Young Harry had very poor vision. His nearsightedness made childhood awkward since he was unable to participate in sports and games with other boys. He settled for more intellectual activities, becoming an avid reader and a good pianist. The family moved several times before settling in Independence, Missouri, in 1890, where the educational opportunities would be best for young Harry. Though not an outstanding student, Truman graduated from high school in 1901 at a time when many boys did not complete their high school education.

Truman's family did not have money for college. Rejected by the West Point military academy because of his eyesight, Truman took some business classes and found work in nearby Kansas City. At first, he was a timekeeper for a railroad construction company, then a bank clerk. In 1906, he moved back to a family farm owned by his grandmother near Grandview, Missouri, to help his father with the farm work. John Truman died in November 1914, leaving Harry with increased farm responsibilities.

While farming in Missouri, Truman broadened his world significantly. The shy, quiet boy matured into an active member of his community. Truman joined various fraternal organizations including the Masons, the oldest and largest organization for men in the world. Not associated with any particular religious beliefs or political opinions, it seeks to provide assistance to others by raising millions of dollars to assist hospitals, orphans, and the elderly, and to provide scholarships for students. Truman also signed up with the Missouri National Guard, where he served in an artillery unit from 1905 to 1911. Along with his expanding associations came a



### Is There a Period after S?

A debate has existed as to whether the middle initial of President Harry S. Truman should have a period after it. As revealed by Truman in 1962, the "S" does not stand for any specific name. When Truman was born, his parents compromised on a middle name by simply selecting an S. The letter represented both of his grandfathers, Anderson Shipp Truman and Solomon Young. Technically, then, no period should have followed the S, since it did not stand for an actual word or name. Yet researchers found that Truman himself had put a period after the S on many of his signatures while president, so the period after the S became the accepted practice among historians and others.

growing interest in local politics. Also, testing his financial skills, Truman invested in Oklahoma mines and oil exploration, but found little reward in these ventures. He was more successful in the romantic sphere, when he began dating a childhood friend, Elizabeth “Bess” Wallace, in 1910.

When the United States entered World War I (1914–18) in 1917, the thirty-three-year-old Truman reentered the Missouri National Guard. By July 1918, he had moved up to the rank of captain in charge of field artillery Battery D and served on the battlefield in France. The war experience further sharpened his leadership skills. Following the war, Truman joined the reserves, eventually rising to the rank of colonel.

Upon returning home in 1919, Truman married Wallace. They had one daughter, Mary Margaret, born in February 1924. No longer interested in farming, Truman and a former Army friend opened a men’s clothing shop in downtown Kansas City. Truman again took a strong interest in civic matters, joining the American Legion, the Reserve Officers Association, and a downtown merchants group aimed at improving commerce. Unfortunately for Truman, the national economy of the early 1920s slid into a postwar slump. With mounting debt, Truman closed his store in September 1922.

## **A turn to politics**

Though not an economic success, owning a business and participating in various organizations gained Truman recognition in the region. Through his store, Truman had also met Thomas Pendergast (1872–1945), the Democratic Party boss for Kansas City, a predominately Democratic area. Truman decided to enter politics and, with the Democratic political machine’s backing, won election to a county administrative post in 1922. Truman quickly demonstrated exceptional administrative skills, tackling difficult rural road issues.

Despite his successes, Truman lost reelection in 1924 and found work with the Automobile Club of Kansas City. Two years later, he won a local election again and served two four-year terms as presiding judge of Jackson County, the top administrative job in the county. He efficiently supervised

public building projects and a road program. In this very public position, Truman built a reputation for honesty, an uncommon trait for some members of the Pendergast political machine. He also exhibited a talent for bringing together diverse groups, including minorities, in support of certain causes. Truman modernized the county road system, improved public buildings, and balanced the county budget.

## Senator Truman

By 1934, Truman was looking for a higher public office. He considered running for governor or for the U.S. House of Representatives, but in each case the Pendergast political group backed other candidates. Then an opportunity came in the U.S. Senate race, and Truman jumped at the chance. Running a surprisingly hard campaign, Truman narrowly won the Democratic primary and went on to easily win the general election.

Senator Truman first worked without great fanfare. Though not nationally well known, he readily won the respect of fellow senators for his hard work, friendliness, and honesty. He distrusted big business and was a steady supporter of President Roosevelt's New Deal programs, created to guide the nation's economic recovery from the Great Depression (1929–41), the worst financial crisis in American history.

Pursuing his transportation interests, Truman focused on national transportation issues and became a member of the Interstate Commerce Committee. He gained recognition for passage of the Civil Aeronautics Act in 1938, which established government regulation of the young aviation industry. He was also instrumental in the passage of the Wheeler-Truman Transportation Act of 1940. The act provided federal oversight of the railroad industry's reorganization efforts. Truman built close ties with labor organizations such as railway unions and with African Americans through his public support of civil rights issues.

In the 1940 elections, Truman won a hard-fought Democratic primary and then a tough reelection in November. During his second term, Truman gained greater national prominence. He led a Senate committee investigating fraud and waste



**U.S. vice president Harry S. Truman is sworn into office, following the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt on April 12, 1945. With Truman are his wife, Bess, and U.S. Supreme Court justice Harlan Fiske Stone, who is administering the oath.** *Photograph by Abbie Rowe. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

in U.S. military services and their private contractors. Known as the Truman Committee, its fairness and effectiveness brought Truman increased respect from fellow senators and industry. It was estimated the Truman Committee saved the United States \$15 billion during the early years of World War II (1939–45). Through his committee leadership, Truman was seen as an advocate for the common citizen against big business, big labor, the military, and greedy politicians.

## The presidency

With the presidential elections approaching in the fall of 1944, President Roosevelt began looking for a new running mate to replace Vice President Henry A. Wallace (1888–1965). Given his popularity among both conservatives and liberals in the Democratic Party, Truman proved a good compromise choice. After Roosevelt won his fourth straight presidential election, Truman was sworn in as vice president on January 20, 1945.



Shockingly, Truman served in his position as vice president for only eighty-two days. With Roosevelt's sudden death on April 12, Truman was thrust into the presidency at sixty-one years of age. Truman had only met with the president twice, and he had little familiarity with key programs. Worst yet, having focused on domestic issues in Congress, Truman had almost no foreign policy experience. Yet World War II was still raging against Japan in the Pacific and the fate of postwar Europe needed to be decided with the imposing figures of British prime minister **Winston Churchill** (1874–1965; see entry) and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin.

Truman again relied on his strong administrative skills and extensive Washington political experience. He carefully listened to the political and technical advisors available to him. He then signed the charter for a major new international organization designed to preserve peace, called the United Nations (UN), in late April 1945; accepted Germany's surrender in early May; and by July, was meeting with Churchill and Stalin in Potsdam, Germany.

**U.S. president Harry S. Truman (right) and former British prime minister Winston Churchill wave to American crowds upon Churchill's visit to the United States in March 1946.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

## The bomb

Among the new revelations to Truman when he became president was the top-secret Manhattan Project, established to develop an atomic bomb. A secret test of the bomb was successfully conducted on July 16, 1945. The United States was the only country in the world with an atomic bomb.

Fearing a high number of U.S. casualties in an invasion of Japan and desiring an end to the Pacific war quickly, Truman issued an ultimatum to Japan to surrender or face destruction. No specific reference to the bomb was made. Following Japan's quick rejection of the ultimatum, Truman made one of the most controversial decisions in the history of the U.S. presidency, to drop atomic bombs on two Japanese cities. The bombs fell on Hiroshima on August 6 and Nagasaki on August 9, killing more than 150,000 men, women, and children. Japan surrendered on August 14, 1945. Truman, who relied on a committee of top advisors to drop the bombs, unhesitatingly defended his decision to use the atomic bombs, reasoning that more lives than the bomb victims would have been lost had the war continued.

## Cold War

Over the next two years, a global rivalry with the Soviet Union developed. Confrontations with the Soviets in their effort to spread communism soon occurred in Poland, Germany, Iran, Greece, and Turkey. The Soviet Union had already spread its communist influence into almost all of Eastern Europe. Communism is a system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and the government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, supposed to be shared equally by all. To combat further expansion of communism, Truman introduced the Truman Doctrine in March 1947 to a joint session of Congress.

The Truman Doctrine became the foundation for U.S. Cold War foreign policy for the next half century. The doctrine proclaimed that the United States would come to the assistance of any free peoples in the world threatened by communist expansion, either externally or internally. Employing

a strategy of containment in restricting Soviet influence to its present extent, Truman oversaw the creation of several major programs. He promoted a massive economic assistance program known as the Marshall Plan to help Western Europe recover economically from World War II; formed a European military alliance known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); oversaw a massive airlift operation when the Soviets blocked Western access to West Berlin; and established a security agreement with Latin American nations called the Rio Pact.

## **A stunning reelection**

Truman's public popularity varied greatly during his presidency. For his first few months as president, Truman enjoyed an incredibly high public approval rating of 87 percent. Yet with increased Soviet control of Eastern Europe and a struggling U.S. postwar economy following World War II, his approval rating plummeted to 32 percent by September 1946. As a result, Republicans did very well in the November 1946 midterm elections and gained control of both houses of Congress. Truman's prospects for reelection in November 1948 were not bright; nevertheless, Truman ran an energetic, hard-hitting campaign and orchestrated a major upset over New York governor Thomas E. Dewey (1902–1971; see box).

With his stunning reelection, Truman believed he had firmer public support to put new domestic programs in place. Calling these programs the "Fair Deal," Truman patterned his domestic program after Roosevelt's New Deal. He sought to address a wide range of domestic issues important to the common citizen, including more public housing, an increase in minimum wage, price supports for farmers, national health insurance, federal aid to education, tax relief for the poor, and sweeping civil rights legislation. Though he only succeeded with the housing bill, many of the other initiatives surfaced again in later administrations.

Throughout his second term as president, the Cold War continued to dominate Truman's administration. The events seemed unending, including Chinese communists taking control of Mainland China; the successful testing of an atomic bomb by the Soviet Union; the fear of communist in-





## “Give ‘em Hell, Harry!”—The 1948 Election

By 1948, Democratic president Harry S. Truman had adopted aggressive foreign policies to contain communist expansion. He seemed to be politically rebounding from a low public approval rating of just 32 percent registered in late 1946. Even so, few believed he had much chance to win the November 1948 presidential election.

Truman not only had to contend with his Republican opponent, New York governor Thomas E. Dewey, but other opponents were lining up as well. Former vice president and Truman’s former secretary of commerce Henry A. Wallace was running on the Progressive Party ticket. Wallace advocated a less aggressive policy toward the Soviet Union. South Carolina governor Strom Thurmond (1902–2003) led the States’ Rights party, known as the Dixiecrats. The Dixiecrats were conservative Democrats from the South who had bolted from the Democratic National Convention when the party adopted a strong civil rights position. Wallace appealed to the liberal Democrats and Thurmond to the conservative Democrats.

Truman responded with a highly energetic cross-country campaign that re-

stored the diverse combination of voters President Franklin Roosevelt had attracted in the 1930s. Truman pulled together organized labor, the blue-collar or industrial working class, farmers, Catholics, Eastern European immigrants, and the Jewish population. Truman aggressively hammered away at the Republicans for blocking his domestic program proposals in Congress. To attract the African American vote, he signed an executive order racially integrating the armed forces. His decision to officially recognize the newly formed nation of Israel drew Jewish voters. Truman characteristically displayed the feisty, folksy approach that appealed to many Americans, and a popular slogan of “Give ‘em Hell, Harry” soon accompanied him on the road. Dewey, in contrast, expected to win the election and ran a lackluster campaign.

When people awoke the morning after the election, they were greeted with the stunning news of Truman’s victory. Both Wallace and Thurmond received only 2.4 percent of the vote each while Truman had defeated Dewey 49.5 percent to 45.1 percent. The Democrats made gains in both houses of Congress as well.

filtration within the United States (known as the Red Scare) led by U.S. senator **Joseph R. McCarthy** (1909–1957; see entry) of Wisconsin, who even asserted that there were communists within Truman’s own administration; revelations of a nuclear spy ring funneling information to the Soviets; and the invasion of South Korea by communist North Korea. All

of these events proved major distractions from Truman's domestic agenda. With Republicans constantly charging that Truman was soft on communism, Truman not only waged the Cold War with the Soviets but was also under constant attack by McCarthy and his supporters.

China's entry into the Korean War led Truman to fire the highly popular U.S. military leader General **Douglas MacArthur** (1880–1964; see entry) in April 1951. MacArthur had publicly opposed Truman's war strategy. As the fighting in Korea dragged on into 1952, producing an apparent stalemate, the public was clearly dissatisfied and Truman's public approval rating fell to 23 percent. On March 29, 1952, Truman announced he would not seek renomination for president that fall. Unlike Roosevelt, who at his death was in his fourth term, Truman thought two terms was long enough for any president. He also realized his chances at reelection would be slim and he was weary of being president after eight long years.

Republican **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61; see entry) won the presidential election in November 1952 in a landslide over Illinois Democratic governor Adlai Stevenson (1900–1965). The following January, Truman quietly retired to his home in Independence, Missouri, where he wrote his memoirs and spoke occasionally on public issues. His health declined in the mid-1960s. Truman fell into unconsciousness on Christmas Day 1972 and died in Kansas City the following day.

### **“Mr. Citizen”**

Truman left office with a low public approval rating of just 31 percent. As time passed, however, assessments of his presidential performance by historians rose greatly. Truman showed many sides of himself as president; on the one hand, he had a very direct and abrupt manner. For example, unlike Roosevelt, he tolerated little conflict within his administration, even firing Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace when Wallace publicly challenged Truman's policies toward the Soviets. On the other hand, Truman was a good party leader for the Democrats, successfully appealing to a diverse group of people. He was an energetic campaigner and always appealed to the common person with a certain charm. He liked to refer to himself as “Mr. Citizen” after retirement.

Truman as U.S. president made very difficult and at times unpopular decisions during his White House years. These included dropping the atomic bombs, responding to Soviet hostile actions, supporting civil rights legislation, jumping to the defense of South Korea, and firing the popular General MacArthur. Additionally, between 1945 and 1953, Truman, his administration, and Congress fashioned U.S. foreign policies that would not only be long lived but balanced the United States on the Cold War tightrope.

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# Zhou Enlai

**Born March 5, 1898**  
**Huaian, Kiangsu province, China**  
**Died January 8, 1976**  
**Peking, People's Republic of China**

**Premier and foreign minister of**  
**People's Republic of China**



**Z**hou Enlai was a leading figure of the People's Republic of China (PRC) from its founding in 1949 to 1976. He served as premier (head of state) throughout this lengthy time period and was also the PRC's foreign minister from 1949 to 1958, but remained the country's leading foreign affairs expert for decades. As a result, Zhou was the most visible PRC official and gained great respect from other world leaders for his superb negotiating skills.

Zhou was responsible for all of communist China's foreign policy through most of the Cold War and much of the PRC's domestic policy as well. The Cold War was an intense political and economic rivalry from 1945 to 1991 between the United States and the Soviet Union, falling just short of military conflict.

## Student activist

Zhou Enlai was born in March 1898 into what had been a prosperous middle-class family in Huaian, within the

"All diplomacy is a continuation of war by other means."

**Zhou Enlai.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

Kiangsu (later known as Jiangsu) province of eastern China. His father was Zhou Yinen and his mother Wan Dongei. By the time of Zhou's birth, the family was struggling financially. An aunt raised young Zhou his first ten years and then two uncles took over through his teen years. Valuing education, Zhou's relatives supported his attendance at various missionary schools around China. At Nankai Normal School, he was already showing the skills of a master negotiator by leading the school's debate team.

After completing his secondary education, Zhou traveled to Japan in 1917 to further his studies, as many Chinese youths did at the time. He also became very excited about the communist revolution in Russia that same year and eagerly explored Marxist theory. Marxist theory refers to the economic and political interpretations of German philosopher Karl Marx (1818–1883), which formed the basis of communism. Communism is a system of government in which a nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls all aspects of society. Under communism, private ownership of property is eliminated and the government directs all economic production; all goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, supposed to be shared equally by all.

Pursuing his growing interest in political activism, Zhou joined an activist Chinese study organization in Japan. Zhou returned to China to the city of Tientsin in 1919, the third-largest city and the largest port in Northern China, to take part in student demonstrations as part of the May Fourth Movement. The movement was protesting the Treaty of Versailles, the peace treaty ending World War I (1914–18), because the treaty gave Japan certain rights to the Chinese province of Manchuria. It was the beginning of a revolution in China that would build through the years with Zhou as a central figure. He was arrested for his activism in 1920 and released that fall after being in prison for four months.

Zhou soon played an instrumental role in the beginning of the Chinese communist revolution. Zhou had great sympathy for the working class, especially Chinese peasants. Freed from prison, Zhou journeyed to Paris, France, on a work-study program. There, he joined the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps, a new communist organization, and then became an organizer of a Berlin branch in Germany. While in

Europe, he associated with other future communist revolutionaries such as **Ho Chi Minh** (1890–1969; see entry), who would later lead North Vietnam. Zhou joined the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) at this time and formed the CCP European branch. He served as an officer of the European branch and also gained a broad knowledge of various cultures and political ideas from various parts of the world. This formed a foundation for his later role as a leading foreign diplomat of the CCP.

## Return to China

In 1924, Zhou returned to China, to Canton in the Guangdong province. There, he became active in a new alliance between the CCP and the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) led by **Chiang Kai-shek** (1887–1975; see entry). They were joining forces in a national revolution against China's ruling warlords, or local military leaders. Zhou assumed leadership of the Canton Communist Party and became deputy head of the Whampoa Military Academy near Canton. Chiang was head of the academy, which taught many future military leaders of China.

While in Canton, Zhou married fellow revolutionary Deng Yingchao in 1925, whom he had met during the 1919 Tientsin demonstrations. They would have no children of their own but adopted many. Among them was Li Peng (1928–), who became prime minister of communist China in 1987. Like Zhou, Deng would become a prominent CCP member and deputy chairman of the All-China Federation of Women, a key women's organization in the CCP.

The alliance army began a military expedition in 1926. By March 27, 1927, its troops were closing in on the major city of Shanghai. To help seize the city, Zhou traveled in advance to organize the city's workers to go on strike. After successfully entering the city, however, Chiang turned his Nationalist forces on CCP members, killing five thousand of them. Barely escaping, the surprised and angered Zhou traveled to Nankow, which became the new center for the CCP. In the next two months, Zhou was elected to the CCP Central Committee, the Communist Party's main administrative body; and its Politburo, the executive body of the Central Committee, responsi-

ble for making policy decisions. Zhou was also made director of the military department of the CCP Central Committee.

In August 1927, Zhou led a communist force of thirty thousand troops to gain control of the town of Nanchang in retaliation for the Shanghai massacre. The military operation was known as the Nanchang Uprising. At first, the CCP took the city, but the Nationalists quickly retook it. Zhou retreated to Hong Kong, then to Shanghai, where the CCP began operating underground. Despite the Nanchang defeat, this event would long be celebrated as the beginning of the Chinese Red Army. By 1928, Chiang's Nationalists had united China under one government.

## The Long March

Because Moscow during these early years guided CCP activities, Zhou traveled to Moscow in 1928 to be reaffirmed once again as the CCP military leader. Maintaining his leadership role, he returned to China to rebuild the organization. The CCP switched its focus from failed city uprisings with large losses to organizing rural peasants and farmers. In 1931, Zhou left Shanghai for the Kiangsi province in southwest China where **Mao Zedong** (1893–1976; see entry) and others were building the rural-based communist rebellion. In Kiangsi, they established the Chinese Soviet Republic, with Zhou serving on its Central Executive Committee and as leader of its army. They then worked to expand the communist base over the next several years.

In October 1934, Chiang launched an attack to destroy the growing communist stronghold. Chiang's army won a series of military victories over the CCP, driving the Red Army from Kiangsi and south-central China. After suffering 60,000 casualties, Zhou and Mao decided to embark on a major retreat that became known as the Long March. The Long March was an epic journey to a new base in northwestern China. They trudged some 6,000 miles (9,650 kilometers) over one year's time. Of the 90,000 or so who started the journey, only about 8,000 survived. Zhou's wife, Deng, was one of the few women to make the journey. During the Long March, in January 1935, leadership of the party and Central Committee's military department switched from Zhou to

Mao and remained this way for the rest of their lives. The march arrived at Yen-an in the northern Shensi province in October 1935.

## Zhou the diplomat

From the new base in Yen-an, Zhou readily tackled his new role as chief negotiator for the CCP. A priority of Zhou's was to rebuild an alliance with the Nationalists against the growing Japanese aggression. Japan had invaded Manchuria in 1931 and was expanding its control from there. In December 1936, Chiang was arrested by one of his generals, who sought to end the civil war with the CCP and instead focus all Chinese on Japanese aggression. Seizing the opportunity, Zhou immediately traveled to argue for saving Chiang's life. After days of negotiation, he was successful and obtained agreements from Chiang to end the civil war and join forces against Japan. The communists gained much greater respect from the Chinese general public due to Zhou's diplomacy.

War broke out with Japan in July 1937. Zhou served as the CCP representative within the government for the next several years. Following Japan's surrender to the United States and allied forces in August 1945, ending World War II (1939–45), Mao and Zhou traveled to Chungking to reach a peace agreement with Chiang. They proposed a coalition government of Chinese communists and Chiang's Nationalists, yet the lack of success in negotiations led to the involvement of the United States to help reach a settlement. U.S. president **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53; see entry) sent General **George C. Marshall** (1880–1959; see entry) but still no resolution was reached. Zhou returned to Yen-an and civil war resumed in 1947 after an eleven-year pause.

Only two years later, the communists gained control of the Chinese government. They formed the People's Republic of China (PRC) on October 1, 1949. Chiang's nationalist government fled to the island of Taiwan off the south coast of Mainland China. There, Chiang established the Republic of China (ROC), with hopes of eventually retaking the mainland. Mao became chairman of the PRC's Communist Party, serving as the country's spiritual and philosophical leader. Zhou was the PRC's premier and foreign minister. As premier,





U.S. special emissary George C. Marshall (second from left) reviews the troops in Yen-an, China, in March 1946, along with Chinese officials (left to right) Zhou Enlai, Chu Teh, Chang Chi-Chung, and Mao Zedong.

*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

Zhou was chief administrator of the vast bureaucracy he created for the nation of one billion people. Zhou was also vice chairman of the committee drafting a constitution for the new country. As foreign minister, Zhou was in charge of establishing all foreign relations. Since Zhou already had a strong background in international issues and had many foreign contacts, he became the long-term voice of the PRC and traveled extensively. Perhaps his greatest contribution, through his many years of service, was the professionalism he brought to the new government and the respect he quickly gained for it.

## **The United States versus communist China**

Zhou's interactions with the United States during the Cold War were numerous and varied. They involved the PRC's role in the United Nations (UN), armed conflict in Korea, confrontation over the existence of the ROC, and fi-

nally, the building of an improved relationship. In 1949, Zhou considered the United States to be the primary obstacle to world acceptance of the PRC. The China Lobby, a group of influential nationalist supporters in the United States, put substantial pressure on the U.S. government to withhold recognition of the PRC and block the PRC's inclusion in the UN. Opposed to all communist governments, the United States blocked UN acceptance of the PRC for years and for three decades recognized the ROC on Taiwan as the only legitimate Chinese government. In addition, the United States placed a trade embargo, which prohibited commerce such as ships in and out of ports, on the PRC from 1950 until 1971 and kept a sizable military force in South Korea and Japan.

In June 1950, communist North Korea invaded U.S.-supported South Korea. A UN coalition led predominantly by U.S. forces quickly responded. Zhou kept the PRC out of the conflict at first; however, he warned the United States that the PRC would become involved if U.S. forces penetrated into North Korea. Not only did U.S. forces cross the boundary between North and South Korea by the fall of 1950, but they actually pushed all the way to the Chinese border with North Korea. Feeling threatened by the U.S. aggressiveness, Zhou unleashed three hundred thousand PRC troops in November 1950 to fight directly against U.S. forces. The PRC army successfully pushed U.S. forces back across North Korea and into South Korea before reaching a stalemate at the original boundary by the spring of 1951. Peace would not come until 1953.

Zhou also felt threatened by the U.S.-backed ROC off the south coast. Twice during the 1950s, the PRC bombarded ROC-held islands off the mainland coast. These islands were heavily fortified by ROC forces, and both times the United States intervened by gaining guarantees from the ROC to not attack the PRC.

A peak in Zhou's influence came at the 1954 Geneva conference following a key communist military defeat of French forces in Vietnam at Dien Bien Phu. Zhou was able to negotiate a peace settlement including a cease-fire from the communist Vietminh forces and a partitioning of the country with the communists in control of the North. Zhou won praise for his skill even though U.S. secretary of state **John Foster Dulles** (1888–1959; see entry) refused to shake hands with Zhou and the United States refused to sign the agreement.



**Chinese premier Zhou Enlai attends the Geneva Conference in 1954.**

*Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.*

In 1969, **Richard M. Nixon** (1913– 1994; served 1969–74; see entry) became U.S. president. Before long, he sent indications to Zhou that he was interested in improving relations between the two nations. Zhou readily seized the opportunity and Nixon dropped the trade embargo. In July and October 1971, U.S. national security advisor **Henry Kissinger** (1923–; see entry) made two secret trips to China to begin discussions with Zhou. These meetings set the stage for Nixon’s historic visit to Peking in February 1972 to meet Mao. It was the first visit by a U.S. president to the PRC. Owing to Zhou’s superb negotiating skills, Nixon recognized the Chinese on Taiwan as part of the PRC, rather than the ROC being China’s main government or even a separate government of its own.

## **Expanding foreign relations and surviving domestic upheavals**

Aside from dealing with conflicts involving the United States, Zhou explored possible expansion of PRC influence in other parts of the world. He toured Eastern Europe in 1957 seeking more direct relations outside Soviet influence. Zhou was also interested in nationalist movements (those seeking independence) and forming new ties with underdeveloped countries. From 1956 to 1964, Zhou traveled widely throughout Africa and Asia. Though he formally gave up his position as foreign minister in 1958, Zhou still kept most of the duties and responsibilities of the post. One of his more bitter relationships was with India’s leader Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) over a border dispute. The dispute turned into armed conflict in 1962 and was a rousing PRC victory.

Zhou also had to negotiate through internal upheavals orchestrated by Mao. The Great Leap Forward in 1955 and 1956 was an effort to transfer control of agriculture and



## Sino-Soviet Relations

A longstanding challenge in Zhou Enlai's foreign policy was relations with the Soviet Union, known as Sino-Soviet relations (*Sino* means "Chinese"). Initially, the Soviets provided guidance to the young CCP through the 1920s and 1930s. Soon after the communist Red Army defeated the Nationalist Chinese government in 1949, Zhou established a defense alliance with the Soviets. Serving both as premier and foreign minister of the PRC, Zhou was the key PRC contact with the Soviets.

Examples of his contact included Zhou acting as the CCP representative at the funeral of **Joseph Stalin** (1879–1953; see entry) in March 1953. Significant differences grew between the CCP and the Soviet Communist Party, however, by the mid-1950s as Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** (1894–1971; see entry) introduced reforms with which Zhou and the Chinese did not agree. In a historic February 1956 speech, Khrushchev severely criticized Stalin's past policies. Zhou disagreed with the speech, believing it would weaken Soviet communist rule. Proving him right, Eastern European countries immediately tried to break from Soviet control and Khrushchev responded with deadly military force.

In 1957, Zhou traveled to Moscow to protest the Soviet Union's aggressive actions in Eastern Europe. By 1959, relations began to improve, and Zhou returned to Moscow to obtain much-needed Soviet assistance in the construction of numerous industrial and power plants. This assistance lasted only until July 1960, when the Soviets pulled out due to growing differences. The countries formally split in 1961 when Zhou walked out of a Moscow Communist Party meeting. He laid a wreath at Stalin's tomb in defiance of Khrushchev's policies. This proved to U.S. officials that not all communists were the same, nor did they represent a monolithic (standing as one) communist threat to take over the world.

In 1964, Zhou visited Moscow to resolve differences once again; progress was slow, though, and border clashes between the two communist governments grew in frequency. Finally, in 1969, a resolution was negotiated, ending the border clashes between the two communist powers. An uneasy peace was established for the last several years of Zhou's leadership.

industry to local communes. It led to disastrous results, including famine. Zhou next survived the Cultural Revolution, which lasted from 1966 to 1976. During the Cultural Revolution, Mao sought to rejuvenate the revolutionary spirit of the CCP by purging bureaucrats, intellectuals, and others. Zhou provided a moderating influence on these events by discreet-

ly protecting some key moderate leaders. Yet Zhou suffered a heart attack in 1967 after being harassed by the Red Guard, a special force created by Mao to carry out the Cultural Revolution. The following year, in October 1968, the Red Guard tortured to death one of Zhou's adopted daughters.

## The Zhou legacy

Highly intelligent and amazingly good with details, Zhou was one of the most widely respected diplomats in the world and the most liked Chinese leader. Zhou loved to dance and watch movies and exuded personal charm. Courteous and thoughtful, he showed much tact. Despite his long dedication to the CCP since its founding, he was not known as an ideologue, or one driven by his political beliefs, but a master of practical diplomacy. Communist Party leader Mao Zedong had zeal, while Zhou was moderate. Zhou restrained extremists within the CCP and kept diplomatic doors open to foreign nations.

Zhou died of bladder cancer in January 1976 after three years of serious illness. Mao died in September. After Zhou's death, a brief power struggle followed, with Zhou supporter Deng Xiaoping (1904–1997) finally claiming leadership, which lasted until his own death in 1997. Three years after Deng's death, the United States and the PRC established direct formal relations. In keeping with his very modest lifestyle, Zhou had his ashes scattered over China with no specific monument erected. He also wrote no memoirs or autobiography.

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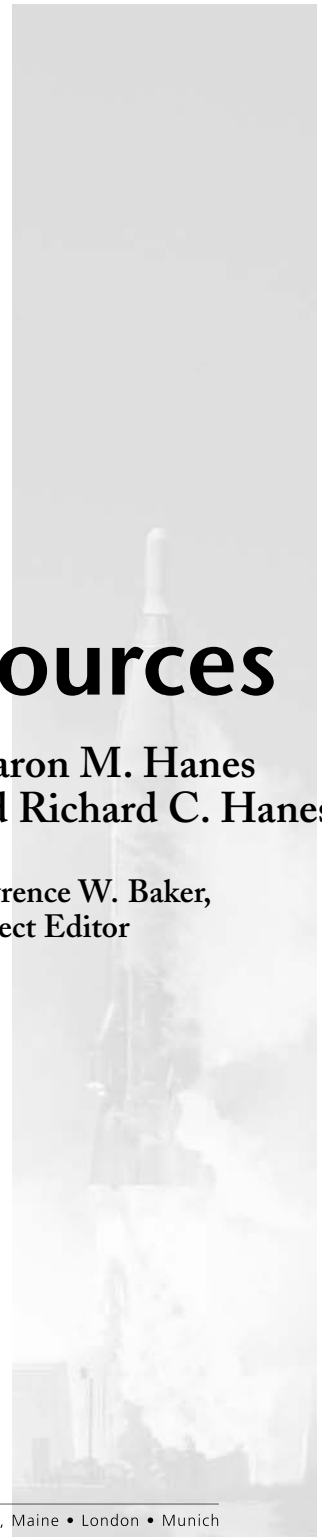
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# Introduction

**S**ometimes single events alter the course of history; other times, a chain reaction of seemingly lesser occurrences changes the path of nations. The intense rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that emerged immediately after World War II (1939–45) followed the second pattern. Known as the Cold War, the rivalry grew out of mutual distrust between two starkly different societies: communist Soviet Union and the democratic West, which was led by the United States and included Western Europe. Communism is a political and economic system in which the Communist Party controls all aspects of citizens' lives and private ownership of property is banned. It is not compatible with America's democratic way of life. Democracy is a political system consisting of several political parties whose members are elected to various government offices by vote of the people. The rapidly growing rivalry between the two emerging post-World War II superpowers in 1945 would dominate world politics until 1991. Throughout much of the time, the Cold War was more a war of ideas than one of battlefield combat. Yet for generations, the Cold War affected almost every aspect of American life and those who lived in numerous other countries around the world.



The global rivalry was characterized by many things. Perhaps the most dramatic was the cost in lives and public funds. Millions of military personnel and civilians were killed in conflicts often set in Third World countries. This toll includes tens of thousands of American soldiers in the Korean War (1950–53) and Vietnam War (1954–75) and thousands of Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. National budgets were stretched to support the nuclear arms races, military buildups, localized wars, and aid to friendly nations. On the international front, the United States often supported oppressive but strongly anti-communist military dictatorships. On the other hand, the Soviets frequently supported revolutionary movements seeking to overthrow established governments. Internal political developments within nations around the world were interpreted by the two superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States—in terms of the Cold War rivalry. In many nations, including the Soviet-dominated Eastern European countries, basic human freedoms were lost. New international military and peacekeeping alliances were also formed, such as the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization of American States (OAS), and the Warsaw Pact.

Effects of the Cold War were extensive on the home front, too. The U.S. government became more responsive to national security needs, including the sharpened efforts of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Created were the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the National Security Council (NSC), and the Department of Defense. Suspicion of communist influences within the United States built some individual careers and destroyed others. The national education priorities of public schools were changed to emphasize science and engineering after the Soviets launched the satellite *Sputnik*, which itself launched the space race.

What would cause such a situation to develop and last for so long? One major factor was mistrust for each other. The communists were generally shunned by other nations, including the United States, since they gained power in Russia in 1917 then organized that country into the Soviet Union. The Soviets' insecurities loomed large. They feared another invasion from the West through Poland, as had happened through the centuries. On the other hand, the West was highly suspicious of the harsh closed society of Soviet communism. As a result, a move by one nation would bring a

response by the other. Hard-liners on both sides believed long-term coexistence was not feasible.

A second major factor was that the U.S. and Soviet ideologies were dramatically at odds. The political, social, and economic systems of democratic United States and communist Soviet Union were essentially incompatible. Before the communist (or Bolshevik) revolution in 1917, the United States and Russia competed as they both sought to expand into the Pacific Northwest. In addition, Americans had a strong disdain for Russian oppression under their monarchy of the tsars. Otherwise, contact between the two growing powers was almost nonexistent until thrown together as allies in a common cause to defeat Germany and Japan in World War II.

It was during the meetings of the allied leaders in Yalta and Potsdam in 1945 when peaceful postwar cooperation was being sought that the collision course of the two new superpowers started becoming more evident. The end of World War II had brought the U.S. and Soviet armies face-to-face in central Europe in victory over the Germans. Yet the old mistrusts between communists and capitalists quickly dominated diplomatic relations. Capitalism is an economic system in which property and businesses are privately owned. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by competition in a market relatively free of government intervention. A peace treaty ending World War II in Europe was blocked as the Soviets and the U.S.-led West carved out spheres of influence. Western Europe and Great Britain aligned with the United States and collectively was referred to as the "West"; Eastern Europe would be controlled by the Soviet Communist Party. The Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellite countries were collectively referred to as the "East." The two powers tested the resolve of each other in Germany, Iran, Turkey, and Greece in the late 1940s.

In 1949, the Soviets successfully tested an atomic bomb and Chinese communist forces overthrew the National Chinese government, and U.S. officials and American citizens feared a sweeping massive communist movement was overtaking the world. A "red scare" spread through America. The term "red" referred to communists, especially the Soviets. The public began to suspect that communists or communist sympathizers lurked in every corner of the nation.

Meanwhile, the superpower confrontations spread from Europe to other global areas: Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. Most dramatic were the Korean and Vietnam wars, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the military standoffs in Berlin, Germany. However, bloody conflicts erupted in many other areas as the United States and Soviet Union sought to expand their influence by supporting or opposing various movements.

In addition, a costly arms race lasted decades despite sporadic efforts at arms control agreements. The score card for the Cold War was kept in terms of how many nuclear weapons one country had aimed at the other. Finally, in the 1970s and 1980s, the Soviet Union could no longer keep up with the changing world economic trends. Its tightly controlled and highly inefficient industrial and agricultural systems could not compete in world markets while the government was still focusing its wealth on Cold War confrontations and the arms race. Developments in telecommunications also made it more difficult to maintain a closed society. Ideas were increasingly being exchanged despite longstanding political barriers. The door was finally cracked open in the communist European nations to more freedoms in the late 1980s through efforts at economic and social reform. Seizing the moment, the long suppressed populations of communist Eastern European nations and fifteen Soviet republics demanded political and economic freedom.

Through 1989, the various Eastern European nations replaced long-time communist leaders with noncommunist officials. By the end of 1991, the Soviet Communist Party had been banned from various Soviet republics, and the Soviet Union itself ceased to exist. After a decades-long rivalry, the end to the Cold War came swiftly and unexpectedly.

A new world order dawned in 1992 with a single superpower, the United States, and a vastly changed political landscape around much of the globe. Communism remained in China and Cuba, but Cold War legacies remained elsewhere. In the early 1990s, the United States was economically burdened with a massive national debt, the former Soviet republics were attempting a very difficult economic transition to a more capitalistic open market system, and Europe, starkly divided by the Cold War, was reunited once again and sought to establish a new union including both Eastern and Western European nations.

## Reader's Guide

**C**old War: *Primary Sources* tells the story of the Cold War in the words of the people who lived and shaped it. The Cold War was the period in history from 1945 until 1991 that was dominated by the rivalry between the world's superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Thirty-one excerpted documents provide a wide range of perspectives on this period of history. Included are excerpts from former British prime minister Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain Speech," U.S. general Douglas MacArthur's address to the U.S. Congress, in which he uttered the famous lines, "Old soldiers never die, they just fade away"; "One Hundred Things You Should Know About Communism in the U.S.A." from the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC); and numerous speeches from Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and U.S. president John F. Kennedy.

Each excerpt presented in *Cold War: Primary Sources* includes the following additional material:

- An **introduction** places the document and its author in a historical context.



- **“Things to remember while reading ...”** offers readers important background information and directs them to central ideas in the text.
- **“What happened next ...”** provides an account of subsequent events, both in the Cold War and in the life of the author.
- **“Did you know ...”** provides significant and interesting facts about the document, the author, or the events discussed.
- **“Consider the following ...”** gives students and teachers research and activity ideas that pertain to the subject of the excerpt.
- **“For more information”** lists sources for further reading on the author, the topic, or the document.

*Cold War: Primary Sources* also features sidebars containing interesting facts about people and events related to the Cold War, nearly eighty photographs, a “Cold War Timeline” that lists significant dates and events of the Cold War era, and a cumulative subject index.

## **U•X•L Cold War Reference Library**

*Cold War: Primary Sources* is only one component of the three-part U•X•L Cold War Reference Library. The other two titles in this set are:

- *Cold War: Almanac* (two volumes) presents a comprehensive overview of the period in American history from the end of World War II until the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and the actual dissolution of the Soviet Union itself. Its fifteen chapters are arranged chronologically and explore such topics as the origins of the Cold War, the beginning of the nuclear age, the arms race, espionage, anticommunist campaigns and political purges on the home fronts, détente, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Berlin Airlift and the Berlin Wall, the Korean and Vietnam wars, and the ending of the Cold War. The *Almanac* also contains more than 140 black-and-white photographs and maps, “Words to Know” and “People to Know” boxes, a timeline, and an index.



- *Cold War: Biographies* (two volumes) presents the life stories of fifty individuals who played key roles in the Cold War superpower rivalry. Profiled are well-known figures such as Joseph Stalin, Harry Truman, Nikita Khrushchev, Henry Kissinger, John F. Kennedy, Mao Zedong, and Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as lesser-known individuals such as physicist and father of the Soviet atomic bomb Igor Kurchatov, British foreign minister Ernest Bevin, and longtime U.S. foreign policy analyst George F. Kennan.
- A cumulative index of all three titles in the U•X•L Cold War Reference Library is also available.

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## Dedication

To Aaron and Kara Hanes, that their children may learn about the events and ideas that shaped the world through the latter half of the twentieth century.

## Comments and suggestions

We welcome your comments on *Cold War: Primary Sources* and suggestions for other topics to consider. Please write: Editors, *Cold War: Primary Sources*, U•X•L, 27500 Drake Rd., Farmington Hills, Michigan 48331-3535; call toll free: 1-800-877-4253; fax to 248-699-8097; or send e-mail via <http://www.gale.com>.

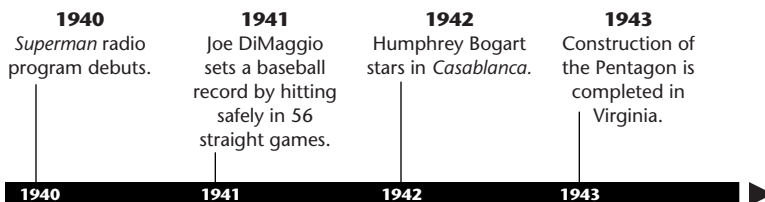
# Cold War Timeline

**September 1, 1939** Germany invades Poland, beginning World War II.

**June 30, 1941** Germany invades the Soviet Union, drawing the Soviets into World War II.

**December 7, 1941** Japan launches a surprise air attack on U.S. military installations at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, drawing the United States into World War II.

**November 1943** The three key allied leaders—U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin—meet in



Tehran, Iran, to discuss war strategies against Germany and Italy.

**August-October 1944** An international conference held at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., creates the beginning of the United Nations.

**February 1945** The Yalta Conference is held in the Crimean region of the Soviet Union among the three key allied leaders, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin to discuss German surrender terms, a Soviet attack against Japanese forces, and the future of Eastern Europe.

**April-June 1945** Fifty nations meet in San Francisco to write the UN charter.

**April 12, 1945** U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt dies suddenly from a brain hemorrhage, leaving Vice President Harry S. Truman as the next U.S. president.

**April 23, 1945** U.S. president Harry S. Truman personally criticizes Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov for growing Soviet influence in Eastern Europe, setting the tone for escalating Cold War tensions.

**May 7, 1945** Germany surrenders to allied forces, leaving Germany and its capital of Berlin divided into four military occupation zones with American, British, French, and Soviet forces.

**July 16, 1945** The United States, through its top-secret Manhattan Project, successfully detonates the world's first atomic bomb under the leadership of nuclear physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer.

**July-August 1945** The Big Three—U.S. president Harry S. Truman, British prime minister Winston Churchill,

**1944**

Franklin D. Roosevelt is elected to an unprecedented fourth term as U.S. president.

1944

**1945**

The United States drops two atomic bombs on Japan.

1945

**1945**

*Ebony* magazine is launched.

1945

and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin meet in Potsdam, Germany, to discuss postwar conditions. On August 2, newly elected Clement R. Attlee replaces Churchill.

**August 14, 1945** Japan surrenders, ending World War II, after the United States drops two atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

**February 9, 1946** Soviet leader Joseph Stalin delivers the “Two Camps” speech, declaring the incompatibility of communist Soviet Union with the West.

**February 22, 1946** U.S. diplomat George F. Kennan sends the “Long Telegram” from Moscow to Washington, D.C., warning of the Soviet threat.

**March 5, 1946** Former British prime minister Winston Churchill delivers the “Iron Curtain Speech” at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri.

**September 27, 1946** Nikolai V. Novikov, Soviet diplomat to the United States, sends a telegram to Moscow describing his perceptions of the United States’s postwar intentions.

**December 2, 1946** The United States, Great Britain, and France merge their German occupation zones to create what would become West Germany.

**March 12, 1947** U.S. president Harry S. Truman announces the Truman Doctrine, which states that the United States will assist any nation in the world being threatened by communist expansion.

**June 5, 1947** U.S. secretary of state George C. Marshall announces the Marshall Plan, an ambitious economic aid program to rebuild Western Europe from World War II destruction.

**1945**  
George Orwell's  
*Animal Farm*  
is published.

**1946**  
The first general-  
purpose computer, the  
ENIAC, is completed.

**1947**  
Jackie Robinson  
becomes the first  
black major league  
baseball player.

1945

1946

1947

**June 9, 1947** FBI director J. Edgar Hoover publishes an article titled “How to Fight Communism” in *Newsweek* magazine.

**July 1947** U.S. diplomat George F. Kennan introduces the containment theory in the “X” article in *Foreign Affairs* magazine.

**July 26, 1947** Congress passes the National Security Act, creating the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Council (NSC).

**October 1947** Actor Ronald Reagan and author Ayn Rand testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), a congressional group investigating communist influences in the United States.

**December 5, 1947** The Soviets establish the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) to promote the expansion of communism in the world.

**1948** The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) publishes “One Hundred Things You Should Know About Communism in the U.S.A.,” alerting the public on how to guard against possible communist influences within the United States.

**February 25, 1948** A communist coup in Czechoslovakia topples the last remaining democratic government in Eastern Europe.

**March 14, 1948** Israel announces its independence as a new state in the Middle East.

**March 17, 1948** U.S. president Harry S. Truman delivers a special message to the Congress on the Soviet threat to the freedom of Europe and urges congressional passage of the Marshall Plan.

**1947**

U.S. Congress approves the 22nd Amendment, limiting the president to two four-year terms.

1947

**1947**

Tennessee Williams’s *A Streetcar Named Desire* opens on Broadway.

1947

**1948**

The Baskin-Robbins ice cream chain opens.

1948

**June 24, 1948** The Soviets begin a blockade of Berlin, leading to a massive airlift of daily supplies by the Western powers for the next eleven months.

**April 4, 1949** The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance involving Western Europe and the United States, comes into existence.

**May 5, 1949** The West Germans establish the Federal Republic of Germany government.

**May 12, 1949** The Soviet blockade of access routes to West Berlin is lifted.

**May 30, 1949** Soviet-controlled East Germany establishes the German Democratic Republic.

**August 29, 1949** The Soviet Union conducts its first successful atomic bomb test at the Semipalatinsk Test Site in northeastern Kazakhstan.

**September 1949** Journalist Isaac Don Levine publishes an article titled “Our First Line of Defense” in *Plain Talk* magazine in opposition to the U.S. policy of allowing Mainland China to fall to the communists.

**October 1, 1949** Communist forces under Mao Zedong gain victory in the Chinese civil war, and the People’s Republic of China (PRC) is established, with Zhou Enlai its leader.

**January 1950** The U.S. National Security Council issues “Report on Soviet Intentions (NSC-68)” under the leadership of Paul H. Nitze, proposing a large buildup of defense forces in the United States.

**February 9, 1950** U.S. senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin publicly claims in a speech in Wheeling, West

**1948**

Margaret Chase Smith of Maine becomes the first woman elected to the U.S. Senate.

**1949**

The first Emmy Awards ceremony is held.

**1950**

The first Xerox copy machine is produced.

1948

1949

1950

Virginia, to have a list of communists working in the U.S. government.

**March 1, 1950** Chiang Kai-shek, former leader of nationalist China, which was defeated by communist forces, establishes the Republic of China (ROC) on the island of Taiwan.

**April 7, 1950** U.S. security analyst Paul Nitze issues the secret National Security Council report 68 (NSC-68), calling for a dramatic buildup of U.S. military forces to combat the Soviet threat.

**June 25, 1950** North Korea launches its armed forces against South Korea in an attempt to reunify Korea, leading to the three-year Korean War.

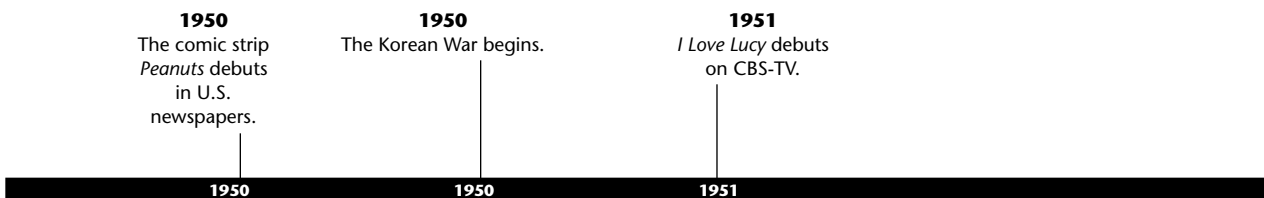
**October 24, 1950** U.S. forces push the North Korean army back to the border with China, sparking a Chinese invasion one week later and forcing the United States into a hasty retreat.

**April 11, 1951** U.S. president Harry S. Truman fires General Douglas MacArthur, the U.S. military commander in Korea, for publicly attacking the president's war strategy.

**April 19, 1951** General Douglas MacArthur delivers his "Old Soldiers Never Die; They Just Fade Away" speech to a joint session of Congress, following his dismissal from his Korean War command by U.S. president Harry S. Truman.

**June 21, 1951** The Korean War reaches a military stalemate at the original boundary between North and South Korea.

**September 1, 1951** The United States, Australia, and New Zealand sign the ANZUS treaty, creating a military al-



liance to contain communism in the Southwest Pacific region.

**October 25, 1951** Winston Churchill wins reelection as British prime minister over Clement R. Attlee.

**July 23, 1952** Former U.S. first lady Eleanor Roosevelt addresses the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Illinois, on the importance of the United Nations.

**October 3, 1952** Great Britain conducts its first atomic weapons test.

**November 1, 1952** The United States tests the hydrogen bomb on the Marshall Islands in the Pacific Ocean.

**November 4, 1952** Former military general Dwight D. Eisenhower is elected U.S. president.

**March 5, 1953** After leading the Soviet Union for thirty years, Joseph Stalin dies of a stroke; Georgy Malenkov becomes the new Soviet leader.

**April 16, 1953** U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower delivers his "Chance for Peace" address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

**June 27, 1953** An armistice is signed, bringing a cease-fire to the Korean War.

**August 12, 1953** The Soviet Union announces its first hydrogen bomb test.

**December 8, 1953** U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower addresses the General Assembly of the United Nations on "Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy."

**May 7, 1954** The communist Viet Minh forces of Ho Chi Minh capture French forces at Dien Bien Phu, leading

**1951**

CBS offers the first color television broadcast.

**1952**

NBC-TV's *The Today Show* debuts.

**1953**

Lung cancer is attributed to cigarette smoking.

1951

1952

1953



to a partition of Vietnam and independence for North Vietnam under Ho's leadership.

**September 8, 1954** The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is formed.

**December 2, 1954** The U.S. Senate votes to censure U.S. senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin after his communist accusations proved to be unfounded.

**February 8, 1955** Nikolai Bulganin replaces Georgy Malenkov as Soviet premier.

**May 14, 1955** The Warsaw Pact, a military alliance of Soviet-controlled Eastern European nations, is established; the countries include Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania.

**November 22, 1955** Under the guidance of nuclear physicist Andrey Sakharov, the Soviets detonate their first true hydrogen bomb at the Semipalatinsk Test Site; Sakharov would be awarded several of the Soviet Union's highest honors.

**February 24, 1956** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev gives his "Secret Speech," attacking the past brutal policies of the late Soviet leader Joseph Stalin.

**October 31, 1956** British, French, and Israeli forces attack Egypt to regain control of the Suez Canal.

**November 1, 1956** In Hungary, the Soviets crush an uprising against strict communist rule, killing many protesters.

**March 7, 1957** The Eisenhower Doctrine, offering U.S. assistance to Middle East countries facing communist expansion threats, is approved by Congress.

**1954**

The first issue of *Sports Illustrated* is published.

**1955**

Jonas Salk invents the polio vaccine.

**1956**

President Dwight D. Eisenhower is reelected.

1954

1955

1956

**October 5, 1957** Shocking the world with their new technology, the Soviets launch into space *Sputnik*, the first man-made satellite.

**1958** FBI director J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972) writes *Masters of Deceit*, a book that educates the public about the threat of communism within the United States.

**March 27, 1958** Nikita Khrushchev replaces Nikolai Bulganin as Soviet premier while remaining head of the Soviet Communist Party.

**November 10, 1958** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev issues an ultimatum to the West to pull out of Berlin, but later backs down.

**January 2, 1959** Revolutionary Fidel Castro assumes leadership of the Cuban government after toppling pro-U.S. dictator Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar.

**September 17, 1959** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev arrives in the United States to tour the country and meet with U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower.

**September 28, 1959** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev delivers his “Peace and Progress Must Triumph in Our Time” speech to a Moscow audience upon returning from his trip to the United States.

**May 1, 1960** The Soviets shoot down a U.S. spy plane over Russia piloted by Francis Gary Powers, leading to the cancellation of a planned summit meeting in Paris between Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower.

**November 8, 1960** U.S. senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts defeats Vice President Richard M. Nixon in the presidential election.

**1957**  
West Side Story opens on Broadway.

**1958**  
The United States launches its first satellite.

**1959**  
Alaska and Hawaii become the 49th and 50th U.S. states.

1957

1958

1959

1960

**March 1, 1961** U.S. president John F. Kennedy establishes the Peace Corps.

**April 15, 1961** A U.S.-supported army of Cuban exiles launches an ill-fated invasion of Cuba, leading to U.S. humiliation in the world.

**June 3, 1961** U.S. president John F. Kennedy meets with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev at a Vienna summit meeting to discuss the arms race and Berlin; Kennedy comes away shaken by Khrushchev's belligerence.

**July 25, 1961** U.S. president John F. Kennedy speaks to the American people on the Berlin Crisis.

**August 4, 1961** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev makes his "Secret Speech on the Berlin Crisis" speech, in response to U.S. president John F. Kennedy's July 25 address.

**August 15, 1961** Under orders from Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, the Berlin Wall is constructed, stopping the flight of refugees from East Germany to West Berlin.

**October 1962** The Cuban Missile Crisis occurs as the United States demands the Soviets remove nuclear missiles from Cuba.

**October 22, 1962** U.S. president John F. Kennedy addresses the American people on the presence of Soviet nuclear arms in Cuba.

**October 28, 1962** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev issues the "Communiqué to President Kennedy Accepting an End to the Missile Crisis."

**1960**  
The metric system is adopted by most nations.

**1961**  
Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin becomes the first man to orbit Earth.

**1962**  
Jim Beatty becomes the first person to run the mile in less than four minutes.

1960

1961

1962

**January 1, 1963** Chinese communist leaders Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai denounce Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's policies of peaceful coexistence with the West; the Soviets respond by denouncing the Chinese Communist Party.

**June 26, 1963** U.S. president John F. Kennedy makes his famous proclamation of U.S. friendship with West Berliners in his "Remarks in the Rudolph Wild Platz, Berlin" speech.

**August 5, 1963** The first arms control agreement, the Limited Test Ban Treaty, banning above-ground nuclear testing, is reached between the United States, Soviet Union, and Great Britain.

**November 22, 1963** U.S. president John F. Kennedy is assassinated in Dallas, Texas, leaving Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson as the new U.S. president.

**August 7, 1964** U.S. Congress passes the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, authorizing U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson to conduct whatever military operations he thinks appropriate in Southeast Asia.

**October 15, 1964** Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev is removed from Soviet leadership and replaced by Leonid Brezhnev as leader of the Soviet Communist Party and Aleksey Kosygin as Soviet premier.

**October 16, 1964** China conducts its first nuclear weapons test.

**November 3, 1964** Lyndon B. Johnson is elected U.S. president.

**March 8, 1965** U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson sends the first U.S. ground combat units to South Vietnam.

**1962**  
Actress Marilyn Monroe dies from an overdose of barbiturates.

**1963**  
Civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. delivers his "I Have a Dream" speech.

**1964**  
The musical *Fiddler on the Roof* opens.

**1965**  
Demonstrations against the Vietnam War occur in forty U.S. cities.

1962

1963

1964

1965

**June 23, 1967** U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson and Soviet premier Aleksey Kosygin meet in Glassboro, New Jersey, to discuss a peace settlement to the Vietnam War.

**January 31, 1968** Communist forces inspired by the leadership of the ailing Ho Chi Minh launch the massive Tet Offensive against the U.S. and South Vietnamese armies, marking a turning point as American public opinion shifts in opposition to the Vietnam War.

**July 15, 1968** Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev announces the Brezhnev Doctrine, which allows for the use of force where necessary to ensure the maintenance of communist governments in Eastern European nations.

**August 20, 1968** The Warsaw Pact forces a crackdown on a Czechoslovakia reform movement known as the “Prague Spring.”

**August 27, 1968** Antiwar riots rage in Chicago’s streets outside the Democratic National Convention.

**November 5, 1968** Richard M. Nixon defeats Vice President Hubert Humphrey in the U.S. presidential election.

**1969** *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis*, by the late U.S. attorney general Robert F. Kennedy, is published.

**March 18, 1969** The United States begins secret bombing of Cambodia to destroy North Vietnamese supply lines.

**July 20, 1969** The United States lands the first men on the moon.

**July 25, 1969** U.S. president Richard M. Nixon announces the Nixon Doctrine at a news conference in Guam,

**1966**  
The National Organization for Women (NOW) is established.

**1967**  
*Rolling Stone* magazine is first published.

**1968**  
Civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. is assassinated.

**1969**  
The Woodstock music festival takes place.

1966

1967

1968

1969

stressing that the United States should be actively involved in Asia but not be the world's policeman and attempt to stifle any communist uprising.

**October 15, 1969** Former West Berlin mayor Willy Brandt is elected chancellor of West Germany.

**April 16, 1970** Strategic arms limitation talks, SALT, begin.

**April 30, 1970** U.S. president Richard M. Nixon announces an invasion by U.S. forces of Cambodia to destroy North Vietnamese supply camps.

**May 4, 1970** Four students are killed at Kent State University as Ohio National Guardsmen open fire on antiwar demonstrators.

**October 25, 1971** The People's Republic of China (PRC) is admitted to the United Nations as the Republic of China (ROC) is expelled.

**February 20, 1972** U.S. president Richard M. Nixon makes an historic trip to the People's Republic of China to discuss renewing relations between the two countries.

**February 28, 1972** Following his historic visit to communist China, U.S. president Richard M. Nixon makes his "Remarks at Andrews Air Force Base on Returning from the People's Republic of China."

**May 26, 1972** U.S. president Richard M. Nixon travels to Moscow to meet with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev to reach an agreement on the strategic arms limitation treaty, SALT I.

**January 27, 1973** After intensive bombing of North Vietnamese cities the previous month, the United States and North Vietnam sign a peace treaty, ending U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

**1970**  
*Monday Night Football* debuts on ABC-TV.

**1971**  
The legal U.S. voting age is lowered to eighteen.

**1972**  
The Watergate scandal begins.

**1973**  
U.S. troops pull out of Vietnam.

1970

1971

1972

1973

**June 27, 1973** Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev journeys to Washington, D.C., to meet with U.S. president Richard M. Nixon to pursue détente.

**June 27, 1974** U.S. president Richard M. Nixon travels to Moscow for another summit conference with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

**August 9, 1974** Under threats of impeachment due to a political scandal, U.S. president Richard M. Nixon resigns as U.S. president and is replaced by Vice President Gerald R. Ford.

**November 23, 1974** U.S. president Gerald R. Ford and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev meet in the Soviet city of Vladivostok.

**April 30, 1975** In renewed fighting, North Vietnam captures South Vietnam and reunites the country.

**August 1, 1975** Numerous nations sign the Helsinki Accords at the end of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

**November 2, 1976** Former Georgia governor Jimmy Carter defeats incumbent U.S. president Gerald R. Ford in the presidential election.

**June 16, 1977** Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev is elected president of the Soviet Union in addition to leader of the Soviet Communist Party.

**December 25, 1977** Israeli prime minister Menachim Begin and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat begin peace negotiations in Egypt.

**September 17, 1978** Israeli prime minister Menachim Begin and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, meeting with

**1974**  
Hank Aaron passes Babe Ruth as baseball's all-time home run hitter.

**1975**  
The video cassette recorder (VCR) is invented.

**1977**  
Rock and roll singer Elvis Presley dies in Tennessee.

**1978**  
Pope John Paul II begins reign as the leader of the Catholic Church.

1973

1975

1977

1979

U.S. president Jimmy Carter at Camp David, reach an historic peace settlement between Israel and Egypt.

**January 1, 1979** The United States and the People's Republic of China (PRC) establish diplomatic relations.

**January 16, 1979** The shah of Iran is overthrown as the leader of Iran and is replaced by Islamic leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

**June 18, 1979** U.S. president Jimmy Carter and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev sign the SALT II strategic arms limitation agreement in Vienna, Austria.

**July 19, 1979** Sandinista rebels seize power in Nicaragua with Daniel Ortega becoming the new leader.

**November 4, 1979** Islamic militants seize the U.S. embassy in Tehran, Iran, taking U.S. staff hostage.

**December 26, 1979** Soviet forces invade Afghanistan to prop up an unpopular pro-Soviet government, leading to a decade of bloody fighting.

**April 24, 1980** An attempted military rescue of American hostages in Iran ends with eight U.S. soldiers dead.

**August 14, 1980** The Solidarity labor union protests the prices of goods in Poland.

**November 4, 1980** Former California governor Ronald Reagan is elected president of the United States.

**January 20, 1981** Iran releases the U.S. hostages as Ronald Reagan is being sworn in as the new U.S. president.

**November 12, 1982** Yuri Andropov becomes the new Soviet leader after the death of Leonid Brezhnev two days earlier.

**1979**

The Three Mile Island nuclear reactor accident occurs in Pennsylvania.

**1980**

Former Beatle John Lennon is murdered.

**1981**

MTV makes its debut.

**1982**

The compact disc (CD) is introduced.

1979

1980

1981

1982



**March 8, 1983** U.S. president Ronald Reagan calls the Soviet Union the “Evil Empire.”

**March 23, 1983** U.S. president Ronald Reagan announces the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

**September 1, 1983** A Soviet fighter shoots down Korean Airlines Flight 007 as it strays off-course over Soviet restricted airspace.

**October 25, 1983** U.S. forces invade Grenada to end fighting between two pro-communist factions.

**February 13, 1984** Konstantin Chernenko becomes the new Soviet leader after the death of Yuri Andropov four days earlier.

**February 1985** The United States issues the Reagan Doctrine, which offers assistance to military dictatorships in defense against communist expansion.

**March 11, 1985** Mikhail Gorbachev becomes the new Soviet leader after the death of Konstantin Chernenko the previous day.

**October 11–12, 1986** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. president Ronald Reagan meet in Reykjavik, Iceland, and agree to seek the elimination of nuclear weapons.

**October 13, 1986** U.S. president Ronald Reagan addresses the American public following his meeting with Soviet general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in Iceland and describes historic nuclear arms reduction talks.

**October 17, 1986** Congress approves aid to Contra rebels in Nicaragua.

**November 3, 1986** The Iran-Contra affair is uncovered.

**1984**  
Apple introduces a new personal computer called the Macintosh.

**1985**  
Microsoft releases Windows.

**1986**  
The Chernobyl nuclear disaster occurs.

1983

1984

1985

1986

**December 8–10, 1987** U.S. president Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev meet in Washington to sign the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), removing thousands of missiles from Europe.

**February 8, 1988** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announces the decision to begin withdrawing Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

**May 29, 1988** U.S. president Ronald Reagan journeys to Moscow for a summit meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

**November 8, 1988** U.S. vice president George Bush is elected president of the United States.

**December 7, 1988** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev addresses the United Nations General Assembly Session on major changes within the Soviet Union and foreign relations.

**1989** In one nation after another in Eastern Europe, the communist leadership falls.

**January 11, 1989** The Hungarian parliament adopts reforms granting greater personal freedoms to Hungarians, including allowing political parties and organizations.

**January 18, 1989** The labor union Solidarity gains formal acceptance in Poland.

**March 26, 1989** Open elections are held for the new Soviet Congress of People's Deputies, with the communists suffering major defeats; Boris Yeltsin wins the Moscow seat.

**May 11, 1989** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announces major reductions of nuclear forces in Eastern Europe.

**1987**  
The U.S. and Canada sign a free-trade agreement.

**1988**  
Pan Am Flight 747 explodes over Lockerbie, Scotland.

**1989**  
The Exxon *Valdez* oil tanker accident occurs.

1987

1988

1989

**June 3–4, 1989** Chinese communist leaders order a military crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrations in Tiananmen Square, leading to many deaths.

**June 4, 1989** The first Polish free elections lead to major victory by Solidarity.

**October 7, 1989** The Hungarian communist party disbands.

**October 23, 1989** Massive demonstrations begin against the East German communist government, involving hundreds of thousands of protesters and leading to the resignation of the East German leadership in early November.

**November 10, 1989** East Germany begins dismantling the Berlin Wall; Bulgarian communist leadership resigns.

**November 24, 1989** Czechoslovakia communist leaders resign.

**December 1, 1989** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. president George Bush begin a three-day meeting on a ship in a Malta harbor to discuss rapid changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

**December 3, 1989** U.S. president George Bush and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev make a joint statement on their discussions in the Malta Summit.

**December 20, 1989** Lithuania votes for independence from the Soviet Union.

**December 22, 1989** Romanian communist leader Nicolae Ceausescu is toppled and executed three days later.

**March 1990** Lithuania declares independence from Moscow.

**March 14, 1990** Mikhail Gorbachev is elected president of the Soviet Union.

**1989**

Wayne Gretzky becomes professional hockey's all-time leading scorer.

1989

**1989**

A major earthquake hits San Francisco, California.

1989

**1990**

The Hubble Space Telescope is deployed in space.

1990

**March 18, 1990** Open East German elections lead to a major defeat of Communist Party candidates.

**May 29, 1990** Boris Yeltsin is elected president of the Russian republic.

**May 30, 1990** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev begins a summit meeting with U.S. president George Bush in Washington, D.C.

**June 1990** Russia declares independence as the Russian Federation.

**October 15, 1990** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his reforms that ended the Cold War.

**November 14, 1990** Various nations sign the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, ending the economic and military division of Europe created by the Cold War.

**July 1, 1991** The Warsaw Pact disbands.

**August 19, 1991** Soviet communist hardliners attempt an unsuccessful coup of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, leading to the banning of the Communist Party in Russia and other Soviet republics.

**August 20–September 9, 1991** The various Soviet republics declare their independence from the Soviet Union, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kirgizia, and Tadjikistan.

**October 3, 1991** East and West Germany reunite as one nation.

**December 8, 1991** Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia create the Commonwealth of Independent States organization as an alliance replacing the Soviet Union.

**1990**  
The animated sitcom *The Simpsons* debuts on the FOX network.

**1991**  
The Persian Gulf War takes place.

**1991**  
Clarence Thomas becomes a U.S. Supreme Court justice.

1990

1991

1991

**December 25, 1991** Mikhail Gorbachev resigns as the Soviet president, and the Soviet Union ceases to exist.

**January 28, 1992** In his State of the Union Address, U.S. president George Bush declares victory in the Cold War.

**2000** Sergei Khrushchev, the son of the late Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, publishes *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower*.

**1992**  
Hurricane Andrew causes \$15 billion in damage in Florida.

**1997**  
Madeleine Albright becomes the first female U.S. secretary of state.

**2001**  
Terrorists attack the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

1992

1997

2001

# Cold War Primary Sources

# Cold War Beginnings

1

**T**he Cold War (1945–91), a war of differing systems of government, of mutual fear and distrust, did not begin like conventional wars, with guns blazing. The Cold War began on the heels of World War II (1939–45), and the principal opponents were the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States, with its democratic government and capitalist economy, operated very differently from the communist Soviet Union.

A democratic form of government consists of leaders elected directly by the general population. The candidates for election are supported by various political parties. Capitalism is an economic system based on competition in the marketplace. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by the marketplace. Property and businesses are privately owned. Citizens enjoy many personal liberties, such as the freedom to worship as they choose.

Communism is a system of government in which a single party, the Communist Party, controls all aspects of society. Leaders are selected by the party. The party leaders centrally plan and control the economy. The communist system

**George F. Kennan**  
...5

**Winston Churchill**  
...16

**Nikolai V. Novikov**  
...25

eliminates all private ownership of property. In theory, goods produced and wealth accumulated are shared equally by all. Religious practices are not tolerated under communism.

Communism came to Russia in 1917. Communism was based on the theories of Karl Marx (1818–1883), considered the founder of the revolutionary communist thought known as Marxism. A rising communist political party known as the Bolsheviks overthrew the Russian royalty, or the tsar, in the Bolshevik Revolution known as the October Revolution of 1917. Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924), who had founded the Communist Party, was the first communist dictator of Russia and served until his death in 1924.

Russia had no geographic buffer such as an ocean to protect it from the invading armies that generally came from countries to the west. Throughout history these invasions caused Russia to seek security from future threats. Joseph Stalin (1879–1953), a Bolshevik who became head of the Soviet communist state in 1929, was eager to expand the communist philosophy and extend its way of life to neighboring countries. But countries to the west were largely capitalist nations. Stalin was rebuffed by various foreign leaders and excluded from international diplomacy. The United States did not establish formal diplomatic relations with the Soviets until 1933. Even then, by the end of the 1930s, many Americans viewed the ruthless suppression of political, economic, and religious freedoms by Stalin with great contempt.

The capitalist United States was geographically separated by two great oceans. Desiring to avoid involvement in another European war after a bitter experience in World War I (1914–18), the United States had isolated itself. Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States was a world power before World War II.

The end of World War II marked the collapse of the traditional European powers of Great Britain, France, and Germany. The United States and the Soviet Union, with their vastly different forms of government and economics, emerged as the two superpowers of the world. Their ideologies, or differing political and social philosophies, immediately began to clash and the Cold War commenced. The United States was suspicious of Soviet intentions and sought to expand free-market capitalism and democracy throughout





**Dictatorial Soviet leader Joseph Stalin.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Europe. The Soviets desired a substantial geographic divider from democratic Western Europe and against expanding American influence in European affairs. The two set their differences on a global stage. The United States and the democratic Western European countries became collectively referred to as the “West” or “Western influence.” The Soviet Union and the Eastern European nations under communist control became known collectively as the “East.”

The Cold War dominated the two powers’ foreign policies, domestic priorities, and military planning for roughly the next forty-six years, having an impact on practically every nation on Earth. Various dates and events between 1945 and 1947 are identified as significant to the Cold War’s beginning. Excerpts from three of the earliest communiqués, or reports, and speeches follow. They helped set the tone for the Cold War.

The first excerpt is from a 1946 telegram from George Kennan (1904–) titled “The Chargé in the Soviet Union

([Kennan) to the Secretary of State,” commonly known as the “Long Telegram.” The telegram made clear to American officials the thinking of Soviets and predicted future policies based on this Soviet philosophy. This famous telegram affected American foreign policy for decades through the Cold War. It was the basis of the U.S. policy of containment, a key U.S. Cold War policy to restrict the territorial growth of communist rule.

The second excerpt is from Winston Churchill’s (1874–1965) “The Sinews of Peace,” commonly known as the “Iron Curtain Speech.” It was delivered on March 5, 1946, before the faculty and students of Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri. Churchill warned Americans of a descending Soviet “Iron Curtain” over Central and Eastern Europe. Behind the Iron Curtain, Soviet-dominated communist governments ruled over closed societies. (Closed societies are those in which the ruling communist party in each country, such as Poland and Bulgaria, dictates the production levels of industry and determine what may and may not be printed; the population is shielded from outside social and political influence.) Churchill contended only strong, assertive positions by the United States and Western European nations could stop the spread of communism.

The third excerpt, the “Novikov Telegram,” was written by the Soviet ambassador, Nikolai Novikov, in Washington, D.C. Sent to Moscow on September 27, 1946, the telegram attempts to explain U.S. foreign policy to Stalin and other Soviet officials, much as Kennan had done for U.S. officials with his “Long Telegram.” Soviet communiqués such as this became publicly available only after the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. Such fascinating Soviet archival materials (stored public or historical documents) are available through the Cold War International History Project at the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C. (available at <http://wwics.si.edu>).


# George F. Kennan

*Excerpt from the "Long Telegram"*

**Reprinted from *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) 1946, Volume VI Eastern Europe; "The Soviet Union," published in 1969***

**O**n February 3, 1946, U.S. newspaper reports stunned the American people. They revealed that a Soviet spy ring had been sending secrets from the U.S. atomic bomb project, "The Manhattan Project," to Moscow. Furthermore, on February 9, the evening before elections to the Supreme Soviet (the Soviet legislative body), Soviet leader Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) delivered his threatening "Two Camps" speech. The speech reflected traditional Marxist thought that the Soviet Union would inevitably have to wage war on capitalism. Stalin contended that capitalism and communism were incompatible. Alarmed and taken aback, U.S. State Department officials turned to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. They wanted clarification of the speech and an explanation of why Stalin would have made it. George F. Kennan (1904–), the Soviet expert in the embassy, responded with an eight-thousand-word telegram. Kennan's official position was Chargé d'Affaires, that of a diplomat who is literally "in charge of affairs."

Kennan first apologized for the length of the document but stated an "analysis of our international environment" can hardly be expressed "in a single, brief message."



"In summary, we have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief that with US it is desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our society be disrupted, our traditional way of life be destroyed, the international authority of our state be broken, if Soviet power is to be secure."

**George Kennan (right),** author of the “Long Telegram,” standing with Soviet officials. *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*



To do so, Kennan explained, would be “oversimplification”; so he asked his readers to bear with him in the lengthy telegram (hence the name the “Long Telegram”). Step by step, Kennan led his readers through a “post-war Soviet outlook”; a history of Soviet thought and why it evolved as it did, embracing the teachings of communism by Karl Marx (1818–1883); and his practical predictions of where Soviet policy in regard to the United States was going next.

The first two excerpted paragraphs show Kennan taking readers back to the start of communism, or Marxism, in Russia. He explained why its teachings were so believable to the Russians, a “peaceful agricultural people” constantly buffeted through history by various invaders.

After Kennan’s insightful comments on Russian thought, the excerpt skips to the last part of the telegram, “Practical Deductions from Standpoint of U.S. Policy.” Kennan used some of his most startling language, saying the Soviets will not feel secure until “our [the United States] tradi-

tional way of life [is] destroyed.” He recognized that they were a very powerful nation despite their war losses; however, if the United States and Western European powers stood firm, he believed the Russians would back down. Strongly stressing education of the American public as to understanding the “Russian situation,” Kennan stated “there is nothing as dangerous or as terrifying as the unknown.” He also emphasized practical help for war-torn Europe to rebuild their countries and their lives because if the United States did not the Russians surely would.

### Things to remember while reading “The Long Telegram”:

- During the 1920s and 1930s, neither the capitalist United States nor the communist Soviet Union was a world power. They emerged as world powers only after World War II (1939–45).
- The United States and the Soviet Union were allies during World War II, joined in their common effort to defeat Nazi Germany. The Soviets suffered mightily at the hands of the Nazis but ultimately prevailed. The Red Army and Stalin were praised in Europe and the United States. After the war, most Americans, and even many U.S. officials, thought of Russians as a brave, suffering people and certainly had not considered warring against them.
- Kennan understood Stalin and the Soviets probably better than any other American. In the telegram, he urgently tried to impart this understanding to U.S. officials.



### *Excerpt from the “Long Telegram”*

*SECRET*

*Moscow, February 22, 1946—9 P.M.*

*[Received February 22—3:52 P.M.]*

**Neurotic:** Emotionally unstable.

**Instinctive:** Inborn pattern of thought.

**Nomadic:** Roaming.

**Marxism:** Theories of struggle between social classes in a society developed by German philosopher Karl Marx that formed the basis of communism.

**Equilibrium of separate:** A generally equal division of powers of government such as in the United States between executive, judicial, and legislative branches.

**Insoluble:** Impossible to resolve.

**Complete power of disposition:** Total control.

**Nationalism:** Strong loyalty to one's own nation.

**Underground methods:** Spying.

**Hitlerite:** Reference to Nazi leader Adolf Hitler.

**Schematic:** Planned systematically.

**Adventuristic:** Launch aggressively.

**Impervious to logic of reason:** Hard to negotiate with or talk to.

At bottom of Kremlin's **neurotic** view of world affairs is traditional and **instinctive** Russian sense of insecurity. Originally, this was insecurity of a peaceful agricultural people trying to live on vast exposed plain in neighborhood of fierce **nomadic** peoples. To this was added, as Russia came into contact with economically advanced West, fear of more competent, more powerful, more highly organized societies in that area....

It was no coincidence that **Marxism**, which had smoldered ineffectively for half a century in Western Europe, caught hold and blazed for first time in Russia. Only in this land which had never known a friendly neighbor or indeed any tolerant **equilibrium of separate powers** either internal or international, could a doctrine thrive which viewed economic conflicts of society as **insoluble** by peaceful means....

Part 5: [Practical Deductions from Standpoint of US Policy]

In summary, we have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief that with US it is desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our society be disrupted, our traditional way of life be destroyed, the international authority of our state be broken, if Soviet power is to be secure. This political force has **complete power of disposition** over energies of one of world's greatest peoples and resources of world's richest national territory, and is borne along by deep and powerful currents of Russian **nationalism**. In addition, it has an elaborate and far flung apparatus for exertion of its influence in other countries, an apparatus of amazing flexibility and versatility, managed by people whose experience and skill in **underground methods** are presumably without parallel in history.... This is admittedly not a pleasant picture. Problem of how to cope with this force in [is] undoubtedly greatest task our diplomacy has ever faced and probably greatest it will ever have to face.... It should be approached with same thoroughness and care as solution of major strategic problem in war, and if necessary, with no smaller outlay in planning effort. I cannot attempt to suggest all answers here. But I would like to record my conviction that problem is within our power to solve—and that without recourse to any general military conflict. And in support of this conviction there are certain observations of a more encouraging nature I should like to make:

(1) Soviet power, unlike that of **Hitlerite** Germany, is neither **schematic** nor **adventuristic**. It does not work by fixed plans. It does not take unnecessary risks. **Impervious to logic of reason**,



## Contrasting Viewpoints: United States Versus the Soviet Union

The “X” article, originally titled “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” was published in the quarterly journal *Foreign Affairs* in July 1947. The author was George F. Kennan. Since Kennan was still a member of the U.S. State Department, and at the time the department did not wish to display an overt, or open, anti-Soviet policy, the article’s author was simply noted as “X.” However, readers soon figured out that the author was Kennan, and so it became known as his “X” article or “Article X.”

In Article X, Kennan repeated and expanded parts of the “Long Telegram.” He used the term “containment”—not allowing communism to spread further—several times when speaking of how to deal with the Soviet Union, who by that time seemed intent on spreading communism throughout Europe and perhaps the whole world. Kennan wrote:

*It is clear that the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.... Soviet pressure against the free institutions of the western world is something that can be contained by the adroit [skillful] and vigilant application of Counter-force.... Soviet society may well contain deficiencies which will eventually weaken its own potential. This would of itself warrant the United States entering with reasonable confidence upon a policy of firm containment, de-*

*signed to confront the Russians with unalterable counter-force at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world.*

With the “X” article, the policy of containment was firmly established. In many interviews with Kennan through the following decades, he constantly said this policy was completely misinterpreted by U.S. officials and in his estimation led to the unnecessary buildup of nuclear arms. He explained this misunderstanding was his fault but said he intended a diplomatic containment only. Kennan explained that the support of Western European nations through the Marshall Plan was the kind of policy he had in mind to help contain the spread of communism. (The Marshall Plan was a massive U.S. plan to promote Europe’s economic recovery from the war; it was made available to all nations, though communist countries rejected it.)

In 1946 and 1947, the Soviets were in a greatly weakened postwar state. Kennan knew they had no desire to enter into more military conflicts and could be stopped by firm diplomacy. He never dreamed he had to say this—he thought that was obvious to all. Unfortunately, his containment policy was viewed as calling for military counterforce. Kennan was never able to change that viewpoint.

and it is highly sensitive to **logic** of force. For this reason it can easily withdraw—and usually does—when strong resistance is encountered at any point. Thus, if the **adversary** has sufficient force and makes clear his readiness to use it, he rarely has to do so. If situations are properly handled there need be no prestige-engaging showdowns.

(2) **Gauged against** Western World as a whole, Soviets are still by far the weaker force. Thus, their success will really depend on degree of cohesion, firmness and vigor which Western World can muster. And this is factor which it is within our power to influence....

For these reasons I think we may approach calmly and with good heart problem of how to deal with Russia....

(1) Our first step must be to apprehend, and recognize for what it is, the nature of the movement with which we are dealing. We must study it with same courage, detachment, objectivity, and same determination not to be emotionally provoked or unseated by it, with which doctor studies unruly and unreasonable individual.

(2) We must see that our public is educated to realities of Russian situation. I cannot over-emphasize importance of this. Press cannot do this alone. It must be done mainly by Government, which is necessarily more experienced and better informed on practical problems involved. In this we need not be deterred by [ugliness?] of picture. I am convinced that there would be far less hysterical anti-Sovietism in our country today if realities of this situation were better understood by our people. There is nothing as dangerous or as terrifying as the unknown....

(3) Much depends on health and vigor of our own society. World communism is like **malignant parasite** which feeds only on diseased tissue. This is point at which domestic and foreign policies meet. Every courageous and incisive measure to solve internal problems of our own society, to improve self-confidence, discipline, morale and community spirit of our own people, is a diplomatic victory over Moscow worth a thousand diplomatic notes and joint **communiqués**....

(4) We must formulate and put forward for other nations a much more positive and constructive picture of sort of world we would like to see than we have put forward in past. It is not enough to urge people to develop political processes similar to our own. Many foreign peoples, in Europe at least, are tired and frightened by

**Logic:** Threat.

**Adversary:** Enemy, such as the United States from the Soviet perspective.

**Gauged against:** Compared to.

**Malignant parasite:** One body that feeds on another until the one being assaulted dies.

**Communiqués:** Written messages.





## “Report on the International Situation to the Cominform”

On September 22, 1947, Andrei Zhdanov (1896–1948) issued a report to counteract the “X” article. Zhdanov, a member of the Politburo, the key policy-making body in the Soviet Communist Party, gave the report to the first gathering of Cominform. Cominform had been established by the Soviet Union to promote communism internationally, and members included communist leaders from Soviet-dominated Eastern European countries.

Zhdanov stated that the Soviet Union had “always honored ... [its] obligations.” The United States believed it clearly had not: since its forces still occupied the countries of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union had imposed communist rule and not allowed free elections. Nevertheless, the world was in two distinct camps and set for the Cold War, as explained by Zhdanov:

*A new alignment of political forces has arisen. The more the war recedes into the past, the more distinct becomes two major friends in postwar international policy, corresponding to the division of the political forces operating on the international arena into two major camps: the imperialist ... on the one hand, and the anti-imperialist ... on the other....*

Zhdanov defined the imperialist countries as the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Turkey, Greece, China, and “Near Eastern” and “South American” countries. Imperialism refers to one nation extending its rule over another, often by force.

Zhdanov continued:

*The cardinal purpose of the imperialist camp is to strengthen imperialism, to hatch a new imperialist war, to combat [communism] ... and to support reactionary ... regimes and movements everywhere.... Soviet foreign policy proceeds from the fact of the coexistence for a long period of the two systems—capitalism and socialism [communism]. From this it follows that cooperation between the U.S.S.R. [Soviet Union] and countries with other systems is possible, provided that the principle of reciprocity [a mutual exchange] is observed and that obligations once assumed are honored. Everyone knows that the U.S.S.R. has always honored the obligations it has assumed. The Soviet Union has demonstrated its will and desire for cooperation.*

Obviously, from the radically differing viewpoints of “Article X” and the report to the Cominform, the United States and the Soviet Union sat in opposing camps.

*experiences of past, and are less interested in abstract freedom than in security. They are seeking guidance rather than responsibilities. We should be better able than Russians to give them this. And unless we do, Russians certainly will.*

*(5) Finally we must have courage and self-confidence to cling to our own methods and conceptions of human society. After all, the*

**Experiences:** Wars.

*greatest danger that can befall us in coping with this problem of Soviet communism, is that we shall allow ourselves to become like those with whom we are coping.*

KENNAN



### **What happened next ...**

As soon as the senior officials of the State Department read the telegram, its importance was obvious. It was distributed through many government offices in Washington and reported in the press. The transmission confirmed the worries of some U.S. officials that the Soviets could not be trusted as friends: U.S. foreign policy would have to change immediately.

The first evidence of change came in a situation with Iran. Since 1941, both British and Soviet forces occupied Iran in the Middle East, keeping an eye on its vast oil reserves. Both had agreed to withdraw all troops by March 1946. The British troops left, but seemingly confirming Kennan's predictions, the Soviets decided to stay. Secretary of State James Byrnes (1879–1972) condemned Soviet actions and on February 28 made a speech confirming the new tough stance and confrontational approach of the United States in its foreign policy. The speech is considered by many historians as a declaration of the Cold War. He sent the USS *Missouri*, the world's most powerful warship, into position by Turkey as a warning and demanded Moscow pull back its troops from Iran. After only a few weeks, the Iranian crisis was over. Just as Kennan had predicted, when the Soviets were faced with force, they pulled back.

On March 5, Winston Churchill (1874–1965) delivered his famous "Iron Curtain Speech" (see next excerpt) in the state of Missouri with U.S. president Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53) at his side. Churchill warned the still-disbelieving Americans that indeed the Soviets were occupying large territories in Eastern Europe with no intention of leaving. Americans still wondered if Kennan and



**George Kennan, speaking to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1966. Kennan continued to study and monitor international politics into the twenty-first century.**  
*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Churchill could indeed be correct, and their fear of spreading communism increased greatly.

In July 1947, Kennan authored “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” which became known as the “X” article (see box). The “X” article restated some points of the “Long Telegram” and expanded others. The term “confrontational” that Secretary Byrnes had spoken of in 1946 turned with the “X” article’s publication into a “policy of containment,” or not allowing communism to spread and take over any more countries. The policy of containment essentially remained the basis of U.S. foreign policy throughout the Cold War.

### **Did you know ...**

- During the 1930s and World War II, Kennan saw the United States appease the Soviets, making concession after concession to the Soviet government as the two countries cooperated to defeat Germany’s Adolf Hitler

(1889–1945) and his Nazi army. Kennan was dismayed at his nation’s lack of firmness with the Soviets and its eagerness to please Joseph Stalin.

- According to Kennan, his policy of containment had been misunderstood from the start. He had meant political or diplomatic containment, not military containment. In his view, the misunderstanding led to an unnecessary nuclear arms race.
- The Iran flare-up and resolution foreshadowed just how accurate Kennan’s overall assessment of the Soviet viewpoint in the “Long Telegram” was. The Soviets would constantly test and push the United States until it stopped short, stood firm, and generally threatened military action. At that point, the Soviets would back down. In reality, neither the Soviets nor the United States wanted to start a superpower war. This pattern continued through much of the Cold War.

### Consider the following ...

- Explain what Kennan meant by “there is nothing as dangerous or as terrifying as the unknown.” In reality, few Americans studied or came to understand the Soviets as Kennan had hoped. Research and report on the resulting “Red Scare” that swept America between 1947 and 1954.
- Consider the first two paragraphs of the Kennan excerpt. If you had lived in an agricultural society that through history had been invaded by aggressive groups, where would your security level be? Do you think the Russian insecurities that directed their Cold War policies were justified? Why, for how long, and to what extent? If you do not think they were justified, why not?

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“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 ... to Soviet influence ... and ... [an] increasing measure of control from Moscow.”

## Winston Churchill

*Excerpt from the “Iron Curtain Speech” (also known as the “Sinews of Peace speech”), March 5, 1946*

**Reprinted from ‘Iron Curtain’ Speech Fifty Years Later, published in 1999**

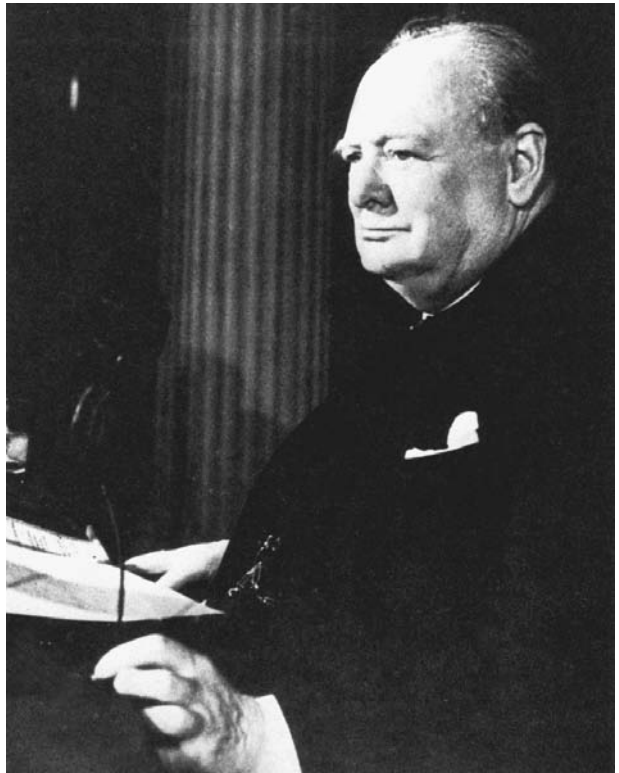
**O**n March 5, 1946, wearing his top hat and cape and smoking a cigar, former British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) traveled with U.S. president Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53) to the American Midwest to Fulton, Missouri. In Fulton, he visited the campus of small Westminster College and delivered his famous “Iron Curtain Speech,” also known as the “Sinews of Peace” speech.

Having led Great Britain through its dark days during World War II (1939–45), in July 1945, Churchill was defeated in a general election by British Labor Party candidate Clement Attlee (1883–1967). Attlee had proposed a planned economy and nationalization (in which the government takes ownership) of several British industries. The British approved of these proposals as a correct approach to rebuild Britain, and Churchill lost the election and found himself retired at seventy-one years of age. In his book *The Gathering Storm*, Churchill bluntly stated that having successfully brought Britain through World War II, he “was immediately dismissed by the British electorate from all further conduct of their affairs.” Churchill could have become disheartened and

sullen, simply fading from view. However, Churchill's brilliant international insightfulness continued to influence the world. He immediately set about writing his massive five-volume history of World War II.

By early 1946, he was greatly troubled by the refusal of Soviet troops to leave the Eastern European countries they had occupied after driving out the German army. He saw Soviet influence beginning to control the people and governments of Eastern Europe. Churchill believed that only with the pulling together of the United States, Britain, and Western European nations could the Soviets be stopped from overrunning all of Europe. To warn the world, Churchill delivered his "Iron Curtain Speech."

First, Churchill greeted his audience. He told them the thoughts he would express in his speech were his alone and did not represent any official stance. In the 1940s, war and tyranny were the two most disturbing menaces in the world. (Tyranny means unrestrained, oppressive rule by a government over a people.) Churchill said that while the United States and Britain enjoyed liberties, other countries were suddenly being overwhelmed with tyranny. Eloquently, Churchill lamented, "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent [over Central and Eastern Europe]." The word iron brought to mind something that could not be penetrated. So a curtain of iron had closed and trapped millions behind it.



Former British prime minister Winston Churchill, author of the "Iron Curtain Speech."

### Things to remember while reading the excerpt from the "Iron Curtain Speech":

- By early 1945, European leaders, rather than praising the Soviet army and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin (1879–1953)

for their hard-won victories against Nazi Germany in World War II, were feeling increasingly threatened by the growing Soviet presence in Eastern Europe.

- The Soviets so far had failed to hold free elections in Eastern European countries they had freed from Nazi Germany's control. Yet at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, Stalin had agreed with U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) and Britain's Churchill to allow the elections so that the countries could establish new governments.
- The "Iron Curtain Speech" was delivered only a couple of weeks after George F. Kennan (1904–) had startled Washington officials with the "Long Telegram." Kennan's telegram stated that the United States had best wake up and confront the Soviets from a position of power.



### ***Excerpt from the "Iron Curtain Speech"***

*President McCluer, ladies and gentlemen, and last, but certainly not least, President of the United States of America,*

*I am very glad, indeed, to come to Westminster College this afternoon....*

*It is also an honour, ladies and gentlemen, perhaps almost unique, for a private visitor to be introduced to an academic audience by the President of the United States. Amid his heavy burdens, duties, and responsibilities ... the President has traveled a thousand miles to dignify and magnify our meeting here to-day and to give me an opportunity of addressing this kindred nation, as well as my own countrymen across the ocean, and perhaps some other countries too. The President has told you that it is his wish, as I am sure it is yours, that I should have full liberty to give my true and faithful counsel in these anxious and baffling times. I shall certainly avail myself of this freedom, and feel the more right to do so because any private ambitions I may have cherished in my younger days have been satisfied beyond my wildest dreams. Let me, however, make it clear that I have no official mission or status of any kind. I speak only for myself. There is nothing here but what you see.*

**President McCluer:** Franc L. McCluer, president of Westminster College.





*I can therefore allow my mind, with the experience of a lifetime, to play over the problems which beset us on the morrow of our absolute victory in arms, and to try to make sure with what strength I have what has been gained with so much sacrifice and suffering shall be preserved for the future glory and safety of mankind.*

*Ladies and gentlemen, the United States stands at this time at the **pinnacle** of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American democracy. For with primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future....*

*A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organization [Comintern] intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and **proselytizing** tendencies. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is deep sympathy and goodwill in Britain—and I doubt not here also—towards the people of all the Russians*

**Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, and British prime minister Winston Churchill at the Tehran Conference, 1943.**

*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

**Pinnacle:** Highest point.

**Proselytizing:** Attempts to convert another to one's own beliefs.

**Soviet sphere:** Region of Soviet influence.

**Expulsions:** Forced removal from homes.

**Pre-eminence:** Prominence.

**Totalitarian:** Complete or total.

**Versailles Treaty:** Peace treaty that ended World War I.

**League of Nations:** An international organization formed after World War I to seek peaceful resolutions to international conflicts.

**Haggard:** Weary.

*and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships. We understand the Russian need to be secure on her western frontiers by the removal of all possibility of German aggression. We welcome Russia to her rightful place among the leading nations of the world. We welcome her flag upon the seas. Above all, we welcome, or should welcome, constant, frequent and growing contacts between the Russian people and our own peoples on both sides of the Atlantic. It is my duty however, for I am sure you would wish me to state the facts as I see them to you, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.*

*From Stettin [a Polish port city on the Baltic Sea] in the Baltic to Trieste [a city at the northeasternmost point of the Adriatic Sea] 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 what I must call the **Soviet sphere**, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in some cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone—Greece with its ... glories—is free to decide its future at an election under British, American and French observation. The Russian-dominated Polish Government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany [move the Polish western boundary into Germany], and mass **expulsions** of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed-of are now taking place. The Communist parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to **pre-eminence** and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain **totalitarian** control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy...*

*I have, however, felt bound to portray the shadow which, alike in the west and in the east, falls upon the world. I was a minister at the time of the **Versailles Treaty**.... In those days there were high hopes and unbounded confidence that the wars were over and that the **League of Nations** would become all-powerful. I do not see or feel that same confidence or even the same hopes in the **haggard** world at the present time....*

*From what I have seen of our Russian friends and Allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much*

as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness.... If the Western Democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to **molest** them. If, however, they become divided or falter in their duty and if these all-important years are allowed to slip away, then indeed catastrophe may overwhelm us all.

Last time [in the 1930s as Hitler came to power in Germany] I saw it all coming and I cried aloud to my own fellow-countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933, or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind. There never was a war in history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just **desolated** such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented in my belief without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous and honored today; but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool. We surely, ladies and gentlemen: I put it to you, surely, we must not let that happen again. This can only be achieved by reaching now, in 1946—this year, 1946—by reaching a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations Organization, and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the world instrument, supported by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections. There is the solution which I respectfully offer to you in this Address to which I have given the title “The Sinews of Peace.”

Let no man underrate the abiding power of the British Empire and Commonwealth. Because you see the 46 millions in our island harassed about their food supply, of which they only grow one half, even in wartime, or because we have difficulty in restarting our industries and export trade after six years of passionate war effort, do not suppose we shall not come through these dark years of **privation** as we have come through the glorious years of agony [World War II], do not suppose that half a century from now, you will not see 70 or 80 millions of Britons spread about the world, united in defence of our traditions and our way of life, and of the world causes which you and we **espouse**. If the population of the English-speaking Commonwealths be added to that of the United States, with all that such co-operation implies in the air, on the sea, all over the globe, and in science and in industry, and in moral force, there

**Molest:** Hassle.

**Desolated:** Destroyed.

**Privation:** Lack of usual comforts or necessities.

**Espouse:** Embrace.



U.S. president Harry S. Truman, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, and British prime minister Winston Churchill, meet at the Potsdam Conference in July 1945. Reproduced by permission of the Harry S. Truman Library.

**Sedate:** Calm.

**Sober:** Serious.

**Arbitrary:** Based purely on one's own decision.

*will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary, there will be an overwhelming assurance of security. If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and walk forward in **sedate** and **sober** strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no **arbitrary** control upon the thoughts of men, if all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with your own in fraternal association, the highroads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for a century to come.*



## What happened next ...

Joseph Stalin denounced the “Iron Curtain Speech” as baseless. He said it only proved that hostility was building in Western Europe and the United States against the Soviets and communism. He charged Churchill with “warmongering,” or stirring up emotions in favor of war. Nevertheless, with the “Long Telegram” and now the “Iron Curtain Speech” fresh in everyone’s mind, the U.S. State Department applied exceedingly strong pressure on the Soviets to move their occupying troops out of oil-rich Iran in the Middle East. The Soviets responded by pulling out their troops by May in exchange for the U.S. promise to allow them access to Iranian oil. In actuality, that promise was never fulfilled. Iran was the first test of wills between the United States and the Soviet Union as the Cold War began.

Through the summer of 1946, the Soviet Union pulled back significantly from interaction with the West. Stalin halted efforts to secure a \$1 billion loan from the United States, rejected Soviet membership in the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, and purged any pro-Western sympathizers from the Soviet government. In June 1946, the Soviets totally rejected a U.S. plan for international control of atomic energy.

During the summer, White House aides continually impressed upon President Truman the need to exhibit American strength before the Soviets and to not compromise or make any concessions. The White House now spoke of Stalin’s ultimate goal as world domination. The U.S. anti-Soviet policy solidified. Truman said he was “tired of babying the Soviets.” Even Truman’s mother, in an infamous message, told her Harry it was time to get tough on the Soviets.

## Did you know ...

- Churchill was a skilled, productive writer. His words captured readers’ full attention. Likewise, when he rose to deliver a speech, audiences were riveted to every word.
- In the days immediately following Churchill’s speech, most of the U.S. press considered the speech too extreme and reported on it in that perspective. The American pub-

lic had not yet come to the conclusion that their wartime ally, the Soviet Union, posed any problems. Realizing this and ever mindful of public opinion, President Truman declined to comment on the speech to the press.

- The term “Iron Curtain” came into the general U.S. vocabulary. It was used extensively throughout the rest of the twentieth century to refer to the ruthless Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.

### Consider the following ...

- In the speech, whom did Churchill compare Stalin to in the pre-World War II days of the 1930s? What similarities caused him to make the comparison?
- What did Churchill predict the Western powers needed to do to stop Soviet aggression?
- Comparing Churchill’s “Iron Curtain Speech” and George Kennan’s “Long Telegram,” look for similarities of how to halt the aggression between the Western and Eastern powers.

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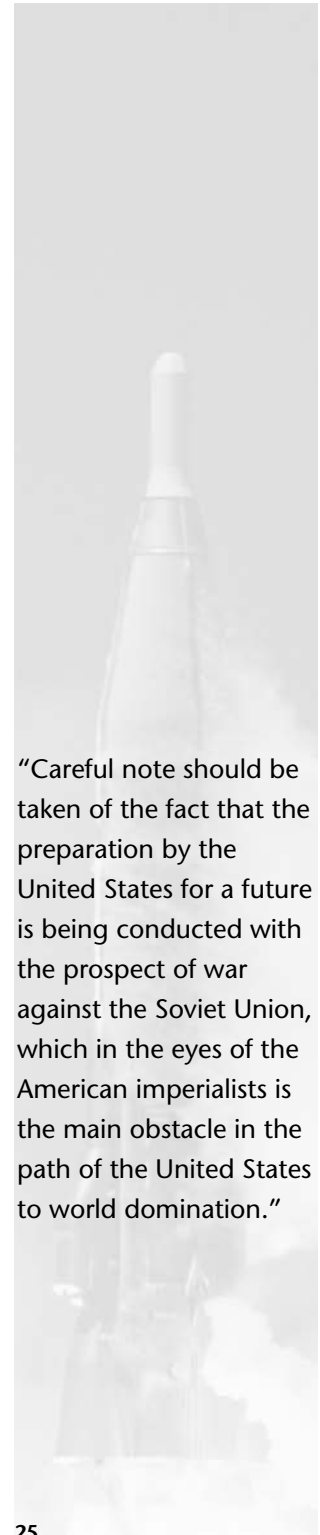
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# Nikolai V. Novikov

*Excerpt from the "Novikov Telegram," September 27, 1946*  
**Available at [Cold War International History Project \(Web site\)](#)**

**N**ikolai V. Novikov, Soviet ambassador to Washington, D.C., wrote and sent the "Novikov Telegram" to Moscow on September 27, 1946. In the telegram, which, like the famous telegram of U.S. advisor George F. Kennan (1904–), was "long," Novikov analyzed U.S. foreign policy in much the same way Kennan analyzed Soviet foreign policy, his "Long Telegram."

Novikov declared that the United States was striving for "world supremacy." He suggested that because Europe was so devastated by World War II (1939–45), the United States would "infiltrate" countries with offers of aid to rebuild. This strategy, according to Novikov, fit with U.S. plans for world domination. More proof was found, he suggested, in the large U.S. peacetime military force and in the establishment of U.S. bases worldwide. Novikov mentioned the "Iron Curtain Speech" of former British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965), noting that Churchill called for a strong British-U.S. military alliance. Novikov attributed America's new hard-line policy to a new U.S. president, Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53), who was less cooperative than



"Careful note should be taken of the fact that the preparation by the United States for a future is being conducted with the prospect of war against the Soviet Union, which in the eyes of the American imperialists is the main obstacle in the path of the United States to world domination."

his late predecessor, Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45). Novikov ended his telegram with the prediction that the United States was planning a Third World War that would be waged against the Soviet Union.

### Things to remember while reading the “Novikov Telegram”:

- When Novikov used the word democratic, he was actually referring to the communistic world. For example, his “strengthening of democratic tendencies” means strengthening of communist tendencies. It was a characteristic of postwar communism to refer to their “communistic” policies as “democratic” policies.
- Novikov believed that the policies of the United States were expansive and aiming for world domination.
- Novikov’s analysis was written approximately six months after Kennan’s “Long Telegram” and Churchill’s “Iron Curtain Speech.” Both called for a tough stance against the Soviet Union. The United States had adopted such a position by the time of Novikov’s telegram.



### Excerpt from the “Novikov Telegram”

*The foreign policy of the United States, which reflects the imperialist tendencies ... is characterized in the postwar period by a striving for world supremacy. This is the real meaning of the many statements by President [Harry] Truman and other representatives of American ruling circles: that the United States has the right to lead the world. All the forces of American diplomacy—the army, the air force, the navy, industry, and science—are enlisted in the service of this foreign policy. For this purpose broad plans for expansion have been developed and are being implemented through diplomacy and the establishment of a system of naval and air bases stretching far beyond the boundaries of the United States, through the arms race, and through the creation of ever newer types of weapons....*

**Imperialist:** Extending the rule of one nation over another.





Europe has come out of the war with a completely **dislocated** economy, and the economic devastation that occurred in the course of the war cannot be overcome in a short time. All of the countries of Europe and Asia are experiencing a colossal need for consumer goods, industrial and transportation equipment, etc. Such a situation provides American **monopolistic capital** with prospects for enormous shipments of goods and the importation of capital into these countries—a circumstance that would permit it to **infiltrate** their national economies.

Such a development would mean a serious strengthening of the economic position of the United States in the whole world and would be a stage on the road to world domination by the United States.

On the other hand, we have seen a failure of calculations on the part of U.S. circles which assumed that the Soviet Union would be destroyed in the war or would come out of it so weakened that it would be forced to go begging to the United States for economic assistance. Had that happened, they would have been able to dictate conditions

**Soviet diplomats Nikolai Novikov, Andrei Vishinsky, and Vyacheslav Molotov.**  
*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

**Dislocated:** Functioning unsatisfactorily.

**Monopolistic capital:** The only nation with money to invest.

**Infiltrate:** Take over parts of.

permitting the United States to carry out its expansion in Europe and Asia without hindrance from the USSR [the Soviet Union].

*In actuality, despite all of the economic difficulties of the post-war period connected with the enormous losses inflicted by the war and the German **fascist** occupation, the Soviet Union continues to remain economically independent of the outside world and is rebuilding its national economy with its own forces....*

*The enormous relative weight of the USSR in international affairs in general and in the European countries in particular, the independence of its foreign policy, and the economic and political assistance that it provides to neighboring countries, both allies and former enemies, has led to the growth of the political influence of the Soviet Union in these countries and to the further strengthening of **democratic** tendencies in them.*

*Such a situation in Eastern and Southeastern Europe cannot help but be regarded by the American imperialists as an obstacle in the path of the expansionist policy of the United States.*

*The foreign policy of the United States is not determined at present by the circles in the Democratic party that (as was the case during [Franklin] Roosevelt's lifetime) strive to strengthen the cooperation of the three great powers that constituted the basis of the **anti-Hitler coalition** during the war. The **ascendance** to power of President Truman, a politically unstable person but with certain conservative tendencies, and the subsequent appointment of [James] Byrnes as Secretary of State meant a strengthening of the influence on U.S. foreign policy of the most **reactionary** circles of the Democratic party....*

*Obvious indications of the U.S. effort to establish world dominance are also to be found in the increase in military potential in peacetime and in the establishment of a large number of naval and air bases both in the United States and beyond its borders....*

*All of these facts show clearly that a decisive role in the realization of plans for world dominance by the United States is played by its armed forces....*

*The ruling circles of the United States obviously have a sympathetic attitude toward the idea of a military alliance with England, but at the present time the matter has not yet culminated in an official alliance. [Winston] Churchill's speech in Fulton calling for the conclusion of an Anglo-American military alliance for the purpose of*

**Fascist:** Dictatorial.

**Democratic:** In this context, communistic.

**Anti-Hitler coalition:** The combination of nations opposing Nazi Germany led by Adolf Hitler.

**Ascendance:** Rise.

**Reactionary:** Desire to go back to previous conditions.

establishing joint domination over the world was therefore not supported officially by Truman or Byrnes, although Truman by his presence [during the “Iron Curtain Speech”] did indirectly sanction Churchill’s appeal.

Even if the United States does not go so far as to conclude a military alliance with England just now, in practice they still maintain very close contact on military questions....

The numerous and extremely hostile statements by American government, political, and military figures with regard to the Soviet Union and its foreign policy are very characteristic of the current relationship between the ruling circles of the United States and the USSR. These statements are echoed in an even more unrestrained tone by the overwhelming majority of the American **press organs**. Talk about a “third war,” meaning a war against the Soviet Union, even a direct call for this war—with the threat of using the atomic bomb—such is the content of the statements on relations with the Soviet Union by reactionaries at public meetings and in the press....

The basic goal of this anti-Soviet campaign of American “public opinion” is to exert political pressure on the Soviet Union and compel it to make concessions. Another, no less important goal of the campaign is the attempt to create an atmosphere of **war psychosis** among the masses, who are weary of war, thus making it easier for the U.S. government to carry out measures for the maintenance of high military potential. It was in this very atmosphere that the law on universal military service in peacetime was passed by congress, that the huge military budget was adopted, and that plans are being worked out for the construction of an extensive system of naval and air bases.

Of course, all of these measures for maintaining a highly military potential are not goals in themselves. They are only intended to prepare the conditions for winning world supremacy in a new war, the date for which, to be sure, cannot be determined now by anyone, but which is contemplated by the most **bellicose** circles of American imperialism.

Careful note should be taken of the fact that the preparation by the United States for a future is being conducted with the prospect of war against the Soviet Union, which in the eyes of the American imperialists is the main obstacle in the path of the United States to world domination. This is indicated by facts such as the tactical training of the American army for war with the Soviet Union as the

**Press organs:** Media.

**War psychosis:** Fear of more war.

**Bellicose:** Hostile.

*future opponent, the siting of American strategic bases in regions from which it is possible to launch strikes on Soviet territory, intensified training and strengthening of Arctic regions as close approaches to the USSR, and attempts to prepare Germany and Japan to use those countries in a war against the USSR.*



### **What happened next ...**

The “Novikov Telegram” was studied carefully by Stalin and other leaders in the Soviet Communist Party. Adding credibility to the telegram’s messages was the U.S. establishment of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan in 1947. The Truman Doctrine promised to help any country fighting the establishment of communism in their lands. The Marshall Plan was devised to aid any European country with their rebuilding effort. Stalin forbade any Eastern European country behind the “Iron Curtain” to take advantage of Marshall Plan aid.

### **Did you know ...**

- Novikov concluded that President Truman was not open to cooperation with the Soviet Union and was intolerant of individuals within his closest government circles not totally supportive of his anti-Soviet perspective. This proved correct when Truman fired Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace (1888–1965) on September 20, 1946, because he opposed the get-tough policy.
- Many documents such as the “Novikov Telegram” began to be released from Soviet document archives only after the 1991 breakup of the Soviet Union. Until then, there were virtually no documents that looked at the Cold War from the Soviet point of view.

### **Consider the following ...**

- According to Novikov, how could the U.S. economy benefit from postwar economic devastation in Europe? Has

this same pattern occurred in more recent times, such as in the 1990s and early 2000s?

- List the reasons that led Novikov to his conclusion that the United States was aiming for world supremacy.
- What role in the Cold War did Novikov attribute to the “press organs”? What were the chief “press organs” in the mid-1940s?
- Go to the Cold War International History Project at <http://wwics.si.edu> to learn more about the latest Soviet documents released and translated into English for Americans to study.

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## Confrontation Builds

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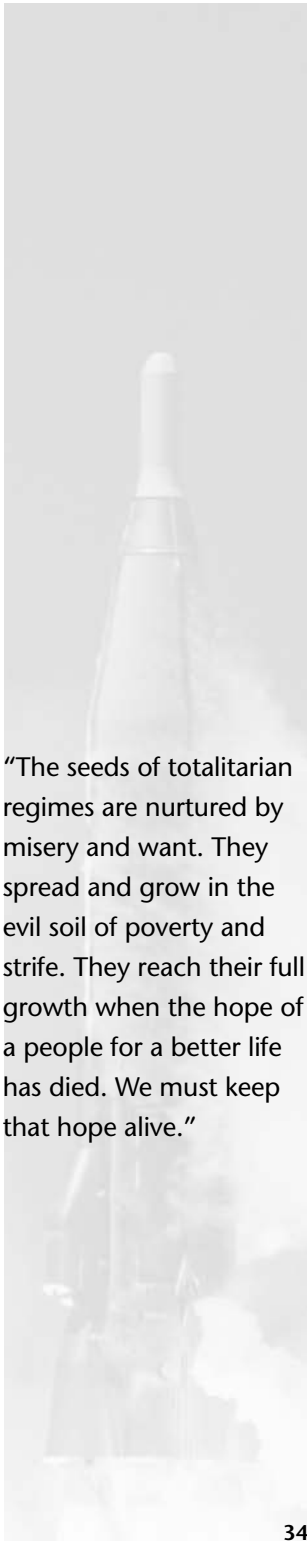
A clear announcement of a new U.S. policy toward the Soviets came in early 1947, triggered by events in the eastern Mediterranean. In Greece, civil war raged between communist-backed resistance fighters and forces from Great Britain that were attempting to support British influence in Greece. Turkey had also been under British influence during World War II (1939–45) and in need of the British aid offered. On February 21, 1947, the British, greatly weakened by the expenses of World War II, announced in a message from London to Washington they could no longer send military and economic aid to Greece or Turkey. The British revealed that they would leave Greece and Turkey in six weeks, and they hoped the United States would assume responsibility for aid to the two countries.

U.S. administrative officials, including Secretary of State George C. Marshall (1880–1959) and Under-secretary Dean Acheson (1893–1971), huddled with U.S. congressional leaders. Deciding that the United States must replace the British presence, on March 12, 1947, U.S. president Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53) addressed Congress.

The first excerpt in this chapter is from a “Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine,” published in the *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1947*. The Truman Doctrine proposed to aid any country in the world where free peoples were threatened by the spread of communism.

Not only were the communists gaining toeholds in Greece and Turkey but also in France and Italy. The economies of France and Italy were still suffering from the disruptions caused by World War II. When Secretary Marshall visited Europe in April 1947, he was astonished at the conditions of poverty that he saw. On June 5, Marshall gave a speech at Harvard University in which he introduced a new massive plan of U.S. aid to help Europe’s economic recovery. The second excerpt in this chapter is titled “Remarks by the Honorable George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, at Harvard University on June 5, 1947.” This speech is published in the 1972 document *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), Volume III, 1947: The British Commonwealth; Europe*. The proposed plan quickly became known as the Marshall Plan.

The third excerpt in this chapter is from the “Special Message to the Congress on the Threat to the Freedom of Europe, March 17, 1948.” This message is published in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, January 1 to December 31, 1948*. The message was delivered to rally Congress to pass the Marshall Plan.



“The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive.”

## Harry S. Truman

*Excerpt from “Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine, March 12, 1947”*

**Published in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1947*, published in 1963**

**W**ith the British planning to pull out of Greece by March 31, 1947, both President Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53) and Secretary of State George C. Marshall (1880–1959) recognized the urgent need for the United States to step in and to aid the Greek government. Greece had been left destitute after World War II (1939–45). Its infrastructure (railroads, ports, highways, etc.) and economy were destroyed. The Greek government and small Greek army, without British support, would surely fall to the National Popular Liberation Army (ELAS) fighters. ELAS was dominated by communists promising the people a better life. ELAS had been fighting against the Greek army backed up by British troops since 1944. Although the United States assumed that Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) and the Soviets were supporting ELAS, they were not. Marshal Josip Tito (1892–1980), communist leader of Yugoslavia, was behind ELAS, sending supplies to them across Greece’s northern border.

Turkey was also attempting to move away from the disruption of war and to rebuild a strong nation. Turkey had sought financial aid from both Great Britain and the United





States. With Great Britain halting all support, the United States would have to provide a great deal of additional aid. If no aid was kept up, communist rebels in Turkey might cause unrest and even overthrow the government.

The overwhelming fear of the United States and Western European nations was well described by U.S. under-secretary of state Dean Acheson (1893–1971). Quoted in media corporation CNN's 1998 book *Cold War: An Illustrated History, 1945–1991*, Acheson explained, "Like apples in a barrel infected by one rotten one, the corruption [communist takeover] of Greece would infect Iran to the east. It would also carry infection [communism] to Africa through Asia Minor and Egypt, and to Europe through Italy." At the time, the phrase "domino theory" or "domino effect" had not been coined. It would enter the American vocabulary a few years later. Acheson was saying that if one or two countries fell to the communists, such as Greece and Turkey, then all of Western Europe, the Middle East, and even Africa could fall

**U.S. president Harry S. Truman, speaking before a joint session of Congress, March 12, 1947, urging aid for Greece and Turkey.**

*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

like dominos to the communists. Although the term had not yet been spoken, this domino idea would influence American thinking for decades.

On March 12, 1947, President Truman delivered a stirring address to a joint session of Congress. He explained the conditions in Greece and Turkey and warned that the people of weakened countries “have recently had totalitarian [Soviet-backed communist] regimes forced upon them against their will.” He described the regimes as filled with “terror and oppression.” Then Truman proposed the idea that dominated U.S. foreign policy for the next twenty-five years, the Truman Doctrine: “I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation [control] by armed minorities [communist rebels] or by outside pressures [as the Soviet Union].” Truman asked for \$400 million in aid for Greece and Turkey.

### **Things to remember while reading the excerpt from the Truman Doctrine:**

- President Truman set up his speech to deliver a simple good-guy-versus-bad-guy scenario, freedom and democracy versus suppression under communism.
- People who were hungry and poor with little hope for a better tomorrow were particularly susceptible to communist influence.
- Joseph Stalin was constantly taking advantage of weakness in postwar countries to pressure for control by communist parties. He had been successful in most Eastern European nations except, at that time, for Czechoslovakia.



### ***Excerpt from “Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine, March 12, 1947”***

*Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress of the United States:*

*The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress....*

*The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance ... assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation....*

*When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five percent of the children were **tubercular**. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. **Inflation** had wiped out practically all savings.*

*As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible....*

*The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries....*

*Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore authority to the government throughout Greek Territory....*

*The United States must supply this assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate.*

*There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.*

*No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.*

*The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or **liquidating** its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece....*

*The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done or will do....*

*Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention....*

**Tubercular:** Suffering from tuberculosis, a disease of the lungs.

**Inflation:** Prices of goods rise faster than wages.

**Liquidating:** Ending.

**Modernization:** Updated improvement.

**National integrity:** Independence.

**Coercion:** Unwanted pressure and influence from outsiders.

**Totalitarian regimes:** Governments such as dictatorships that exert total control over their citizens.

**Intimidation:** Forced fear.

**Yalta agreement:** An accord reached in Yalta, Germany, in 1944 between Allied leaders Joseph Stalin, Winston Churchill, and Franklin D. Roosevelt on how to manage lands conquered by Germany during World War II.

**Oppression:** Unjust power.

*Turkey now needs our support. Since the war Turkey has sought additional financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that **modernization** necessary for the maintenance of its **national integrity**.*

*That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.*

*The British Government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties, it can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey.*

*As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help....*

*One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from **coercion**. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.*

*To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them **totalitarian regimes**. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed upon free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.*

*The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and **intimidation**, in violation of the **Yalta agreement**, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.*

*At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.*

*One way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and **oppression**, a con-*



U.S. president Harry S. Truman, signing the Foreign Aid Assistance Act, later known as the Truman Doctrine. *Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

trolled press and radio, fixed elections, and the **suppression** of personal freedoms.

*I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted **subjugation** by armed minorities or by outside pressures.*

*I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.*

**Suppression:** Removal.

**Subjugation:** Complete control.

*It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.*

*Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.*

*I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished.*

*This is a serious course upon which we embark. I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious.*

*The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died.*

*We must keep that hope alive.*



## **What happened next ...**

A stunned and sober Congress overwhelmingly passed the aid package for Greece and Turkey. An anticommunist, anti-Soviet feeling spread through government and the American public.

George C. Marshall was in Moscow for a meeting at the time of the speech. He remained there for six weeks trying to break a stalemate over how to handle postwar Germany. The United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union had never reached agreement. As a result, a peace treaty involving the future of defeated Germany had never been

signed. Again they came to no agreement. Leaving Moscow at the end of April, Marshall feared Stalin believed no treaty was needed because it was only a matter of time before all of Western Europe, weakened by war, fell under Soviet domination. Marshall urgently devised a plan, the Marshall Plan, to prop up European economies (see the next two excerpts).

The civil war in Greece stumbled along until roughly the end of 1949. Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito tired of aiding the rebels of ELAS. ELAS could garner no support from Stalin. Stalin's interests were elsewhere, and he had no desire to fight a battle with the United States over Greece. Greece remained a free, democratic nation.

### **Did you know ...**

- George F. Kennan (1904–), author of the “Long Telegram” (an eight-thousand-word telegram that warned that the Soviet leaders could not be trusted and recommended that the United States give up its isolationist attitude and take on more of a leadership role with regard to international politics), strongly supported the Truman Doctrine and declared Greece could be pivotal to the Cold War.
- With the adoption of the Truman Doctrine, the U.S. Congress had given the U.S. government approval to intervene in the internal political affairs of other distant countries.
- The domino effect, although not called that in the Truman speech, would be the basis for U.S. intervention in the Vietnam War (1954–75) in the 1960s.

### **Consider the following ...**

- Why would peoples experiencing poverty and hardship be susceptible to communist thought? Research early Bolshevik or communist doctrine and the appeal to peasants and workers.
- How did the overall attitudes in the Truman Doctrine affect the Cold War? Did they heat it up or cool it down?

- If communist takeovers were threatened in other parts of the world such as in Asia or Africa or Latin America, did the Truman Doctrine apply to those areas as well? Or was the intent of the Truman Doctrine to apply aid only to European countries threatened by the spread of communism?

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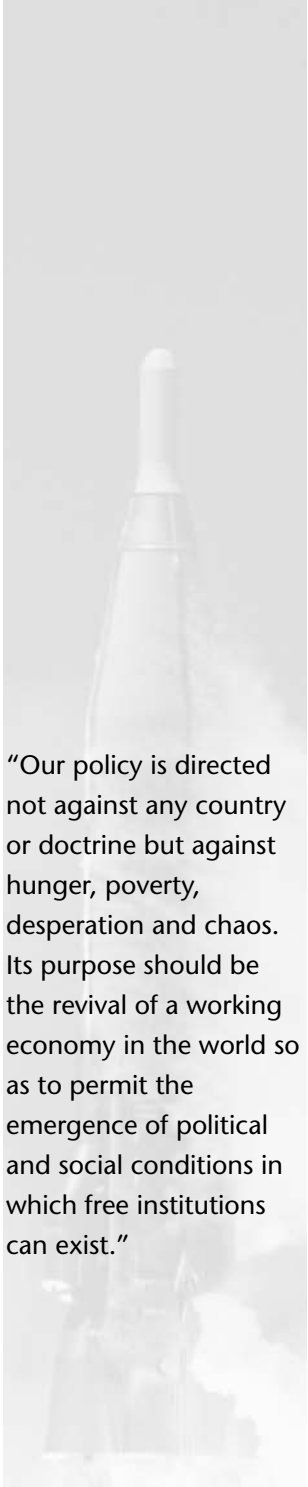
# George C. Marshall

*Excerpt from "Remarks by the Honorable George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, at Harvard University on June 5, 1947"*

**Published in *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*, Volume III, 1947: *The British Commonwealth; Europe*, published in 1972**

Following the passage of the Truman Doctrine in March 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall (1880–1959) put the staff of the State Department to work planning an overall economic recovery program for Europe. By April 1947, communist parties were gaining strength in France and Italy. Postwar Western European economies were in danger of collapsing with resulting political chaos, ripe for communist intervention. Although George Kennan (1904–), author of the “Long Telegram,” was in charge of policy planning at the State Department, it was Under-secretary of State Will Clayton (1880–1966) who stressed to Marshall that France and Italy could be lost within a very short time period—weeks or months. Kennan wanted to direct the recovery planning over the next four to five years. Clayton said it was most important to address “starvation” and “chaos” immediately. Marshall, sharing Clayton’s concern, saw that a plan was pulled together in a few short weeks.

Marshall was due to receive an honorary degree at Harvard University on June 5 and would be provided time for a short speech. This is where the Marshall Plan was first



“Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist.”



U.S. secretary of state  
**George C. Marshall.**  
*Courtesy of the Library of  
Congress.*

revealed. It had all been pulled together so fast that few immediately realized they had just heard a plan that would rebuild Western Europe, allow those countries' economies to expand through the 1950s and 1960s, and effectively halt the spread of communism in Europe.

**Things to remember while reading "Remarks by the Honorable George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, at Harvard University on June 5, 1947":**

- Marshall offered the plan to all nations in Europe, including communist-controlled countries—even including the Soviet Union.
- The Marshall Plan was not a complete, finished plan of action. On the contrary, the nations that decided to take advantage would meet and develop an assessment of their needs and then propose how the plan should work.



**Excerpt from "Remarks by the Honorable George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, at Harvard University on June 5, 1947"**

*Press Release Issued by the Department of State, June 4, 1947*

*I need not tell you gentlemen that the world situation is very serious. That must be apparent to all intelligent people. I think one difficulty is that the problem is one of such enormous complexity that the very mass of facts presented to the public by press and radio make it exceedingly difficult for the man in the street to reach a clear appraisal of the situation. Furthermore, the people of*



## Cominform, Molotov Plan, Comecon

In reaction to the Marshall Plan, the Soviets held a meeting with Eastern European nations on September 22, 1947. That was the same day the European nations participating in the plan had their proposals of their needs ready to go to Washington. The Eastern European nations, at Stalin's order, formed the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) to create a tighter bond between the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellite states. ("Satellite states" was the term coined in the new space age of the 1950s to describe the smaller Eastern European countries controlled politically and economically by the Soviet Union.) Cominform's primary mission was to combat the spread of American capitalism and imperialism (taking control of other countries).

Named after Soviet foreign minister V. M. Molotov, the Molotov Plan provided economic assistance for Eastern European countries. The Soviet Union established a series of trade agreements between itself and the Eastern European countries.

Expanding agreements of the Molotov Plan, the Soviets founded the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) in January 1949. Comecon closely tied Eastern European economies to the Soviet Union's economy. To maximize production of certain products or food, each country was assigned a specific product or crop. Participating in Comecon were the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, and even the communist parties in France and Italy.

*this country are distant from the troubled areas of the earth and it is hard for them to comprehend the plight and **consequent reactions** of the long-suffering peoples, and the effect of those reactions on their governments in connection with our efforts to promote peace in the world.*

*In considering the requirements for the rehabilitation of Europe, the physical loss of life, the visible destruction of cities, factories, mines and railroads was correctly estimated, but it has become obvious during recent months that this visible destruction was probably less serious than the **dislocation of the entire fabric** of European economy. For the past ten years conditions have been highly abnormal. The feverish preparation for war and the more feverish maintenance of the war effort engulfed all aspects of national economies. Machinery has fallen into disrepair or is entirely obsolete. Under the **arbitrary** and destructive Nazi rule, virtually every possible enterprise was geared into the German war machine. Long-standing*

### **Consequent reactions:**

Responses to new conditions, such as poverty.

**Dislocation of the entire fabric:** Complete disruption.

**Arbitrary:** Without reason.

commercial ties, private institutions, banks, insurance companies and shipping companies disappeared, through loss of **capital**, absorption through **nationalization** or by simple destruction. In many countries, confidence in the local currency has been severely shaken. The breakdown of the business structure of Europe during the war was complete. Recovery has been seriously retarded by the fact that two years after the close of hostilities a peace settlement with Germany and Austria has not been agreed upon. But even given a more prompt solution of these difficult problems, the **rehabilitation** of the economic structure of Europe quite evidently will require a much longer time and greater effort than had been foreseen.

There is a phase of this matter which is both interesting and serious. The farmer has always produced the foodstuffs to exchange with the city dweller for the other necessities of life. This division of labor is the basis of modern civilization. At the present time it is threatened with breakdown. The town and city industries are not producing adequate goods to exchange with the food-producing farmer. Raw materials and fuel are in short supply. Machinery is lacking or worn out. The farmer or the peasant cannot find the goods for sale which he desires to purchase. So the sale of his farm produce for money which he cannot use seems to him an unprofitable transaction. He, therefore, has withdrawn many fields from crop cultivation and is using them for grazing. He feeds more grain to stock and finds for himself and his family an ample supply of food, however short he may be on clothing and the other ordinary gadgets of civilization. Meanwhile people in the cities are short of food and fuel. So the governments are forced to use their foreign money and **credits** to **procure** these necessities abroad. This process exhausts funds which are urgently needed for reconstruction. Thus a very serious situation is rapidly developing which bodes no good for the world. The modern system of the division of labor upon which the exchange of products is based is in danger of breaking down.

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

The remedy lies in breaking the vicious circle and restoring the confidence of the European people in the economic future of their own countries and of Europe as a whole....

**Capital:** Wealth in money and property.

**Nationalization:** Ownership by government.

**Rehabilitation:** Restoration to a good condition.

**Credits:** Loans.

**Procure:** Purchase.

Aside from the demoralizing effect on the world at large and the possibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States would be apparent to all. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. Such assistance, I am convinced, must not be on a piece-meal basis as various crises develop. Any assistance that this Government may render in the future should provide a cure rather than a mere **palliative**. Any government that is willing to assist in the task of recovery will find full cooperation, I am sure, on the part of the United States Government. Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties or groups which seek to **perpetuate** human misery in order to profit therefrom politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States.

It is already evident that, before the United States Government can proceed much further in its efforts to **alleviate** the situation and help start the European world on its way to recovery, there must be some agreement among the countries of Europe as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take.... It would be neither fitting nor **efficacious** for this Government to undertake to draw up **unilaterally** a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program and of later support of such a program so far as it may be practical for us to do so. The program should be a joint one, agreed to by a number, if not all European nations....

With foresight, and a willingness on the part of our people to face up to the vast responsibility which history has clearly placed upon our country, the difficulties I have outlined can and will be overcome.



**Palliative:** A quick fix without actually solving the main problem.

**Perpetuate:** Continue.

**Alleviate:** Bring relief to.

**Efficacious:** Capable of reaching the desired result.

**Unilaterally:** Without advice from other countries.

## What happened next ...

Britain immediately realized the Marshall Plan would be its “life-line.” Even Soviet foreign minister V. M. Molotov (1890–1986) implored Soviet leader Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) to let him take a staff including Soviet economists to Paris on June 26 to at least explore ideas of the plan. Molotov knew the Soviet economy needed help. Begrudgingly, the ever-suspicious Stalin allowed Molotov to go.

By June 30, Molotov learned that the United States also saw Germany as a key participant in the plan. This enraged the Soviets, who had long lobbied for keeping defeated Germany a weak nation. Germany’s invasion of the Soviet Union during World War II (1939–45) was still fresh in their minds. One of the Soviets’ greatest postwar fears was that Germany would rebuild and again threaten the Soviet Union. Molotov returned to the Soviet Union with all hopes of Soviet participation destroyed. At this point, Stalin also firmly believed that the capitalist United States wanted to infiltrate the economies of Eastern Europe and eventually turn them to the capitalist system.

On July 7, Moscow ordered Eastern European countries—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia—to not take part in the plan. All bowed to Moscow’s wishes except Poland and Czechoslovakia. Stalin was furious and within a few days had slapped Czechoslovakia and Poland back into line. Stalin viewed the Marshall Plan as an aggressive escalation of the Cold War. He believed the United States wanted to strengthen the capitalist Western European nations and grab Eastern European economies as well. The Iron Curtain closed tighter over Eastern Europe.

On July 12, the Conference on European Economic Cooperation convened with sixteen Western European nations ready to make shopping lists of their individual wants and pull together a practical Marshall Plan. Washington had to stress that they wanted more than shopping lists. The nations also needed to devise long-term plans of cooperation such as eliminating trade barriers between each other. Finally on September 22, the Europeans had a proposal ready for Washington. They estimated \$17 billion would be needed to successfully rebuild. (See the next excerpt for a continuation of the development of the Marshall Plan.)



Whatever happened to France and Italy? By late December 1947, the communists in France had lost favor with the French public. France was able to sustain its democratic government and would participate in the Marshall Plan. Defeating communists in Italy proved even more of a challenge. It took secret operations by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which gathers and interprets the meaning of information on foreign activities as well as carries out secret foreign operations, and Pope Pius XII (1876–1958) to influence the electorate to defeat the communists in an election on April 18, 1948. Italy would also participate in the Marshall Plan.

**A bombed-out Dresden, Germany, during World War II. The Soviets wanted Germany to remain weak after the war ended to limit chances of a rebuilt Germany threatening the Soviet Union.** *Photograph by Fred Ramage. Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

### Did you know ...

- Physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer (1904–1967), the father of the U.S. atomic bomb, also received an honorary degree at Harvard along with Marshall on June 5.

- Through well-placed Soviet spies, Molotov first learned that the United States and Britain also saw the Marshall Plan as a plan for the reconstruction of Germany. One of the most famous spy rings of the Cold War, consisting of four Brits, was responsible for snooping and sending a secret coded cable to Molotov on June 30. The men, called the Cambridge Spies, were Anthony F. Blunt (1907–1983), Guy Burgess (1910–1963), Donald Maclean (1913–1983), and Kim Philby (1911–1988).
- Czechoslovakia’s misstep of first intending to participate in the Marshall Plan would ultimately lead to its takeover by communists in February 1948.

### Consider the following ...

- Later, after the Marshall Plan was in operation, debate raged as to whether the United States ever really wanted the Soviet Union and communist Eastern European countries to actually participate. What might have been the consequences of their participation?
- How do you think the Marshall Plan’s aid should have been delivered? Through loans, outright gifts of money, or gifts of goods? Why?
- Marshall, in his speech, described a cycle of farmer–food-stuffs–city dweller–manufactured goods–farmer. Have class members explain this classic economic cycle and retell this cycle so that everyone understands. What had happened to the cycle in Europe immediately after World War II?

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“The Soviet Union and its satellites were invited to cooperate in the European recovery program. They rejected that invitation. More than that, they have declared their violent hostility to the program and are aggressively attempting to wreck it.”

## Harry S. Truman

*Excerpt from “Special Message to the Congress on the Threat to the Freedom of Europe, March 17, 1948”*

**Published in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, January 1 to December 31, 1948*, published in 1964**

**I**n July 1947, sixteen Western European nations that had chosen to participate in the U.S.-proposed European recovery plan known as the Marshall Plan met in Paris. After several months of discussion, on September 22, 1947, the nations had readied their proposal of immediate needs and long-term cooperation goals for Washington’s review.

The U.S. Congress began to consider the \$17 billion aid request. Using the logic of the Truman Doctrine, a program designed by President Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53) that sent aid to anticommunist forces in Turkey and Greece, the Truman administration argued that the Marshall Plan aid would help countries stop communist influence within their borders. Congress continued to debate, so in December, Truman managed to obtain an interim \$600 million aid package approval from Congress for France, Italy, and Austria.

By January 1948, Truman reduced the original plan request down to \$6.8 billion for a fifteen-month period. In February, he reduced it again to \$5.3 billion to cover a twelve-month period.



Suddenly, several alarming events pushed Congress to pass the plan. First, in February, Czechoslovakia fell to a communist takeover that unseated the Western-supported government. This change represented the disappearance of the last democracy in Eastern Europe. Anticommunist feelings were running high in America and Western Europe. Fears increased about the political stability of Western Europe. Next, the newly established National Security Council (NSC) issued a report, NSC-20, concluding the goal of the Soviet Union was world domination. Another report, NSC-30, advocated the use of nuclear weapons as discouragement to further communist expansion. This represented a bold new approach for U.S. foreign policy.

Finally, on March 17, 1948, President Truman delivered a powerful speech to the joint session of Congress titled “Special Message to the Congress on the Threat to the Freedom of Europe.” Truman described the “situation in Europe” as “critical.” He charged that “one nation,” meaning the So-

**A map showing Eastern and Western European nations during the Cold War.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Gale Group.*

viet Union, had refused to cooperate in establishing peace after World War II (1939–45). Further, that nation “and its agents have destroyed the independence and democratic character of a whole series of nations in Eastern and Central Europe.” He called on Congress to act, to “face the threat to their liberty squarely and courageously.”

### **Things to remember while reading the excerpt from the “Special Message to the Congress on the Threat to the Freedom of Europe”:**

- The amount of aid requested was massive. It was inevitable that, although time-consuming, Republicans and Democrats would battle in Congress over the expenditure for some months.
- The Marshall Plan addressed economic and political issues of Western Europe and was not intended to provide any military aid.
- By 1948, anticommunist feelings were running high in the United States. When Czechoslovakia fell in February 1948, U.S. military officials actually suggested that a Soviet invasion of Western Europe might happen at any time.



### ***Excerpt from “Special Message to the Congress on the Threat to the Freedom of Europe, March 17, 1948”***

*Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress:*

*I am here today to report to you on the critical nature of the situation in Europe, and to recommend action for your consideration.*

*Rapid changes are taking place in Europe which affect our foreign policy and our national security. There is an increasing threat to nations which are striving to maintain a form of government which grants freedom to its citizens. The United States is deeply concerned with the survival of freedom in those nations. It is of vital importance that we act now, in order to preserve the conditions under which we can achieve lasting peace based on freedom and justice.*



*The achievement of such a peace has been the great goal of this nation.*

*Almost 3 years have **elapsed** since the end of the greatest of all wars, but peace and stability have not returned to the world. We were well aware that the end of the fighting would not automatically settle the problems arising out of the war. The establishment of peace after the fighting is over has always been a difficult task. And even if all the Allies of World War II were united in their desire to establish a just and honorable peace, there would still be great difficulties in the way of achieving that peace.*

*But the situation in the world today is not primarily the result of natural difficulties which follow a great war. It is chiefly due to the fact that one nation [the Soviet Union] has not only refused to cooperate in the establishment of a just and honorable peace, but—even worse—has actively sought to prevent it.*

*The Congress is familiar with the course of events.*

*You know of the sincere and patient attempts of the democratic nations to find a secure basis for peace through negotiation and*

**President Harry S. Truman, reading at a press conference in the 1940s.**

*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

**Elapsed:** Passed.

agreement. Conference after conference has been held in different parts of the world. We have tried to settle the questions arising out of the war on a basis which would permit the establishment of a just peace. You know the obstacles we have encountered, but the record stands as a monument to the good faith and integrity of the democratic nations of the world. The agreements we did obtain, imperfect though they were, could have furnished the basis for a just peace—if they had been kept.

*But they were not kept.*

*They have been persistently ignored and violated by one nation.*

*The Congress is also familiar with the developments concerning the United Nations. Most of the countries of the world have joined together in the United Nations in an attempt to build a world order based on law and not on force. Most of the members support the United Nations earnestly and honestly, and seek to make it stronger and more effective.*

*One nation, however, has persistently obstructed the work of the United Nations by constant abuse of the veto. That nation has vetoed 21 proposals for action in a little over 2 years.*

*But that is not all. Since the close of **hostilities**, the Soviet Union and its agents have destroyed the independence and democratic character of a whole series of nations in Eastern and Central Europe.*

*It is this ruthless course of action, and the clear design to extend it to the remaining free nations of Europe, that have brought about the critical situation in Europe today.*

*The tragic death of the Republic of Czechoslovakia has sent a shock throughout the civilized world. Now pressure is being brought to bear on Finland, to the hazard of the entire Scandinavian peninsula. Greece is under direct military attack from rebels actively supported by her Communist dominated neighbors [Yugoslavia]. In Italy, a determined and aggressive effort is being made by a Communist minority to take control of that country. The methods vary, but the pattern is all too clear.*

*Faced with this growing menace, there have been encouraging signs that the free nations of Europe are drawing closer together for their economic well-being and for the common defense of their liberties.*

*In the economic field, the movement for mutual self-help to restore conditions essential to the preservation of free institutions is*

**Hostilities:** World War II.

**Veto:** The power to legally block actions.

well under way. In Paris, the 16 nations which are cooperating in the European recovery program are meeting again to establish a joint organization to work for the economic restoration of Western Europe.

The United States has strongly supported the efforts of these nations to repair the devastation of war and restore a sound world economy. In presenting this program to the Congress last December, I emphasized the necessity for speedy action. Every event in Europe since that day has underlined the great urgency for the prompt adoption of this measure.

The Soviet Union and its **satellites** were invited to cooperate in the European recovery program. They rejected that invitation. More than that, they have declared their violent hostility to the program and are aggressively attempting to wreck it.

They see in it a major obstacle to their designs to **subjugate** the free community of Europe. They do not want the United States to help Europe. They do not even want the 16 cooperative countries to help themselves....

The door has never been closed, nor will it ever be closed, to the Soviet Union or to any other nation which genuinely cooperates in preserving the peace.

At the same time, we must not be confused about the central issue which confronts the world today.

The time has come when the free men and women of the world must face the threat to their liberty squarely and courageously.

The United States has a tremendous responsibility to act according to the measure of our power for good in the world. We have learned that we must earn the peace we seek just as we earned victory in the war, not by wishful thinking but by realistic effort.

At no time in our history has unity among our people been so vital as it is at the present time.

Unity of purpose, unity of effort, and unity of spirit are essential to accomplish the task before us.

Each of us here in this chamber today has a special responsibility. The world situation is too critical, and the responsibilities of this country are too vast, to permit any party struggles to weaken our influence for maintaining the peace.



**Satellites:** Nations politically dependent upon the Soviet Union.

**Subjugate:** Conquer.

## What happened next ...

Congress approved \$5.3 billion for the Marshall Plan on April 3, 1948. Within months, aid was headed to Europe. Only 20 percent was in loans because the United States did not want to burden Europe with debt. Some money grants were also sent without the need for countries to repay them. The bulk of the aid was in goods, food, fertilizers and tractors, and industrial equipment. The Fiat automobile manufacturer in Italy was rebuilt with assembly-line machinery sent from Detroit, Michigan, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, which saved the Italian economy. Northern Greece needed mules for agriculture and received large and stubborn mules from Missouri. The plan provided more than \$13 billion by 1952 to help maintain political and economic stability in the West. Passage of the plan essentially divided Europe economically into an East communist-dominated half and a West capitalist-supported half. Czechoslovakia ended up in the East, France and Italy in the West. The United States would continue to support a large foreign-aid program through the second half of the twentieth century.

## Did you know ...

- Much of the Marshall Plan aid eventually returned to the American economy. As economies became healthy, Europeans bought America's finished goods and raw commodities. In addition, U.S. goods sent originally to help Europe were purchased by the U.S. government from American farmers and manufacturers.
- Between April 3, 1948, and June 30, 1952, Great Britain received the most aid at \$3.2 billion. France was a close second at \$2.7 billion. Tiny Iceland received the smallest amount of aid at \$29 million.
- By the mid-1950s, Western European economies were far more robust than Eastern European economies.

## Consider the following ...

- Why do you think the Soviets were so opposed to the rebuilding of West Germany? Why was the United States so determined to rebuild West Germany?





President Harry S. Truman, making a radio broadcast in the 1940s. Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.

- If Western Europe had fallen under communist rule, predict how the future of the United States would have been affected.
- Before Congress passed the Marshall Plan, at the end of 1947, President Truman got Congress to agree to an interim \$600 million package primarily for France, Italy, and Austria. Why were those particular countries chosen?

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## Communism Spreads

3

**B**y April 1948, massive rebuilding aid via the Marshall Plan, a massive U.S. plan to promote Europe's economic recovery from the war, was headed to those Western European countries whose economies had been devastated by World War II (1939–45). Officially known as the European Recovery Program for Western Europe, the Marshall Plan was made available to all nations, though the communist regime rejected it. The United States feared that communist agitators, promising a better life, would overthrow the struggling democracies. (Agitators appeal to people's emotions to stir up public feeling over controversial issues.) Western Europe might fall just as Eastern Europe had fallen under the "Iron Curtain" (a term referring to the ruthless Soviet domination) of communism.

The excerpts that follow turn to another part of the world, China and Korea. In the 1930s, China's communist leader, Mao Zedong (1893–1976), and his forces, mostly consisting of peasants, were locked in a civil war with the non-communist Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975). There was a halt in the civil war as both fought the invading Japanese from 1937 to 1945, but the conflict was resumed at

**Isaac Don Levine**  
...64

**Paul H. Nitze**  
...71

**Douglas MacArthur**  
...79

the end of World War II. The United States had sent some aid to the Nationalists, but by 1950, Mao's communists drove the Nationalists out of China to the island of Taiwan. The communists gained control of Mainland China. The U.S. government under the administration of President Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53) had clearly focused on Europe to the exclusion of China. It viewed China's fate as up to the Chinese people. In the United States, Chinese Nationalist supporters, known as the China Lobby, were outraged.

In the first excerpt, a 1949 article by journalist Isaac Don Levine (1892–1981) titled "Our First Line of Defense," Levine argues that the United States must defend against communist power wherever it is. He accused the U.S. State Department as having no "vision" for Asia. Overall, the fall of China was considered a grave, ominous loss for the free world. Under strong pressure from many sides, President Truman ordered the head of the Policy Planning Staff in the State Department, Paul H. Nitze (1907–), to thoroughly review U.S. foreign policy and its strategies worldwide. The result was the National Security Council (NSC) document number 68, known as NSC-68, which is excerpted here. Completed in April 1950, the strongly worded document called for a proactive foreign policy, one based on planning and action rather than on reaction to other countries' actions. Such a policy prepared the United States to build a healthy worldwide community capable of resisting communist influence. The document advised holding on to a tight policy of containment, a key U.S. Cold War policy to restrict the territorial growth of communist rule that was first put forth by Truman administration policy analyst George F. Kennan (1904–). NSC-68 also called for a massive increase in defense spending to further build up the military.

Just after the NSC-68 report was finished, in June 1950, the forces under the communist leader of North Korea, Kim Il Sung (1912–1994), attacked and quickly overran democratic South Korea. President Truman sent World War II legend General Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964) to Korea to command a temporary alliance of United Nations forces, predominately made up of U.S. forces. He was charged with halting and pushing communist forces out of South Korea. Not only did MacArthur accomplish this task, but he then

spoke threateningly to China, even suggesting that the United States would use nuclear weapons. Talking out of turn, MacArthur was relieved of his command by President Truman and recalled to the United States. Still extremely popular with Americans, he was invited to speak before a joint session of the U.S. Congress. On April 19, 1951, he delivered his famous “Old Soldiers Never Die” speech, excerpted here. MacArthur’s speech supported the importance of Asia as in Isaac Don Levine’s article and the strong anticommunist philosophy in NSC-68.



“The White Paper is a denial of the existence of a will to save Asia. The White Paper is at best a testimonial to spinelessness and a confession of guilty conduct in the past....”

## Isaac Don Levine

*Excerpt from “Our First Line of Defense”*

**Originally published in *Plain Talk* magazine, September 1949**

**T**he vast Chinese empire existed in the Far East for centuries. By the early 1890s, however, a more modern, European type of world encroached upon ancient China. By 1911, a revolution had ended the empire, but only economic and political instability resulted. As a consequence, civil war broke out in the 1930s. The Kuomintang, or Nationalists, led by Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975) had ruled parts of China since the 1920s. The United States had recognized the Nationalist government since 1928. They were challenged by Mao Zedong (1893–1976) and his communist revolutionary forces. Mao, just like Soviet leader Joseph Stalin (1879–1953), strictly followed the philosophies of Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Vladimir I. Lenin (1870–1924) that had contributed to the birth of communism.

Mao’s communist forces were largely peasants from China’s agricultural areas. The civil war was interrupted in 1937 when the Japanese invaded China. The armies of both Chiang and Mao joined forces to stop Japanese aggression.

With the Japanese defeat and surrender in August 1945, the civil war resumed. In the United States, there was a

large and influential group of Chinese Nationalist supporters, known as the China Lobby. They urged the United States to give strong backing to Chiang. Yet President Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53) was reluctant because of Chiang’s growing reputation as a corrupt and oppressive leader. However, the fear of the spread of communism was beginning to sweep across America. Both everyday Americans and U.S. officials believed that any leader who openly labeled himself a communist, as Mao did, must be supported by Soviet leader Stalin. Under pressure, Truman sent a small amount of financial and military aid to the Nationalists.

President Truman sent General George C. Marshall (1880–1959) to China to attempt to work out a negotiated settlement between the Nationalists and communists. Marshall met with little success and by December 1946, he reported that a peaceful settlement was not likely. Soon the Nationalists were running out of money and military strength. During 1948, communist forces moved southward over China.

In January 1949, Chiang begged for military assistance from both the United States and the Soviet Union. Chiang knew that Stalin, perceiving Mao a threat to his own power, was not a strong supporter of Mao. Neither responded with aid, but the Soviets did implore Mao to halt his offensive and seek a settlement. By then, however, Mao’s forces were unstoppable.

In August 1949, U.S. secretary of state Dean Acheson (1893–1971) wrote an analysis of the China situation. The report, called the White Paper, said that the fate of China lay with the Chinese themselves. The United States had done all it could and would do no more. Outraged, the China Lobby accused the U.S. State Department of overlooking the communist takeover of China.

In September 1949, journalist Isaac Don Levine published in the conservative U.S. magazine *Plain Talk* a widely read article, “Our First Line of Defense.” Levine took strong issue with Acheson’s perspective that the United States and other powers could not stop the takeover. He asserted that America’s “first line of defense is wherever the communist power is.” He accused the State Department of being misguided and of favoring Europe. His reference to “dollars and more dollars” was a direct reference to the Marshall Plan (see



Journalist Isaac Don Levine, shown here testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee during the Alger Hiss hearings in 1948, criticized the Truman administration for its preference towards Europe over Asia. *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

Chapter 2). Nothing like the Marshall Plan was available in Asia. He accused the United States of having no “vision” for China. The excerpt that follows is from Levine’s original article in *Plain Talk*.

Meanwhile, in September, communist forces pushed the Nationalists off Mainland China. They fled to the Chinese island of Formosa, renamed Taiwan. There, Chiang established what he called the Republic of China (ROC). On October 1, 1949, Mao proclaimed communist rule over Mainland China and called it the People’s Republic of China (PRC).

### **Things to remember while reading “Our First Line of Defense”:**

- Massive corruption among Chiang’s closest loyalists and his Nationalist army had caused many Chinese to withdraw their support of Chiang.



- In the United States, the “loss” of China was considered a major blow, a huge victory for communism worldwide.
- Many in America held on to the so-called “China myth” that the United States had a centuries-old responsibility to protect China.



### **Excerpt from “Our First Line of Defense”**

*When Secretary of State [Dean] Acheson declared before the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees that America’s “first line of defense is still in Europe,” he exposed the chaos which underlies our foreign policy...*

*With the **deluge** of the Second World War behind us, our first line of defense is wherever the Communist power is. That should be the keystone of any foreign policy.*

*It is arguable whether the people of the United States would go to war should there be a Soviet seizure of power, on the order of the Czechoslovak coup, in Finland or in Norway. But most **sober** observers would agree that a Communist coup in the Philippines, resulting in the establishment in Manila [the capital city of the Philippines] of a Soviet regime, would drive the American people into a war of national defense....*

*First and foremost is the question: Why the **White Paper** now?... The position of nationalist China at the beginning of August, on the eve of the release of the White Paper, was grave but not hopeless....*

*It is known that China’s ambassador in Washington, Dr. Wellington Koo, had called at the White House weeks before the White Paper was issued and posed the following questions, in effect, before President [Harry] Truman:*

*“Why should the United States strike a finishing blow with its White Paper at the Nationalist forces while they are desperately struggling to hold the surging Communist armies? Was it the intent of the U.S. to speed the victory of the Communist elements? And was not the U.S. officially committed to a policy of containing the combating Soviet aggression and Communist expansion throughout the world?”*

**Deluge:** Many responsibilities.

**Sober:** Serious.

**White Paper:** U.S. secretary of state Dean Acheson’s written analysis of the China situation.

**Our unsavory record of Teheran, Yalta, and**

**Potsdam:** Reference to some critics' contentions that the United States made too many concessions to the Soviets in post-World War II agreements during conferences held in these cities.

**Rapacious despots:** Greedy absolute rulers or tyrants.

**Extenuation:** Representation of an offense as less serious.

**Red Army:** Soviet army.

**New arms program:** Development of nuclear weapons.

**Inducements:** Persuasions.

**Edifice:** Large military structure.

**Kremlin aggressors:** Soviet government.

**Colossus adrift:** Lack of a consistent policy toward communism.

**Buy precarious peace piecemeal:** Try to bring about peace by responding to situations as they individually occur rather than by a broader response.

**Dollars and more dollars:** A reference to the money spent through the Marshall plan.

**Initiative:** Action.

*How and why President Truman came to yield to the Far Eastern "experts" [officials] in the State department will undoubtedly make fascinating reading at some future date. But the step taken by Secretary Acheson has climaxed **our unsavory record of Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam** with a leaf from the book of **rapacious despots**. There was far more justification for [Soviet leader Joseph] Stalin's last-minute attack on Japan and even more **extenuation** for [Italian leader Benito] Mussolini's stab in the back of France than there was for our using at this hour the dagger of the White Paper on sick China....*

*At best our present course of 'normalization' is calculated to achieve a stalemate, with Moscow in control of nearly half of Western Europe and most of Asia. Such a state of affairs condemns the world to chronic crisis, to economic and political fits, and puts a fatal burden upon America.*

*Instead of re-arming a crippled western Europe, let us disarm the **Red Army**. This can be achieved at a fraction of the cost of the **new arms program** by encouraging, through **inducements** to resettlement, the mass desertion of soldiers and able-bodied men from the Soviet zones which would undermine the Soviet **edifice** from within.*

*Let us boldly pick up the banner of Asian liberation and independence. With Japan extinct as a sea power and in our camp, we can wield a weapon against the Soviets in China which would make the **Kremlin aggressors** run to cover in no time. General [Douglas] MacArthur, moved from Tokyo to Formosa or Chungking, could turn the Japanese weapon to most effective use.*

*The White Paper is a denial of the existence of a will to save Asia. The White Paper is at best a testimonial to spinelessness and a confession of guilty conduct in the past.... It is one more alarming token of a **colossus adrift**, of an America guided abroad by men who would **buy precarious peace piecemeal** with **dollars and more dollars** rather than steer the world toward a stable peace with vision, with **initiative**, with courage, with honor.*



## What happened next ...

On October 2, 1949, the Soviets recognized Mao's PRC government. The United States, under continuing pressure from the China Lobby, recognized Chiang's Taiwan government, the ROC, as the official Chinese government.

In December, Mao traveled to Moscow for Stalin's seventieth birthday celebration. Mao deeply respected Stalin, but Stalin always perceived Mao as a threat. Nevertheless, Mao successfully negotiated the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance. (The term *Sino* means Chinese.) Mao and Stalin signed the historic treaty on February 14, 1950. Stalin in effect recognized China as part of the communist world and promised China \$300 million in loans. In the years to come, however, the Soviets provided little of the promised aid, and Mao's China would become an adversary of the Soviet Union. Mao adopted a strong anti-U.S. policy and seized U.S. diplomatic property. Historians widely viewed this agreement as a new and second front of the Cold War.

In January 1950, President Truman refused to move against the PRC. He, no doubt partly influenced by events in China and the growing clash in Korea with communist forces, announced the development project to build a hydrogen bomb. The Soviets had just successfully detonated an atomic bomb in 1949. Truman ordered Paul H. Nitze (1907–), who had replaced George F. Kennan (1904–) as head of the Policy Planning Staff in the State Department, to review U.S. defense policies worldwide. The National Security Council (NSC) document NSC-68 resulted (see the next excerpt in this chapter).

Opposition to the handling of China by the U.S. State Department continued to run high. U.S. senator Joseph R. McCarthy (1909–1957) of Wisconsin, the vicious and leading U.S. anticommunist critic, went after State Department officials who he presumed to be the “experts” mentioned in Levine's article. Ultimately, the United States maintained ties with Nationalist Chinese on Taiwan. The United States had no diplomatic ties with Mao's communist China until 1972 when U.S. president Richard Nixon (1913–1994; served 1969–74) managed to open relations.

## Did you know ...

- Between 1945 and 1949, the United States gave Chiang \$2 billion in military aid. Stalin had provided little aid or support to the Chinese communists.
- Mao used captured Japanese military equipment left behind from Japan's unsuccessful invasion of China to help defeat Chiang's army.
- The communist overrun of China was seen as another "domino" fall as communism was seemingly spreading over the world. Secretary of State Acheson had earlier warned of a domino effect, saying that if one or two countries fell to the communists, such as Greece and Turkey, then all of Western Europe, the Middle East, and even African nations could fall like dominos to the communists.

## Consider the following ...

- In light of the Truman Doctrine, which promised that the United States would help any nation threatened by an attempted communist takeover, do you agree with the U.S. policy to let China "fall"? Why or why not?
- Consider the Korean War (1950–53) and the Vietnam War (1954–75). Do you think Levine's statement, that "our first line of defense is wherever the Communist power is," contributed to U.S. intervention in those two areas?

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# Paul H. Nitze

*Excerpt from "National Security Council Report on Soviet Intentions (NSC-68)"*

**Originally published in *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*, 1950, Volume I, *National Security Affairs, Foreign Economic Policy*, published in 1977**

**B**y 1950, a Red Scare was rampant in the United States. The Red Scare was a time in the 1950s when Americans were particularly fearful and wary of communists penetrating into U.S. society. World events of 1948 and 1949 caused great alarm and anxiety in America. These events included a communist takeover of Czechoslovakia, a Soviet blockade of Berlin, the communist victory in China, and the successful detonation of an atomic bomb by the Soviets on August 29, 1949.

U.S. president Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53), always a man of action, ordered Paul H. Nitze (1907–), director of policy planning at the U.S. State Department, to reevaluate U.S. foreign policies and strategic plans now that the Soviets had the atomic bomb. Nitze assembled a team of administrative officials from the State Department and the Defense Department to write a top-secret report to offer analysis of and recommendations for U.S. foreign policy. Known as National Security Council (NSC) document 68 (NSC-68), it was completed and presented to appropriate U.S. officials on April 7, 1950.



"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 subject by infiltration and intimidation.... Those institutions of our society that touch most closely our material and moral strength are obviously the prime targets: labor unions, civic enterprises, schools, churches, and all media for influencing opinion."

In NSC-68, Nitze and the other authors painted a picture of the Soviet Union as overwhelmingly bent on taking over the world. The authors used many frightening words such as “fanatic,” “mass destruction,” “annihilation,” “domination,” and “mortally challenged.” In the report, the authors set up a grave battle between the “idea of freedom” versus the “idea of slavery” under communistic control. The authors repeated many times that the Kremlin (the location of the Soviet government in Moscow) must be “frustrated” into “decay” by every means known to Cold War strategy. According to Nitze and his associates, the policy of “containment” demanded “maintenance of a strong military posture.” Acknowledging that the country’s “very independence as a nation may be at stake,” the authors listed eleven imperative points in “a comprehensive and decisive program to win the peace and frustrate the Kremlin.” Finally, the report warned the U.S. government and American people to remember that “the cold war is in fact a real war in which the survival of the free world is at stake.”

The report rested partly on an old idea in the United States that when the nation was in trouble, usually acceptable limits (money for defense or espionage activities, for example) could not stand in the way of whatever leaders deemed necessary. The NSC-68 report also perpetuated the proactive diplomacy first started in the “Long Telegram” (see Chapter 1) sent by Truman administration policy analyst George F. Kennan (1904–). Stunned and amazed by the frightening, warlike tone, U.S. officials read and reread the very long report.

### **Things to remember while reading the “National Security Council Report on Soviet Intentions (NSC-68)”:**

- Nitze, the chief author of NSC-68, was known for his hawkish, or prowar, tendencies.
- Nitze replaced Kennan, original author of the containment policy, as director of the State Department’s policy planning staff. Kennan intended for containment to be carried out by diplomatic means and was very opposed to the continuing U.S. nuclear development program and buildup of weapons.

- With fear of the Soviets running rampant in the United States, U.S. senator Joseph R. McCarthy (1909–1957) of Wisconsin made his dramatic announcement in February 1950 that the U.S. State Department was infiltrated with hundreds of employees who were communists. McCarthy added to the U.S. hysteria and made NSC-68 seem correct in its approach.
- In January 1950, Americans learned that Soviet spies had infiltrated to the heart of the U.S. atomic bomb development project, the Manhattan Project, in the mid-1940s. The spies had regularly funneled information to the Soviet atomic bomb project.
- All events combined, the American sense of security in the spring of 1950 was dramatically shaken. It seemed entirely possible that the Cold War could be lost right on American soil. It was believed that day-and-night vigilance was critical.



**Paul H. Nitze, author of the top-secret NSC-68 report.**  
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### ***Excerpt from “National Security Council Report on Soviet Intentions (NSC-68)”***

*The Soviet Union ... is **animated** by a new **fanatic faith**, **antithetical** to our own, and seeks to impose its absolute authority over the rest of the world. Conflict has, therefore, become **endemic** and is waged, on the part of the Soviet Union, by violent or non-violent methods in accordance with the **dictates of expediency**. With the development of increasingly terrifying weapons of mass destruction, every individual faces the ever-present possibility of annihilation should the conflict enter the phase of total war...*

**Animated:** Motivated.

**Fanatic faith:** Communism.

**Antithetical:** Completely opposite.

**Endemic:** Restricted to a specific place.

**Dictates of expediency:** Anything needed to further the cause of communism.

*The issues that face us are momentous, involving the fulfillment or destruction not only of this Republic [United States] but of civilization itself. They are issues which will not await our deliberations. With conscience and resolution this Government and the people it represents must now take new and fateful decisions....*

*The **Kremlin** regards the United States as the only major threat to the achievement of its fundamental design. There is a basic conflict between the idea of freedom under a government of laws, and the idea of slavery under the grim **oligarchy** of the Kremlin....*

*The idea of freedom is the most contagious idea in history.... The breadth of freedom cannot be tolerated in a society which has come under the domination of an individual or group of individuals with a will to absolute power....*

*Thus unwillingly our free society finds itself mortally challenged by the Soviet system. No other value system is so wholly irreconcilable with ours, so **implacable** in its purpose to destroy ours, ... and no other has the support of a great and growing center of military power....*

*Practical and ideological considerations therefore both **impel** us to the conclusion that we have no choice but to demonstrate the superiority of the idea of freedom ... and to attempt to change the world situation by means short of war in such a way as to frustrate the Kremlin design and hasten the decay of the Soviet system....*

*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... [We must produce] a policy of attempting to develop a healthy international community ... [and] 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 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....*

*In the concept of "containment," the maintenance of a strong military posture is deemed to be essential.*

**Kremlin:** Soviet government.

**Oligarchy:** A government in which only a few persons hold all the power.

**Implacable:** Relentless.

**Impel:** Force.

**Pretensions:** Claims.

**Induce a retraction:** Cause a withdrawal.



*At the same time, it is essential to the successful conduct of a policy of "containment" that we always leave open the possibility of negotiation with the U.S.S.R. [the Soviet Union]....*

*In "containment" it is desirable to exert pressure in a fashion which will avoid so far as possible directly challenging Soviet prestige, to keep open the possibility for the U.S.S.R. to retreat before pressure with a minimum loss of face....*

*We have failed to implement adequately ... aspects of "containment." In the face of obviously mounting Soviet military strength ours has declined relatively.... We now find ourselves at a diplomatic **impasse** with the Soviet Union, with the Kremlin growing bolder....*

*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 subject by **infiltration** and **intimidation**.... Those institutions of our society that touch most closely our material and moral strength are obviously the prime targets: labor unions, civic enterprises, schools, churches, and all media for influencing opinion....*

*A program for rapidly building up strength and improving political and economic conditions will place heavy demands on our courage and intelligence; it will be costly; it will be dangerous. But half-measures will be more costly and more dangerous, for they will be inadequate to prevent and may actually invite war. Budgetary considerations will need to be subordinated to the stark fact that our very independence as a nation may be at stake....*

*A comprehensive and decisive program to win the peace and frustrate the Kremlin design ... would probably involve:*

*(1) The development of an adequate political and economic framework for the achievement of our long-range objectives.*

*(2) A substantial increase in expenditures for military purposes adequate to meet the requirements for the tasks listed in Section D-1 [a recommendation section].*

*(3) A substantial increase in military assistance programs, designed to foster cooperative efforts, which will adequately and efficiently meet the requirements of our allies for the tasks referred to in Section D-1-e.*

*(4) Some increase in economic assistance programs [for our allies] and recognition of the need to continue these programs until their purposes have been accomplished....*

**Impasse:** A situation with no escape.

**Infiltration:** The act of secretly penetrating a group or an organization.

**Intimidation:** Threats meant to cause fear and influence decision-making.

**Overt:** Out in the open.

**Affirmative:** Positive.

**Covert:** Secret.

**Fomenting:** Causing.

**Intelligence activities:**  
Spying.

**Expenditures:** Spending.

**Deferment:** Delay.

(6) Development of programs designed to build and maintain confidence among other peoples in our strength and resolution, and to wage **overt** psychological warfare calculated to encourage mass defections from Soviet allegiance and to frustrate the Kremlin design in other ways.

(7) Intensification of **affirmative** and timely measures and operations by **covert** means in the fields of economic warfare and political and psychological warfare with a view to **fomenting** and supporting unrest and revolt in selected strategic satellite countries.

(8) Development of internal security and civilian defense programs.

(9) Improvement and intensification of **intelligence activities**.

(10) Reduction of Federal **expenditures** for purposes other than defense and foreign assistance, if necessary by the **deferment** of certain desirable programs.

*Our position as the center of power in the free world places a heavy responsibility upon the United States for leadership....*

*Our national security demands that we achieve our objectives by the strategy of the cold war, building up our military strength in order that it may not have to be used....*

*The whole success of the proposed program hangs ultimately on recognition by this Government, the American people, and all free peoples, that the cold war is in fact a real war in which the survival of the free world is at stake.*



## What happened next ...

President Truman and the Republican-controlled Congress were not prepared to spend the billions of dollars requested to comply with the recommendations in NSC-68. The report was widely viewed as overblown, painting a picture of the Soviets on a determined march to world conquest. After all, it was only five years after the end of World War II (1939–45), in which the Soviets suffered massive damage. George F. Kennan, author of the “Long Telegram,” believed that the Soviets had no intention of going to war with anyone at this time. However, Nitze’s report was less interested in possible Soviet inten-



tions and more interested in what the Soviets were actually capable of militarily, especially now that they had atomic weapons. Nevertheless, NSC-68 was shelved, but not for long.

The Soviets had paid attention in 1949 when Secretary of State Dean Acheson (1893–1971) said that the Southeast Asian country of Korea was outside the U.S. perimeter of defense. Coupled with the fact that the United States had not stood in the way of the communist takeover of China, the Soviets and the communist leader of North Korea, Kim Il Sung (1912–1994), expected no U.S. action when Kim's army launched a surprise military attack on democratic South Korea on June 25, 1950. The Soviets, as revealed in Soviet documents released in the 1990s, reasoned that if the United States was in Japan, then they needed to have Korea.

NSC-68 immediately came off the shelf. Truman decided that the United States must respond. Korea became the first hot spot in the Cold War, and it became a test of the United States' tougher policy on confronting communist expansion.

### Did you know ...

- The NSC-68 report called for military defense spending to go from a budget of less than \$14 billion a year to \$50 billion a year.
- As a result of the communist North Korean invasion of South Korea, the basic elements of NSC-68 were widely viewed as correct.

**President Harry S. Truman meets with the National Security Council for a defense briefing.**

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- The United States began a massive military buildup to counter any possible communist aggression.

### Consider the following ...

- Recall Isaac Don Levine's words in the first excerpt of this chapter. In light of NSC-68 and the Korean invasion, do you think Levine's viewpoint of U.S. defense was justified?
- Imagine yourself as a young person in the summer of 1950. What would your assessment of Soviet intentions be?

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# Douglas MacArthur


*Excerpt from "Old Soldiers Never Die; They Just Fade Away"  
Speech, April 19, 1951*

**Published in Congressional Record, 1951**

**B**efore World War II (1939–45), Korea was a colony of Japan. With Japan's surrender ending World War II in August 1945, the Soviet Union and the United States divided Korea into two parts at the thirty-eighth parallel. The North was under Soviet communist influence; the South under the influence of the democratic United States. The North became the Democratic People's Republic of Korea under communist Kim Il Sung (1912–1994). The South became the Republic of Korea led by Syngman Rhee (1875–1965), who had lived in the United States for thirty years. In June 1949, both Soviet and U.S. forces pulled out of Korea. Military disturbances and skirmishes increased as both Kim and Rhee tried to claim leadership over the entire country.

On June 25, 1950, Kim launched a surprise military assault on South Korea, most likely with the knowledge and approval of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin (1879–1953). If the United States had a presence in Japan, the Soviets wanted Korea.

U.S. president Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53) immediately sought and got a United Nations (UN) resolution to assist South Korea. Eventually, sixteen nations



"When I joined the Army even before the turn of the century, it was the fulfillment of all my boyish hopes and dreams. The world has turned over many times since I took the oath on the plain at West Point, and the hopes and dreams have long since vanished. But I still remember the refrain of one of the most popular barrack ballads of that day which proclaimed most proudly that—'Old soldiers never die; they just fade away.'"



**President Harry S. Truman  
and General Douglas  
MacArthur in 1950.**

*Reproduced by permission of  
AP/Wide World Photos.*

would participate, but the United States was by far the major military contributor. On June 27, Truman authorized U.S. naval and air forces to move to Korea. On June 30, U.S. ground forces were sent. North Korea had already pushed down through South Korea. Truman made General Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964), who had been serving as Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Japan since the end of World War II, commander of all United Nations troops in Korea. General MacArthur brilliantly landed troops at Inchon behind North Korean lines, cutting the communist army in two. The North Koreans made a hasty retreat back to the thirty-eighth parallel. MacArthur led UN forces into North Korea and pushed them all the way to the China border. MacArthur did not take Chinese threats of invasion seriously, but China, with two to three hundred thousand troops, pushed MacArthur back to the thirty-eighth parallel. MacArthur insisted the United States should attack China, perhaps targeting specific areas with nuclear weapons. MacArthur said that

the Soviets would not enter the conflict and the United States need not worry about them.

Appalled at MacArthur's severe demands, Truman fired MacArthur on April 11, 1951. It was a highly unpopular move with many Americans. When MacArthur arrived in San Francisco, half a million people turned out to meet him. MacArthur then proceeded across the country, greeted enthusiastically by thousands all along the way. He was invited to address a joint session of Congress.

MacArthur spoke to Congress on April 19, 1951. His main themes were anticommunism and the importance of Asia, a point journalist Isaac Don Levine (1892–1981) wrote in an article (see earlier excerpt) made in response to an analysis of the China situation, called the White Paper, written by U.S. secretary of state Dean Acheson (1893–1971), which suggested that the fate of China lay with the Chinese themselves. Several of MacArthur's statements became quite well known, especially, "In war, indeed, there can be no substitute for victory." This sentence seemed to smack at the policy of containment of communism. Apparently, MacArthur would rather see an all-out attack by the military instead of the maintenance of just a strong-enough presence to "contain" the enemy. Near the end of the speech, he quoted a line from an old ballad he had sung as a cadet at West Point: "Old soldiers never die; they just fade away."

### **Things to remember while reading the excerpt from the "Old Soldiers Never Die; They Just Fade Away" speech, April 19, 1951:**

- General Douglas MacArthur, who commanded U.S. troops in the Pacific during World War II, was a larger-than-life, extremely popular war hero.
- President Harry Truman knew that the dismissal of MacArthur would likely cause a firestorm of protest in the United States.
- It was a very special occurrence for a U.S. general to address a joint session of Congress. The previous occasion was by General Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969) at the end of World War II in 1945. The speech received maximum media coverage.



## **Excerpt from the “Old Soldiers Never Die; They Just Fade Away” speech, April 19, 1951**

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and distinguished Members of the Congress, I stand on this **rostrum** with a sense of deep humility and great pride—humility in the wake of those great American architects of our history who have stood here before me, pride in the reflection that this forum of legislative debate represents human liberty in the purest form yet devised. [Applause.] Here are centered the hopes, and aspirations, and faith of the entire human race.

I do not stand here as advocate for any **partisan** cause.... I trust, therefore, that you will do me the justice of receiving that which I have to say as solely expressing the considered viewpoint of a fellow American. I address you with neither **rancor** nor bitterness in the fading twilight of life with but one purpose in mind—to serve my country. [Applause.]

The issues are global and so interlocked that to consider the problems of one sector, **oblivious** to those of another, is but to court disaster for the whole.

While Asia is commonly referred to as the gateway to Europe, it is no less true that Europe is the gateway to Asia, and the broad influence of the one cannot fail to have its impact upon the other.

There are those who claim our strength is inadequate to protect on both fronts—that we cannot divide our effort. I can think of no greater expression of defeatism. [Applause.] If a potential enemy can divide his strength on two fronts, it is for us to counter his effort.

The Communist threat is a global one. Its successful advance in our sector threatens the destruction of every other sector. You cannot appease or otherwise surrender to communism in Asia without simultaneously undermining our efforts to halt its advance in Europe.... [Applause.]

Efforts have been made to distort my position. It has been said, in effect, that I am a **warmonger**. Nothing could be further from the truth. I know war as few other men now living know it, and nothing to me is more revolting. I have long advocated its complete abolition as its very destructiveness on both friend and foe has rendered it useless

**Rostrum:** Podium.

**Partisan:** Strong support for a cause.

**Rancor:** Anger.

**Oblivious:** Blind to something or unknowing.

**Warmonger:** One who enthusiastically favors war.





*as a means of settling international disputes. Indeed, on the second day of September 1945, just following the surrender of the Japanese Nation on the battleship Missouri, I formally cautioned as follows:*

*“Men since the beginning of time have sought peace. Various methods through the ages have been attempted to devise an international process to prevent or settle disputes between nations. From the very start, workable methods were found insofar as individual*

**General Douglas MacArthur (center, with glasses) was the most controversial U.S. military figure of the Cold War because of his strong anticommunist views.**

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citizens were concerned, but the mechanics of an **instrumentality** of larger international scope have never been successful. Military alliances, balances of power, leagues of nations, all in turn failed, leaving the only path to be by way of the crucible of war. The utter destructiveness of war now blots out this alternative. We have had our last chance. If we will not devise some greater and more equitable system, **Armageddon** will be at our door. The problem basically is theological and involves a spiritual **recrudescence** and improvement of human character that will synchronize with our almost matchless advances in science, art, literature, and all material and cultural developments of the past 2,000 years. It must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh." [Applause.]

But once war is forced upon us, there is no other alternative than to supply every available means to bring it to a swift end. War's very object is victory—not prolonged indecision. [Applause.] In war, indeed, there can be no substitute for victory. [Applause.]

There are some who for varying reasons would **appease** Red China. They are blind to history's clear lesson. For history teaches with unmistakable emphasis that appeasement but begets new and bloodier war. It points to no single instance where the end has justified that means—where appeasement has led to more than a sham peace. Like blackmail, it lays the basis for new and successively greater demands, until, as in blackmail, violence becomes the only other alternative. Why, my soldiers asked of me, surrender military advantages to an enemy in the field? I could not answer. [Applause.] Some may say to avoid spread of the conflict into an all-out war with China; others, to avoid Soviet intervention.... Like a cobra, any new enemy will more likely strike whenever it feels that the **relativity** in military or other potential is in its favor on a world-wide basis.

The tragedy of Korea is further heightened by the fact that as military action is confined to its territorial limits, it condemns that nation, which it is our purpose to save, to suffer the devastating impact of full naval and air bombardment, while the enemy's **sanctuaries** are fully protected from such attack and devastation. Of the nations of the world, Korea alone, up to now, is the sole one which has risked its all against communism. The magnificence of the courage and fortitude of the Korean people defies description. [Applause.] They have chosen to risk death rather than slavery. Their last words to me were "Don't scuttle the Pacific." [Applause.]

I have just left your fighting sons in Korea. They have met all tests there and I can report to you without reservation they are splendid in

**Instrumentality:** The ways to settle disputes.

**Armageddon:** Decisive last battle.

**Recrudescence:** Revival.

**Appease:** Placate.

**Relativity:** Loss of absolute will.

**Sanctuaries:** Hiding places.



*every way. [Applause.] It was my constant effort to preserve them and end this savage conflict honorably and with the least loss of time and a minimum sacrifice of life. Its growing bloodshed has caused me the deepest anguish, and anxiety. Those gallant men will remain often in my thoughts and in my prayers always. [Applause.]*

*I am closing my 52 years of military service. [Applause.] When I joined the Army even before the turn of the century, it was the ful-*

**General Douglas MacArthur delivers a farewell address to Congress after being relieved of his command in Korea in 1951. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.**

*fillment of all my boyish hopes and dreams. The world has turned over many times since I took the oath on the plain at West Point, and the hopes and dreams have long since vanished. But I still remember the refrain of one of the most popular barrack ballads of that day which proclaimed most proudly that—*

*“Old soldiers never die; they just fade away.”*

*And like the old soldier of that ballad, I now close my military career and just fade away—an old soldier who tried to do his duty as God gave him the light to see that duty.*

*Good-bye.*



### **What happened next ...**

Popular protest at MacArthur's dismissal resulted in a U.S. Senate investigation. However, the investigation results did not help his cause. If MacArthur had moved on China, the results could have been devastating for the world. General Omar Bradley (1893–1981), who replaced MacArthur, said an all-out war with China would have been “The wrong war, wrong place, wrong time, wrong enemy.” Nevertheless, conservatives believed MacArthur's aggression was just what was needed. Liberal thought was with President Truman—that an aging military man (MacArthur) had gotten out of hand and could have led the United States into a nuclear war if the Soviet Union had jumped in.

The Korean War dragged on until a cease-fire agreement was finally signed in June 1953. U.S. troops would remain in South Korea into the twenty-first century.

### **Did you know ...**

- General MacArthur graduated first in his class at West Point in 1903.
- Fifty-four thousand Americans and 3.6 million Koreans were killed in the Korean War.

- One million Chinese were killed or wounded in the Korean War, including the son of Chinese communist leader Mao Zedong (1893–1976).
- An official peace treaty was never signed between North and South Korea, only a cease-fire agreement. Korea remained an area of controversy throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first.

### Consider the following ...

- Do you think MacArthur would have caused a nuclear war to be unleashed? Why or why not?
- MacArthur delivered his speech eloquently and raised issues about war that still are debated at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Choose a point that interests you and describe how it would be received in various American groups, liberal and conservative, in the twenty-first century.

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## Those Who Strove for Peace

**Eleanor Roosevelt**  
...90

**Dwight D. Eisenhower**  
...99

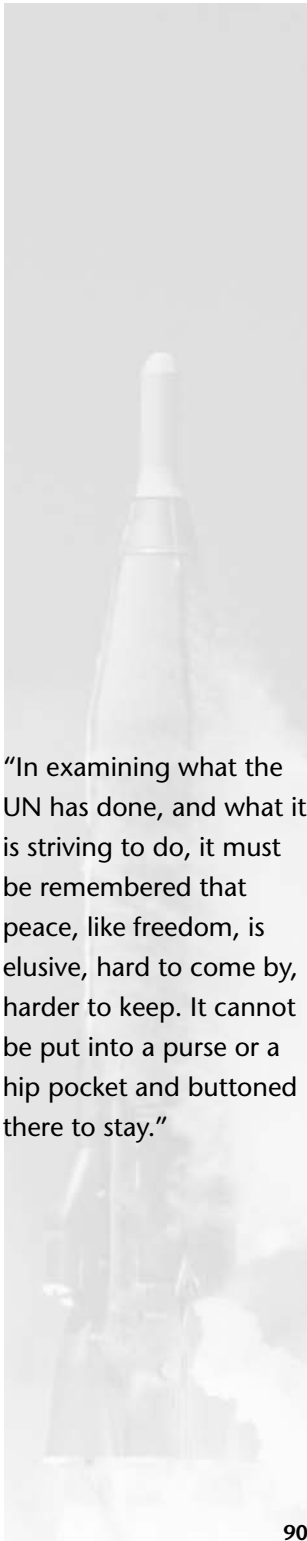
**Dwight D. Eisenhower**  
...113

**B**y 1952, both the democratic United States and the communist Soviet Union were locked in the Cold War (1945–91). The United States was ready to defend against communism anywhere in the world. With sixty member nations, the United Nations (UN), which formed in 1945 at the end of World War II (1939–45), struggled to become an important worldwide peacekeeping organization. Many critics said the UN was only a propaganda platform from which the communists could speak. Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962), wife of deceased U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) and herself a member of the U.S. delegation to the UN, spoke forcefully on behalf of the UN. The first excerpt here is “Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Address to the [1952] Democratic National Convention on the Importance of the United Nations.” It is one of several speeches given in this general time period by Eleanor Roosevelt that were hailed worldwide. Even critics of the UN conceded that she made significant contributions to public thought on the future of the UN.

U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61) made two famous speeches in 1953 that also

nudged along the thought process about peace. The second excerpt that follows is “The Chance for Peace” address delivered before the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 16, 1953. The third excerpt is the “Atoms for Peace” speech delivered before the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York City on December 8, 1953.

Amid an ever-escalating nuclear arms race between the two superpowers, Eisenhower nevertheless spoke eloquently in both speeches for the peace process. He advocated limiting the arms race and using nuclear power for the betterment of mankind, not its destruction. However, the fear and mutual distrust between the United States and the Soviet Union was too great. Eisenhower’s thoughts were too far ahead of their time. It would be many decades before the steps he called for in the two speeches would be realized.



“In examining what the UN has done, and what it is striving to do, it must be remembered that peace, like freedom, is elusive, hard to come by, harder to keep. It cannot be put into a purse or a hip pocket and buttoned there to stay.”

## Eleanor Roosevelt

*Excerpt from “Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Address to the Democratic National Convention on the Importance of the United Nations, Chicago, Illinois, July 23, 1952”*

**Reprinted in *A Treasury of Great America Speeches*, published in 1970**

In Chicago, Illinois, on July 23, 1952, Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962), wife of the late U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45), spoke to the Democratic National Convention concerning the United Nations (UN). Since President Roosevelt’s death in 1945, Eleanor Roosevelt had continued to be an influential public figure. In this speech, she spoke to those in the Democratic Party not yet convinced of the worth of the UN. She was also speaking to those outside the party who considered the UN to be only a forum for communists to proclaim their party line.

The UN was born in 1945 when fifty member nations voted to accept a charter, or document establishing the organization. The UN was the second attempt to establish a worldwide peacekeeping organization in the twentieth century. The first attempt, known as the League of Nations, was formed after World War I (1914–18), but it proved ineffective. On December 10, 1948, the UN approved a Universal Declaration of Human Rights that Eleanor Roosevelt had helped to author. In June 1950, the Security Council of the UN approved a resolution to send



UN troops to Korea to halt communist North Korea's invasion of democratic South Korea.

In her speech, Eleanor Roosevelt first related that her husband had been determined to establish "another world organization to help us keep the peace of the world." She stated that the United Nations was "mankind's best hope" to promote peace. She reminded her audience that peace was "elusive, hard to come by, harder to keep." She affirmed that the United States could "no longer live apart from the rest of the world." Calling those who attack the United Nations "short-sighted," she stated that the United States, because of its "national strength," must provide a key leadership role for the democratic nations of the world. She spoke of the tragedy in Korea and of the many men still fighting there at the time. She also pointed out that Korea was the first "application," or use of combined forces from a number of nations, under the banner of the UN. (The UN had also helped to keep the peace in Iran, Greece, Palestine, Indonesia, Pakistan, and India.) Eleanor Roosevelt, while strongly affirming the need to halt the spread of communism, also noted that it was fortunate that the UN provided a place where the United States and communists could meet.

Since her husband died, Eleanor Roosevelt had, as an individual, carved a place for herself in foreign affairs. She had a strong, forceful character and obvious talent for persuasive public speaking. This speech was considered an example of her strength of expression. Even critics of the United Nations credited her with stimulating thought and debate on the important subject of the peacekeeping organization.

### **Things to remember while reading "Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt's Address to the Democratic National Convention on the Importance of the United Nations":**

- Eleanor Roosevelt was a member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations from 1945 to 1951.
- The UN was only seven years old and had many critics. It was still unclear if the UN could indeed survive as the world's forum for debate and compromise to keep peace.



Former first lady Eleanor Roosevelt speaks to the Democratic National Convention in 1952 about the worth of the United Nations. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

**League of Nations:** An international organization created after World War I to peacefully resolve disputes between nations.



**Excerpt from  
“Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt’s  
Address to the Democratic  
National Convention on the  
Importance of the  
United Nations”**

*You are very kind to me and I am glad to have been asked to talk to you about the United Nations, about its past, about what it is doing today and more important, about its future.*

*I remember well, even though it seems a long time ago, hearing for the first time a statement and the reasons why, when the war ended, we must make another try to create another world organization to help us keep the peace of the world. This talk took place in my husband’s study in*

*the White House one evening during the bitter days of the last war when victory was not yet in sight.*

*My husband, discussing what would happen after the war, turned to a friend and said in effect, “When this war is over and we have won it, as we will, we must apply the hard lessons learned in the war and in the failure of the **League of Nations** to the task of building a society of nations dedicated to enduring peace. There will be sacrifices and discouragements but we must not fail for we may never have another chance.”*

*There have been sacrifices and discouragements, triumphs and set-backs. The United Nations is attempting to convert this last chance, carrying mankind’s best hope, into an effective instrument that will enable our children and our children’s children to maintain peace in their time. The path upon which we have set our course is not an easy one. The trail is often difficult to find. We must make our maps as we go along but we travel in good company with men and women of good-will in the free countries of the world.*

*Without the United Nations our country would walk alone, ruled by fear, instead of confidence and hope. To weaken or hamstring the United Nations now, through lack of faith and lack of vision, would be to condemn ourselves to endless struggle for survival in a jungle world.*

*In examining what the UN has done, and what it is striving to do, it must be remembered that peace, like freedom, is elusive, hard to come by, harder to keep. It cannot be put into a purse or a hip pocket and buttoned there to stay. To achieve peace we must recognize the historic truth that we can no longer live apart from the rest of the world. We must also recognize the fact that peace, like freedom, is not won once and for all. It is fought for daily, in many small acts, and is the result of many individual efforts.*

*These are days of shrinking horizons, a "neighborhood of nations though unhappily all of us are not as yet good neighbors."*

*We should remember that the UN is not a cure-all. It is only an instrument capable of effective action when its members have a will to make it work. It cannot be any better than the individual nations are. You often ask what can I, as an individual, do to help the US, to help in the struggle for a peaceful world.*

*I answer—Make your own country the best possible country for all its citizens to live in and it will become a valuable member of the Neighborhood of Nations. This can only be done with home, community, representatives.*

*The UN is the machinery through which peace may be achieved and it is the responsibility of 60 nations and their delegations to make that machinery work. Yet you and I may carry the greatest responsibility because our national strength has given us opportunities for leadership among the nations of the free world.*



**Eleanor Roosevelt, reading the United Nations Bill of Rights. The document was formulated by the Economic and Social Council, which she led.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

*The UN is the only machinery for the furtherance of peace that exists today. There is a small articulate minority in this country which advocates changing our national symbol which is the eagle to that of the ostrich and withdrawing from the UN. This minority reminds me of a story of a short-sighted and selfish man who put green goggles on his cow and fed her sawdust. The cow became sick and died. I warn you against the short-sighted and selfish men who are trying to distort the vision of the American people. We must have eagle eyes. These men who lack vision are poor in hope. They turn their backs on the future and live in the past. They seek to weaken and destroy this world organization through their attacks on the UN. They are expressing a selfish, destructive approach which leads not to peace but to chaos and might eventually lead to World War Three....*

*This brings us to the action taken by the UN which has brought sorrow into many American homes. The Communist attack on Korea and the brilliant fight put up by our armies is a matter of history. When the attack occurred we had two choices. We could meet it or let aggression triumph by **default** and thereby invite further piecemeal conquests all over the Globe. This inevitably would have led to World War Three just as the appeasement of Munich and seizure of Czechoslovakia led to World War Two, the most destructive war in history....*

*We pray for a just and lasting peace in Korea for the sake of the people of that land and for our own men and those soldiers of the United Nations fighting with them. We cannot hurry this peace until the Communists agree to honest terms. If you ask the reason why our men are in Korea I think it was perhaps best summed up by an American flying Ace, Major James Jabara, who upon returning to his home in Wichita, Kansas, in an interview was asked what his feelings were while fighting in Korea. Major Jabara said, "I fought in Korea so I would not have to fight on Main Street in Wichita."*

*Korea was not only the first successful application of collective security on the part of the UN to stop aggression, without provoking general war, but it has stimulated a free world to build up its defenses. It has not been as quick in the achievement of results as it would have been if the UN had been fully organized to put down any aggression. It has been impossible to organize that machinery as yet because two nations, the US and the USSR [the Soviet Union] haven't been able to come to an agreement as to how this collective security within the UN may be organized. We think the fault lies with the USSR because she will not see that without a planned*

**Default:** Inactivity.



*method of disarmament and control of all weapons, adequately verified through inspection, we and many other nations in the world cannot feel safe, but at least through the UN we can go on with negotiations and pray for a pure heart and clean hands which may eventually bring us the confidence even of the Soviet Union and lead us to the desired results.*

*In the UN we meet with the Communists and it is fortunate this meeting place exists. We know we cannot relax our vigilance or stop our efforts to control the spread of communism. Their attacks on us in the UN have one great value—they keep us from forgetting our shortcomings or to become **apathetic** in our efforts to improve our democracy.*

*The UN has helped to keep the peace in many areas of the world, notably in Iran and Greece and Palestine and Indonesia, and Pakistan and India. These disputes might have spread into a general war and torn the free world apart and opened the way for Communist expansion and another world war.*

**Eleanor Roosevelt, sitting with cadets at West Point military academy in 1951. After President Franklin D. Roosevelt's death in 1945, the former first lady continued to be an influential public figure.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library.*

**Apathetic:** Lacking emotion or desire.



**Eleanor Roosevelt, speaking at the 1956 Democratic National Convention.**

*Reproduced by permission of Corbis Corporation.*

**Bi-partisan:** Both Democratic and Republican.

*While the UN came into being under the present Administration and President [Harry] Truman has been steadfast in his support of the organization, the UN would not be in existence today if it were not for strong **bi-partisan** support in the very beginning.*

*I beg you to keep an open mind, never to forget the interests of your own country but to remember your own country may be able*

to make a contribution which is valuable in the area of human rights and freedoms in joining with other nations not merely in a declaration but in **covenants**.

*I returned not long ago from parts of the world where our attitude on human rights and freedoms affects greatly our leadership.*

*Some of you will probably be thinking that once upon a time the old lady speaking to you now did a tremendous amount of traveling around the United States. In fact, you may remember a cartoon showing two men down in a coal mine, one man saying to the other: "Gosh, here comes Eleanor. Now what is she doing—traveling around the world just making more trouble?"...*

*I hope all our travels may serve the great common hope that through the United Nations peace may come to the world....*



**Covenants:** Formal agreements.

## What happened next ...

One year later, on July 27, 1953, the United Nations' forces signed a cease-fire agreement with North Korea, ending the Korean War. The UN survived its early critics to become the key organization for keeping world peace, security, and human rights. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, it had more than 160 member nations.

Eleanor Roosevelt remained an influential figure in international affairs. She received dignitaries from all over the world at her home, Val Kill, in Hyde Park, New York. Presidents of the United States also sought out her advice. She died in 1962.

## Did you know ...

- Although the energetic Eleanor Roosevelt was sixty-seven years of age when she gave this address, she continued to write and to travel around the world pursuing human rights for oppressed people and worldwide peace.
- President Franklin D. Roosevelt served the country the longest of any U.S. president, from 1933 to 1945.

Throughout that time, Eleanor Roosevelt, as first lady, maintained a high public profile traveling throughout the United States, acting, in effect, as the eyes and ears of the president. President Roosevelt, confined to a wheelchair after contracting polio as a young adult, could not move about the country as easily.

### Consider the following ...

- Eleanor Roosevelt quotes Korean veteran Major James Jabara (1923–1966) from Wichita, Kansas, as saying, “I fought in Korea so I would not have to fight on Main Street in Wichita.” Explain what he meant.
- Research the United Nations, its structure, and the important dates in its history through 2000.

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# Dwight D. Eisenhower


*Excerpt from "The Chance for Peace" address delivered before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April 16, 1953*

**Published in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Dwight D. Eisenhower, Volume 1953***

On April 16, 1953, U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61) addressed the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He titled his address “The Chance for Peace,” in response to statements made by the new premier of the Soviet Union, Georgy Malenkov (1902–1988). Soviet premier Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) had died in March and, with his death, his terror-filled dictatorship at last ended. Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) became the new Soviet Communist Party leader, the secretary general, a very powerful position.

Malenkov hoped to focus on Soviet internal issues and domestic economy and the well-being of the Soviet people. In strong contrast to Stalin’s views that capitalism and communism could not peacefully coexist in the world and that war was inevitable, Malenkov declared peaceful solutions existed to solve the international Cold War problems. In early April, he had proposed talks to reduce military forces in Europe so he could concentrate more on Soviet issues. In response, President Eisenhower delivered his “Chance for Peace” speech.

During World War II (1939–45), Eisenhower had become a legend as a commanding general. Before being elect-

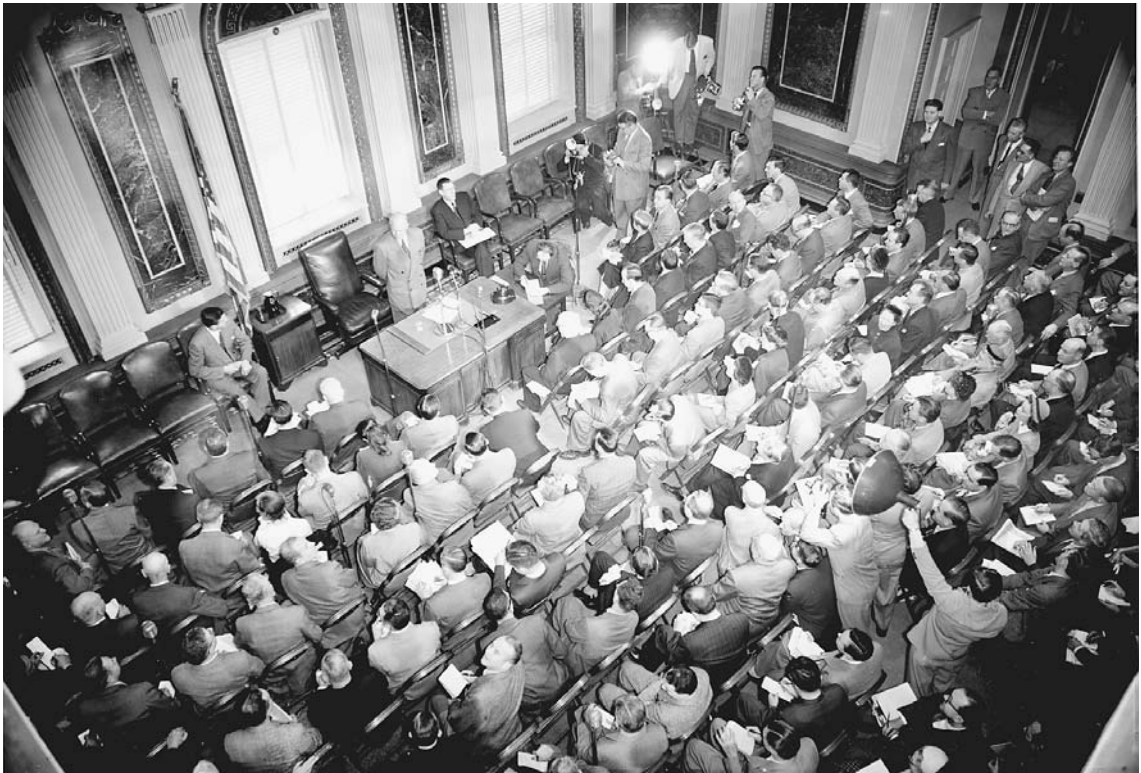


“Now a new leadership has assumed power in the Soviet Union. Its links to the past, however strong, cannot bind it completely. Its future is, in great part, its own to make. This new leadership confronts a free world aroused, as rarely in its history, by the will to stay free. This free world knows, out of the bitter wisdom of experience, that vigilance and sacrifice are the price of liberty.”

ed to the U.S. presidency in November 1952, Eisenhower had served as a U.S. army general in World War II. In December 1943, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) made Eisenhower supreme commander of Allied forces to lead a massive invasion across the English Channel at the Normandy shores of France. Eisenhower executed a brilliant plan and was able to keep the strong, diverse personalities of the other Allied commanders focused toward the common goal of pushing back the occupying Germans. After liberating France, Eisenhower was promoted to a five-star general in December 1944. He was victorious at the Battle of the Bulge in Belgium and began moving troops into Germany. In the final months of the war, Eisenhower decided to let Soviet troops march on and take Germany's capital city of Berlin. He hoped to foster goodwill with the Soviets in anticipation of postwar cooperation and to avoid some difficult fighting for his own troops.

Following the German surrender in May 1945, Eisenhower returned to a hero's ticker-tape parade in New York City and spoke to an enthusiastic joint session of Congress in Washington, D.C. President Roosevelt then sent him to Germany as head of the U.S.-occupied zone in Germany. There, he tried to cooperate with Stalin on postwar policies, but Stalin ignored key agreed-upon points such as allowing free elections in Eastern European countries. Shortly thereafter, in November, Eisenhower returned to Washington, D.C., to replace General George C. Marshall (1880–1959) as army chief of staff. Eisenhower retired in February 1948 as an extremely popular World War II general. He wrote the bestseller *Crusade in Europe* and served as president of Columbia University for two years. Then President Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53) talked him into commanding the Allied forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The organization was a newly formed military alliance between Western European countries and the United States and Canada.

The U.S. Republican Party leaders had been trying unsuccessfully to talk Eisenhower into running for political office for several years. They finally convinced him to run in the 1952 presidential election. Eisenhower chose Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994), a young U.S. representative from Califor-



nia with a strong anticommunist record, as his vice presidential running mate. Immensely popular with the public, Eisenhower won easily. The public had grown dismayed with President Truman, who had been unable to direct the Korean War (1950–53) to a successful end and had “allowed” a communist takeover of China in 1949. Also, in November 1952, the United States had detonated the world’s first hydrogen bomb (H-bomb) on the Marshall Island of Eniwetok. The H-bomb exploded with the force of 10 million tons (9 million metric tons) of TNT—one thousand times more force than the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, Japan, in August 1945. The world had become a more dangerous place.

Following Stalin’s death and at Malenkov’s overtures of a peaceful coexistence, President Eisenhower’s words in “The Chance for Peace” were not directed only at those attending a newspaper editors’ conference but to all Americans, to the Soviets, and to the world as a whole. First, he de-

**U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower at the first press conference of his presidency in 1953.**

*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

scribed “the vastly different vision of the future” that the democratic United States and the communist Soviet Union held. All in the name of protecting themselves from each other, both countries were spending vast sums of money for arms buildup. Eisenhower clearly, specifically, and with a great deal of feeling described how money for armaments, or military supplies, was taking away from “those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.” He spoke of the new terrible superbombs. President Eisenhower recognized the new Soviet leadership and expressed a great deal of interest in discussing arms reduction.

Eisenhower, however, also made a number of difficult challenges to the Soviets. He called on the Soviets to consider their policies in divided Germany, to halt aggressive acts in Korea and Southeast Asia, to release thousands of prisoners of war it still held from World War II, and to allow Eastern European nations a “free choice of their own forms of government.” He called on the Soviets to show how they were breaking with the past and entering a new phase of cooperation. After a listing of possible topics of discussion for armament reductions, he called for a “practical” system of inspection under the United Nations “to assure all armaments limitations that might be agreed to were properly carried out.” He called on the Soviets to act, saying, “the hunger for peace is in the hearts of all peoples—those of Russia and of China no less than of our own country.”

### **Things to remember while reading “The Chance for Peace”:**

- Between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, was an overwhelming sense of mistrust. It was difficult to come to any agreements when each feared that the other’s actions were calculated to weaken the other.
- One of Eisenhower’s major presidential goals was to balance the federal budget, which would require reductions in military spending.
- The idea of inspection systems under the control of the United Nations that could guarantee the United States and the Soviet Union were complying with any arms agreements reached was a radical new idea. The inspec-

tions dubbed “Open Skies” called for both the Soviet Union and the United States to fly inspections over the other to alleviate fears of surprise attacks.



### **Excerpt from “The Chance for Peace”**

*In this Spring of 1953 the free world weighs one question above all others: the chance for a just peace for all peoples.*

*To weigh this chance is to summon instantly to mind another recent moment of great decision. It came with that yet more hopeful spring of 1945, bright with the promise of victory and of freedom. The hope of all just men in that moment too was a just and lasting peace.*

*The 8 years that have passed have seen that hope waver, grow dim, and almost die. And the shadow of fear again has darkly lengthened across the world...*

*In that spring of victory [1945] the soldiers of the Western Allies met the soldiers of Russia in the center of Europe. They were triumphant comrades in arms. Their peoples shared the joyous prospect of building, in honor of their dead, the only fitting monument—an age of just peace. All these war-weary peoples shared too this concrete, decent purpose: to guard vigilantly against the domination ever again of any part of the world by a single, unbridled aggressive power.*

*This common purpose lasted an instant and perished. The nations of the world divided to follow two distinct roads.*

*The United States and our valued friends, the other free nations, chose one road.*

*The leaders of the Soviet Union chose another...*

*This way [the United States' way] was faithful to the spirit that inspired the United Nations: to prohibit **strife**, to relieve tensions, to banish fears. This way was to control and to reduce armaments. This was to allow all nations to devote their energies and resources to the great and good tasks of healing the war's wounds, of clothing and feeding and housing the needy, of perfecting a just political life, of enjoying the fruits of their own free toil.*

**Strife:** Conflict.



**President Dwight D. Eisenhower, addressing the nation about the newly signed cease-fire agreement in Korea in July 1953.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

**Ironic:** Opposite of what is expected.

**Perpetual:** Constant.

*The Soviet government held a vastly different vision of the future.*

*In the world of its design, security was to be found, not in mutual trust and mutual aid but in force: huge armies, subversion, rule of neighbor nations. The goal was power superiority at all cost. Security was to be sought by denying it to all others.*

*The result has been tragic for the world and, for the Soviet Union, it has also been **ironic**.*

*The amassing of Soviet power alerted free nations to a new danger of aggression. It compelled them in self-defense to spend unprecedented money and energy for armaments. It forced them to develop weapons of war now capable of inflicting instant and terrible punishment upon any aggressor...*

*What can the world, or any nation in it, hope for if no turning is found on this dread road?*

*The worst to be feared and the best to be expected can be simply stated.*

*The worst is atomic war.*

*The best would be this: a life of **perpetual** fear and tension; a burden of arms draining the wealth and the labor of all peoples; a wasting of strength that defies the American system or the Soviet system or any system to achieve true abundance and happiness for the peoples of this earth.*

*Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.*

*This world in arms is not spending money alone.*

*It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.*

*The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than 30 cities.*

*It is two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 population.*

*It is two fine, fully equipped hospitals.*

*It is some 50 miles of concrete highway.*

*We pay for a single fighter plane with half million bushels of wheat.*

*We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people.*

*This, I repeat, is the best way of life to be found on the road the world has been taking.*

*This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of the threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.*

*These plain and cruel truths define the peril and point the hope that come with this spring of 1953.*

*This is one of those times in the affairs of nations when the gravest choices must be made, if there is to be a turning toward a just and lasting peace.*

*It is a moment that calls upon the governments of the world to speak their intentions with simplicity and with honesty.*

*It calls upon them to answer the question that stirs the hearts of all sane men: is there no other way the world may live?*

*The world knows that an era ended with the death of Joseph Stalin. The extraordinary 30-year span of his rule saw the Soviet Empire expand to reach from the Baltic Sea to the Sea of Japan, finally to dominate 800 million souls.*

*The Soviet system shaped by Stalin and his predecessors was born of one World War. It survived with stubborn and often amazing courage a second World War. It has lived to threaten a third.*

*Now a new leadership has assumed power in the Soviet Union. Its links to the past, however strong, cannot bind it completely. Its future is, in great part, its own to make.*

*This new leadership confronts a free world aroused, as rarely in its history, by the will to stay free.*

*This free world knows, out of the bitter wisdom of experience, that vigilance and sacrifice are the price of liberty.*

*It knows that the defense of Western Europe imperatively demands the unity of purpose and action made possible by the*

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization**, embracing a European Defense Community.

*It knows that Western Germany deserves to be a free and equal partner in this community and that this, for Germany, is the only safe way to full, final unity.*

*It knows that aggression in Korea and in southeast Asia are threats to the whole free community to be met by united action.*

*This is the kind of free world which the new Soviet leadership confronts. It is a world that demands and expects the fullest respect of its rights and interests. It is a world that will always accord the same respect to all others.*

*So the new Soviet leadership now has a precious opportunity to awaken, with the rest of the world, to the point of peril reached and to help turn the tide of history.*

*Will it do this?*

*We do not yet know. Recent statements and gestures of Soviet leaders give some evidence that they may recognize this critical moment.*

*We welcome every honest act of peace.*

*We care nothing for mere rhetoric.*

*We are only for sincerity of peaceful purpose attested by deeds. The opportunities for such deeds are many. The performance of a greater number of them waits upon no complex **protocol** but upon the simple will to do them. Even a few such clear and specific acts, such as the Soviet Union's signature upon an Austrian treaty or its release of thousands of prisoners still held from World War II, would be impressive signs of sincere intent. They would carry a power of persuasion not to be matched by any amount of **oratory**....*

*With all who will work in good faith toward such a peace, we are ready, with renewed resolve, to strive to redeem the near-lost hopes of our day.*

*The first great step along this way must be the conclusion of an honorable **armistice** in Korea.*

*This means the immediate cessation of hostilities and the prompt initiation of political discussions leading to the holding of free elections in a united Korea.*

#### **North Atlantic Treaty**

**Organization:** A peacetime alliance of the United States and eleven other nations, and a key factor in the attempt to contain communism.

**Protocol:** Diplomatic rules and etiquette.

**Oratory:** Speech.

**Armistice:** Cease-fire.



*It should mean, no less importantly, an end to the direct and indirect attacks upon the security of Indochina [a former federation of states in Southeast Asia, including Laos, Cambodia, and areas that became Vietnam] and Malaya [now part of Malaysia]. For any armistice in Korea that merely released aggressive armies to attack elsewhere would be a fraud.*

*We seek, throughout Asia as throughout the world, a peace that is true and total.*

*Out of this can grow a still wider task—the achieving of just political settlements for the other serious and specific issues between the free world and the Soviet Union.*

*None of these issues, great or small, is **insoluble**—given only the will to respect the rights of all nations.*

*Again we say: the United States is ready to assume its just part.*

*We are ready not only to press forward with the present plans for closer unity of the nations of Western Europe but also, upon that foundation, to strive to foster a broader European community, **conductive to** the free movement of persons, of trade, and of ideas.*

*This community would include a free and united Germany, with a government based upon free and secret ballot.*

*This free community and the full independence of the East European nations could mean the end of the present unnatural division of Europe.*

*As progress in all these areas strengthens world trust, we could proceed **concurrently** with the next great work—the reduction of the burden of armaments now weighing upon the world. To this end we would welcome and enter into the most solemn agreements. These could properly include:*

*1. The limitation, by absolute numbers or by an agreed international ratio, of the sizes of the military and security forces of all nations.*

*2. A commitment by all nations to set an agreed limit upon that proportion of total production of certain strategic materials to be devoted to military purposes [that is, to limited production of armaments].*

*3. International control of atomic energy to promote its use for peaceful purposes only and to insure the prohibition of atomic weapons.*

**Insoluble:** Impossible to solve.

**Conductive to:** Allowing for.

**Concurrently:** Together.

4. A limitation or prohibition of other categories of weapons of great destructiveness [nuclear weapons].

5. The enforcement of all these agreed limitations and prohibitions by adequate safeguards, including a practical system of inspection under the United Nations....

*This idea of a just and peaceful world is not new or strange to us. It inspired the people of the United States to initiate the European Recovery Program [the Marshall Plan] in 1947. That program was prepared to treat, with like and equal concern, the needs of Eastern and Western Europe.*

*We are prepared to reaffirm, with the most concrete evidence, our readiness to help build a world in which all peoples can be productive and prosperous.*

*This Government is ready to ask its people to join with all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of the savings achieved by disarmament to a fund for world aid and reconstruction. The purposes of this great work would be to help other peoples to develop the undeveloped areas of the world, to stimulate profitable and fair world trade, to assist all peoples to know the blessings of productive freedom.*

*The monuments to this new kind of war would be these: roads and schools, hospitals and homes, food and health.*

*We are ready, in short, to dedicate our strength to serving the needs, rather than the fears, of the world.*

*We are ready, by these and all such actions, to make of the United Nations an institution that can effectively guard the peace and security of all peoples.*

*I know of nothing I can add to make plainer the sincere purpose of the United States.*

*I know of no course, other than that marked by these and similar actions, that can be called the highway of peace.*

*I know of only one question upon which progress waits. It is this: What is the Soviet Union ready to do?...*

*Is the new leadership of the Soviet Union prepared to use its decisive influence in the Communist world, including control of the flow of arms, to bring not merely an **expedient** truce in Korea but genuine peace in Asia?*

*Is it prepared to allow other nations, including those of Eastern Europe, the free choice of their own forms of government?*

**Expedient:** Speedy.



*Is it prepared to act in concert with others upon serious disarmament proposals to be made firmly effective by **stringent** U.N. control and inspection?...*

*If we strive but fail and the world remains armed against itself, it at least need be divided no longer in its clear knowledge of who has condemned humankind to this fate.*

*The purpose of the United States, in stating these proposals, is simple and clear.*

**President Dwight D. Eisenhower (behind desk), at a 1955 press conference.**  
*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

**Stringent:** Strict.

*These proposals spring, without ulterior purpose or political passion, from our calm conviction that the hunger for peace is in the hearts of all peoples—those of Russia and of China no less than of our own country.*



### **What happened next ...**

Only two days later, U.S. secretary of state John Foster Dulles (1888–1959) spoke at the same convention of newspaper editors. His words were harshly anticommunist, unlike Eisenhower's.

British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) had once again been elected prime minister of Great Britain in 1951. A few weeks after Eisenhower's speech, on May 11, Churchill proposed that the world leaders hold a summit meeting to relieve Cold War tensions. Dulles and West German chancellor Konrad Adenauer (1876–1967) argued against such a meeting. They charged that the Soviets were not sincere in peaceful coexistence but only trying to weaken the West. Furthermore, U.S. senator Joseph R. McCarthy (1909–1957) of Wisconsin had stirred up a strong fear of communists among Americans. Dulles successfully used this fear, arguing that Eisenhower's administration could not afford to appear weak in dealing with the communists. The idea of talks between Eisenhower, Malenkov, and Khrushchev faded.

In Korea, after difficult negotiations, a cease-fire agreement was signed in July 1953, bringing an end to hostilities. The new president had managed to bring an end to the stalemated Korean War in just six months (see Chapter 3).

### **Did you know ...**

- When Eisenhower ran for president, his campaign slogan was simply "I Like Ike." On the one hand, his personable mannerisms brought a great deal of comfort to Americans. On the other hand, the Soviets considered Ike a direct threat. They reasoned that if Americans had elected a general, then they must be preparing for war.

- Eisenhower grew up in a strong Mennonite family. Mennonites were known for their extreme pacifism, or opposition to war. Eisenhower's mother was very distressed when he went to West Point. He went to West Point in part because the education was free.
- After the Korean cease-fire, Eisenhower would not lose another U.S. soldier to combat through the remainder of his presidency, an accomplishment of which he was immensely proud.
- It was President Eisenhower, working behind the scenes, together with army lawyer Joseph Welch (1890–1960), who finally brought an end to Senator McCarthy's radical anticommunist campaign in Congress.

### Consider the following ...

- Review Eisenhower's list of the cost of single armaments in terms of practical needs of people. Construct a chart to better visualize this list.
- President Eisenhower used some strong imagery in his "Chance for Peace" speech. He described "humanity" as "hanging from a cross of iron." Analyze on several levels what point he was trying to convey. Think in terms of armaments and also of Winston Churchill's famous "Iron Curtain Speech," in which Churchill warned the still-disbelieving Americans that indeed the Soviets were occupying large territories in Eastern Europe with no intention of leaving.
- Although the speech did not result in a summit meeting between the leaders, consider what impact Eisenhower's list of possible arms control suggestions might have played in future negotiations. Was a seed possibly planted?

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# Dwight D. Eisenhower

*Excerpt from "Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy" Speech before the  
General Assembly of the United Nations,  
New York City, December 8, 1953*

**Originally published in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Dwight D. Eisenhower, Volume 1953***

The hopes expressed by U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61) in April 1953 in his “Chance for Peace” speech were all but dashed on August 12, 1953. On that day, the Soviets answered the successful U.S. hydrogen bomb test on November 1, 1952, with their own detonation of a thermonuclear, or hydrogen, bomb. Although much smaller than the U.S. bomb, it meant that the Soviets were in the arms race for the deadliest weapons man had yet devised. Even more frightful, the Soviet H-bomb, unlike the enormous U.S. H-bomb, was small enough to be carried by a bomber aircraft.

On December 8, 1953, eight months after his “Chance for Peace” speech, Eisenhower went before the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York City to deliver his “Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy” speech, more popularly known as the “Atoms for Peace” speech. Eisenhower, in clear, frightening language, described how both the United States and Soviet Union could annihilate each other with nuclear weapons. He proposed instead to turn the awesome atomic power into an instrument for peaceful power—to



“Experts would be mobilized to apply atomic energy to the needs of agriculture, medicine, and other peaceful activities. A special purpose would be to provide abundant electrical energy in the power-starved areas of the world. Thus the contributing powers would be dedicating some of their strength to serve the needs rather than the fears of mankind.”

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, presenting his "Atoms for Peace" speech to the United Nations in 1953. *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



"provide abundant electrical energy in the power-starved areas of the world." He called for international cooperation under the United Nations' control in setting up a nuclear material stockpile that "would be allocated to serve the peaceful pursuits of mankind."

### **Things to remember while reading "Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy" speech:**

- At the time of the speech, the nuclear technology already existed to build plants to produce nuclear power.
- Eisenhower's speech was forward-thinking and in contrast to the thinking of many U.S. military "hawks," or those eager to use the new technology to attack the Soviets.
- Nuclear bomb development programs were proceeding ahead at a rapid pace in both the United States and the Soviet Union.





**Excerpt from  
“Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy” speech**

*I feel **impelled** to speak today in a language that in a sense is new—one which I, who have spent so much of my life in the military profession, would have preferred never to use.*

*That new language is the language of atomic warfare.*

*The atomic age has moved forward at such a pace that every citizen of the world should have some comprehension ... of the extent of this development of the utmost significance to every one of us. Clearly, if the peoples of the world are to conduct an intelligent search for peace, they must be armed with the significant facts of today's existence.*

*My recital of atomic danger and power is necessarily stated in United States terms, for these are the only **incontrovertible** facts that I know. I need hardly point out to this Assembly, however, that this subject is global, not merely national in character.*

*On July 15, 1945, the United States set off the world's first atomic explosion. Since that date in 1945, the United States of America has conducted 42 test explosions.*

*Atomic bombs today are more than 25 times as powerful as the weapons with which the atomic age dawned, while hydrogen weapons are in the ranges of millions of tons of TNT equivalent [that is, hydrogen weapons are equal to millions of tons of the conventional explosive, dynamite].*

*Today, the United States' stockpile of atomic weapons, which, of course, increases daily, exceeds by many times the explosive equivalent of the total of all bombs and all shells that came from every plane and every gun in every theater of war in all of the years of World War II.*

*A single air group, whether afloat or land-based, can now deliver to any reachable target a destructive cargo exceeding in power all the bombs that fell on Britain in all of World War II...*

*But the dread secret, and the fearful engines of atomic might, are not ours alone.*

*In the first place, the secret is possessed by our friends and allies, Great Britain and Canada, whose scientific genius made a*

**Impelled:** Forced.

**Incontrovertible:**  
Indisputable.

tremendous contribution to our original discoveries, and the designs of atomic bombs.

*The secret is also known by the Soviet Union.*

*The Soviet Union has informed us that, over recent years, it has devoted extensive resources to atomic weapons. During this period, the Soviet Union has exploded a series of atomic devices, including at least one involving thermo-nuclear reactions [a hydrogen bomb].*

*If at one time the United States possessed what might have been called a monopoly of atomic power, that monopoly ceased to exist several years ago. Therefore, although our earlier start has permitted us to accumulate what is today a great quantitative advantage [the United States had more nuclear weapons stockpiled than the Soviet Union did], the atomic realities of today **comprehend** two facts of even greater significance.*

*First, the knowledge now possessed by several nations will eventually be shared by others—possibly all others.*

*Second, even a vast superiority in numbers of weapons, and a consequent capability of devastating **retaliation**, is no preventive, of itself, against the fearful material damage and toll of human lives that would be inflicted by surprise aggression.*

*The free world, at least dimly aware of these facts, has naturally embarked on a large program of warning and defense systems. That program will be accelerated and expanded.*

*But let no one think that the expenditure of vast sums for weapons and systems of defense can guarantee absolute safety for the cities and citizens of any nation. The awful arithmetic of the atomic bomb does not permit of any such easy solution. Even against the most powerful defense, an aggressor in possession of the effective minimum number of atomic bombs for a surprise attack could probably place a sufficient number of his bombs on the chosen targets to cause hideous damage.*

*Should such an atomic attack be launched against the United States, our reactions would be swift and resolute. But for me to say that the defense capabilities of the United States are such that they could inflict terrible losses upon an aggressor—for me to say that the retaliation capabilities of the United States are so great that such an aggressor's land would be laid waste—all this, while fact, is not the true expression of the purpose and the hope of the United States.*

**Comprehend:** Embrace.

**Retaliation:** Ability to strike back.



*To pause there would be to confirm the hopeless finality of a belief that **two atomic colossi** are doomed ... to eye each other indefinitely across a trembling world. To stop there would be to accept helplessly the probability of civilization destroyed—the **annihilation** of the irreplaceable heritage of mankind handed down to us generation from generation—and the condemnation of mankind to begin all over again the age-old struggle upward from savagery toward decency, and right, and justice.*

*Surely no sane member of the human race could discover victory in such desolation. Could anyone wish his name to be coupled by history with such human **degradation** and destruction....*

*My country wants to be constructive, not destructive. It wants agreements, not wars, among nations. It wants itself to live in freedom, and in the confidence that the people of every other nation enjoy equally the right of choosing their own way of life.*

*So my country's purpose is to help us move out of the dark chamber of horrors into the light, to find a way by which the minds*

**President Dwight D. Eisenhower, being briefed by Lewis Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

**Two atomic colossi:** Two giants of atomic power: the United States and the Soviet Union.

**Annihilation:** Complete destruction.

**Degradation:** A lowering of the moral character.

*of men, the hopes of men, the souls of men everywhere, can move forward toward peace and happiness and well being....*

*The United States, heeding the suggestion of the General Assembly of the United Nations, is instantly prepared to meet privately with such other countries [Great Britain, Canada, and France] as may be "principally involved," to seek "an acceptable solution" to the atomic armaments race which overshadows not only the peace, but the very life, of the world.*

*We shall carry into these private or diplomatic talks a new conception.*

*The United States would seek more than the mere reduction or elimination of atomic materials for military purposes.*

*It is not enough to take this weapon out of the hands of the soldiers. It must be put into the hands of those who will know how to strip its **military casing** and adapt it to the arts of peace.*

*The United States knows that if the fearful trend of atomic military buildup can be reversed, this greatest of destructive forces can be developed into a great **boon**, for the benefit of all mankind.*

*The United States knows that peaceful power from atomic energy is no dream of the future. That capability, already proved, is here—now—today. Who can doubt, if the entire body of the world's scientists and engineers had adequate amounts of **fissionable material** with which to test and develop their ideas, that this capability would rapidly be transformed into universal, efficient, and economic usage.*

*To hasten the day when fear of the atom will begin to disappear from the minds of people, and the governments of the East and West, there are certain steps that can be taken now.*

*I therefore make the following proposals:*

*The Governments principally involved ... begin now and continue to make joint contributions from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an International Atomic Energy Agency. We would expect that such an agency would be set up under the **aegis** of the United Nations....*

*The Atomic Energy Agency could be made responsible for the impounding, storage, and protection of the contributed fissionable and other materials. The ingenuity of our scientists will provide special safe*

**Military casing:** Exclusive military use.

**Boon:** Gift; here, a reference to the peaceful use of atomic energy.

**Fissionable material:** Chemical elements, such as uranium and plutonium, used in atomic weapons.

**Aegis:** Direction and control.

conditions under which such a bank of fissionable material can be made essentially **immune to surprise seizure**.

*The more important responsibility of this Atomic Energy Agency would be to devise methods whereby this fissionable material would be allocated to serve the peaceful pursuits of mankind. Experts would be mobilized to apply atomic energy to the needs of agriculture, medicine, and other peaceful activities. A special purpose would be to provide abundant electrical energy in the power-starved areas of the world. Thus the contributing powers would be dedicating some of their strength to serve the needs rather than the fears of mankind.*

*The United States would be more than willing—it would be proud to take up with others “principally involved” the development of plans whereby such peaceful use of atomic energy would be expedited.*



## What happened next ...

On January 12, 1954, before Soviet premier Georgy Malenkov (1902–1988) had responded to the “Atoms for Peace” speech, U.S. secretary of state John Foster Dulles (1888–1959) announced a new U.S. military strategy toward fighting communist expansion. He proclaimed that in response to any communist military aggression no matter if only small in scale, the United States would retaliate with a massive nuclear weapon response. Nuclear war seemed a drastic response to a localized hostile action. This strategy was designed to avoid war by threatening the ultimate nuclear war.

Nevertheless, Dulles contended that focusing on nuclear capability would prove much cheaper than maintaining the massive conventional air and ground forces called for in the National Security Council Report 68 (see Chapter 3). Eisenhower, for whom a sounder U.S. economy was a high priority, was interested that he could spend less on military defense by scaling down the large U.S. conventional forces and weapons while developing a much more powerful military. Eisenhower chose this path. As a result, he was able to cut the 1955 defense budget by 25 percent from the 1954 budget. Ground forces were re-

**Immune to surprise seizure:**  
Safe from theft.



**President Dwight D. Eisenhower, delivering the 1955 commencement address at Penn State University, promoted the use of atomic power for peaceful purposes.**

*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

duced by 33 percent, and the air force would play a larger role. In keeping with the new policy, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces were supplied with small nuclear arms and the number of ground NATO divisions were cut by 75 percent.

By early 1955, Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) had won an ongoing power struggle since Stalin’s death in 1953 with Malenkov and taken full reign of the Soviet government. He considered the new U.S. strategy as very aggressive and threatening to Soviet interests. He too was interested in strengthening the Soviet industrial and agricultural economy and spending less on large conventional armies and arms. Like Eisenhower and Dulles, he decided to concentrate on a buildup of nuclear weapons. When conflicts arose, both the Soviets and the Americans could threaten each other with nuclear war, pushing each other to the brink. The strength of both actually deterred either from starting a war. This strategy became known as brinkmanship.

## Did you know ...

- Even with the peaceful words of “Atoms for Peace,” mutual fear was still too great. The United States and the Soviet Union continued successfully to test hydrogen bombs. On March 1, 1954, the United States’ “Bravo” tested at fifteen hundred times the power of the Hiroshima bomb. The Soviets perfected smaller H-bombs that were dropped from aircraft. Both nations stockpiled nuclear weapons.
- The B-52 bomber, the United States’ first intercontinental jet bomber capable of delivering nuclear bombs to Soviet targets, became the backbone of U.S. air power.
- Although “Atoms for Peace” had called for arms limitations, serious talks on the matter did not occur until 1963, when the United States and the Soviets pushed each other to the brink over the island of Cuba, in a situation that came to be called the Cuban Missile Crisis (see Chapter 8).

## Consider the following ...

- Is brinkmanship a valid strategy with which to avoid war? What might some pitfalls of brinkmanship be?
- Could there be a winner in a massive nuclear war?
- Find out what other countries in the mid-1950s possessed, or were developing, nuclear capabilities.

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# Homeland Insecurities

5

**B**etween 1947 and 1953, the United States experienced what was known as a Red Scare. The Red Scare was a period of time in the United States when Americans felt particularly threatened by communism. They feared that communism would gain a power base within the United States, and communists might eventually take over. This time period paralleled the early years of the Cold War, an intense battle of ideologies, or social and political ideas, between the democratic United States and communist Soviet Union. What appalled Americans most was that a few other Americans apparently were embracing the communist philosophy and carrying out subversive activities, or secret attempts from within, to undermine the U.S. government. Americans became obsessed with the fear and hatred of communism and subversive elements, both real and imagined, within their homeland. Without constant vigilance, the Cold War might be lost right on U.S. soil.

The chief anticommunist warriors were J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972), director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI); members of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC); and U.S. senator Joseph R. McCarthy

**J. Edgar Hoover**  
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(1909–1957) of Wisconsin. The first excerpt here, “How to Fight Communism,” comes from the June 9, 1947, issue of *Newsweek* magazine and was written by Hoover. In his article, Hoover described the threat of communists within the United States—who they were, what their mission was, where they lurked. He ended with a call to “uncover, expose, and spotlight their activities.” The *Newsweek* article included a sidebar titled “Ten ‘Don’ts’ by Mr. Hoover.” The list of “don’ts” was widely publicized to be studied and applied in combating communism on the home front.

The second excerpt is from the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) public hearing in October 1947 of Hollywood filmmakers, actors, and screenplay writers. The HUAC was a committee of the U.S. House of Representatives charged with the investigation of subversive activities that posed a threat to the U.S. government. Two of the so-called friendly witnesses called were author and screenplay writer Ayn Rand (1905–1982) and actor and future U.S. president Ronald Reagan (1911–; served 1981–89). Rand, a native of Russia, testified about the real conditions in Russia as opposed to those put forth in the movie “*Song of Russia*.” Reagan’s testimony concerned the possible infiltration of the Screen Actors Guild with communists.

The third excerpt, “One Hundred Things You Should Know About Communism in the U.S.A.,” is part of a series of booklets on the communist conspiracy published by the HUAC in 1948. This booklet contained one hundred questions and answers written for easy reading and clear-cut explanations for U.S. citizens.

The last excerpt is “Joseph McCarthy’s Speech on Communists in the State Department,” delivered on February 9, 1950. The speech kicked off McCarthy’s anticommunist campaign. In the speech, he claimed that the United States was in an “all out battle” between communism and the American democratic way of life. During the speech, McCarthy held up a list on which he claimed to have written the names of several hundred U.S. State Department employees who were communists.

Hoover, HUAC, and McCarthy’s repeated public statements, claims, and charges led to heightened apprehensions over communism in the United States. Americans were very susceptible to the dramatic, aggressive charges against suspected communist sympathizers.


# J. Edgar Hoover

*Excerpt from "How to Fight Communism"*  
**Originally published in *Newsweek*, June 9, 1947**

**P**ublished in *Newsweek* magazine's June 9, 1947, issue, "How to Fight Communism" by J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972) attempted to educate Americans about communists in the United States and the threat they posed. Hoover was head of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Asked by President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) in the mid-1930s to monitor the activities of communists and other potential subversives within the United States, the focused and energetic Hoover undertook the mission. Hoover and his FBI agents became the chief domestic (within the United States) intelligence-gathering agency. They compiled information on the daily comings and goings of hundreds of individuals, always watching for those who might turn into enemies of democracy. Hoover kept lists of questionable individuals.

At the end of World War II (1939–45), the Cold War (1945–91) between the democratic United States and the communist Soviet Union began. The weapons of the Cold War immediately following the world war were chiefly words of propaganda and threats. Hoover developed close working



"Our best defense in the United States against the menace of Communism is our own American way of life. The American Communists cannot hope to reach their objective of destroying our form of government unless they first undermine and corrupt it, causing confusion and disrupting public confidence in the workings of democracy."



**FBI director J. Edgar Hoover appears before the House Un-American Activities Committee in March 1947.**  
*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

relationships with conservative congressmen who helped maintain a considerable budget for the FBI. In 1946, Hoover launched a major propaganda campaign against communists using media such as radio programs, television, and magazine articles.

In this excerpt from “How to Fight Communism,” Hoover stated that the best way to fight communism was to strengthen the American way of life. He said that America stood between free societies and a worldwide communist takeover. Hoover described two types of communists: those “out in the open” who spoke in “high sounding phrases” and the underground “communist conspirators.” He stated that the communists were trying “to bring their total membership in the United States up to 100,000” but probably had one million sympathizers. He praised the press and the HUAC as doing outstanding jobs in educating Americans of the dangers and of exposing subversives. Lastly, Hoover stressed to Americans that they must work to “uncover, expose and spotlight” communists.

## Things to remember while reading “How to Fight Communism”:

- The campaign against communism dominated Hoover’s life.
- The American public believed Hoover’s FBI was the major government fighter and protector against threats made by communists against the U.S. homeland.
- Hoover freely used various tactics of surveillance, or spying, such as wiretaps (secretly listening to telephone conversations), break-ins, and the maintenance of extensive files on citizens never charged with any crimes. In the introduction to the *Newsweek* article, the magazine stated that “Hoover, who however controversial his views, is the one responsible Federal official most directly concerned with communists and communism.”



### ***Excerpt from “How to Fight Communism”***

*Our best defense in the United States against the menace of Communism is our own American way of life. The American Communists cannot hope to reach their objective of destroying our form of government unless they first undermine and corrupt it, causing confusion and disrupting public confidence in the workings of democracy.*

*Ours is the strongest democracy. We have more freedom and higher standards of living than any other people on earth. Yet our government—which has stood for almost two centuries as a beacon light amid world conflicts—is a central target of attack for the Red Fascists in the United States. It stands between them and world revolution....*

*Our surest weapon is truth. The Communists cannot endure the searching gaze of public observation. Their most effective work is carried on under a cloak of secrecy. Lies and deceit are their principal tools. No trick is too low for them. They are masters of the type of evasion advocated by that great god of Communism, [Vladimir] Lenin, who observed: “Revolutionaries who are unable*

to combine illegal forms of struggle with every form of legal struggle are very bad revolutionaries.”

*The first step in the fight to preserve the American way of life is the exposure of the true aims of Communism and then a contrast of them with our American way of life.*

*There are two levels in the Communist organization. One level is “above ground” and its **espousers** are out in the open. They employ high-sounding, deceitful phrases.... The Communist brigades of swindlers and confidence men **extol** democracy but when they do they are speaking of Communism and not the American brand of democracy. They conceal their real designs by attaching themselves to **progressive causes**, to the cause of labor, social security and education.*

*The other level—the Communist underground—is composed of the disciplined brigades of Communist conspirators who drop their **dialectical** double talk behind locked doors. There the dangers of Communism become real....*

*The **preamble** of the Communist constitution also states that the party educates the working class “for its historic mission, the establishment of **socialism**.” This “historic mission” is a revolution intended to overthrow our democratic government and substitute a Soviet of the United States.*

*The fact that the Communists teach the revolution by force and violence is well illustrated by statements of Communist **functionaries**. One instructor advised his class: “We must as workers learn to hate the capitalist class. We cannot fight unless we hate. We ... the **vanguard** of the working class must teach the worker ... to hate. It will mean the spilling of blood. We will have streets of blood as they had in Russia, the worker must be organized so that revolution when it comes must not be a failure.”*

*The Communists are agreed that the revolution will not come until the **precipitation** of a “great crisis” such as a general strike, a war which could be turned into civil strife, or a great economic depression.*

*Our cue is to make democracy work so that the Communists will never have their “great crisis.”*

*The Communists have been specific in defining the meaning of party membership. The Daily Worker [Communist Party newspaper] quoted [Joseph] Stalin on the subject: “We have Lenin’s thor-*

**Espousers:** Supporters.

**Extol:** Praise.

**Progressive causes:** Social causes that better man’s way of living.

**Dialectical:** Publicly discussed.

**Preamble:** Introduction.

**Socialism:** A system of society in which the community or government owns or controls industry and land.

**Functionaries:** Communist Party officials.

**Vanguard:** Leaders.

**Precipitation:** Occurrence.

oughly tried and tested formula defining a member of the party.... A member is one who accepts the program of the party, pays membership dues and works in one of its organizations.”...

The Communists are now carrying a vigorous campaign to bring their total membership in the United States up to 100,000. This figure, however, does not reveal their actual strength. Conservatively, there are an estimated one million others who in one way or another aid the Communist party....

We cannot hope successfully to meet the Communist menace unless there is a wide knowledge and understanding of its aims and designs. This knowledge outlaws the party in the hearts and minds of good citizens.

But where can this information be secured?

The American press and radio are alert to the threat of Red Fascism and have done a splendid job of exposing the evil. We are moving in the right direction.

I have also been encouraged to note that spokesmen generally are being **circumspect** in using the label of “Communist.”... It is **deceptive** and **detrimental**, however, to pin the label of “Communist” on honest American liberals and progressives merely because of difference of opinion. Honesty and common decency demand that the clear-cut line of **demarcation** that exists between liberals and Communists be recognized. Despite the Communist technique of labeling themselves as progressives there is no more effective or determined foe of Communism than the millions of honest liberals and progressives.

Newspapers, magazines, radio and scores of well-documented books on the subject of Communism are sources of authentic information which can provide patriotic citizens with the facts.

There is renewed interest in Congress as manifested in the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives. As this committee fulfills its obligation of public disclosure of facts it is



J. Edgar Hoover addresses the National Crime Conference in 1934. Although Hoover was well known for his fight against communism, he achieved great success in combating all types of criminal activities. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.

**Circumspect:** Discreet; cautious.

**Detrimental:** Harmful.

**Demarcation:** Difference or boundary.

An FBI poster, signed by J. Edgar Hoover, warning against sabotage and spies. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.

# WARNING from the FBI

**The war against spies and saboteurs demands the aid of every American.**

**When you see evidence of sabotage, notify the Federal Bureau of Investigation at once.**

**When you suspect the presence of enemy agents, tell it to the FBI.**

**Beware of those who spread enemy propaganda! Don't repeat vicious rumors or vicious whispers.**

**Tell it to the FBI!**



*J. Edgar Hoover*  
J. Edgar Hoover, *Director*  
*Federal Bureau of Investigation*

The nearest Federal Bureau of Investigation office is listed on page one of your telephone directory.

worthy of the support of loyal, patriotic Americans. This committee has for its purpose the exposure of un-American forces and as such its files contain **voluminous** information which, when used with **discretion**, provide an excellent source of information. The FBI, unlike this committee, must of necessity keep the contents of its files confidential.

Citizens also should be alert to what is happening in their own circles. Do they have an intelligent, participating interest in the pro-

**Voluminous:** Much.

**Discretion:** Care.



grams of organizations to which they belong and of schools which their children attend? What kind of people do they elect to public office? Are there disloyal people on the public payrolls?

*It is the right and responsibility of every citizen to insist on having public servants whose first loyalty is to the American way of life. One disloyal local, county, state or Federal employee can do irreparable harm by acts of disloyalty or by **indoctrinating** others with a **Marxian** philosophy.*

*Labor unions have always been a Communist target....*

*Communists in labor unions—like Communists everywhere—owe their first allegiance to the Communist party. They falsely claim that the ends of the party and of labor are the same....*

*In one union with nearly 100,000 members, 500 party members were able to control the union. Another union with 8,500 members sought to free itself from Communist control but failed despite the fact that there were less than 200 party members in the union....*

*Progressive American union members could quickly **divest** themselves of the Communist **barnacles** if they took as much interest in union affairs as the Communists do.*

*They should educate themselves to recognize the Communist party line so that they can identify the "**fellow travelers**" in their union. They should attend union meetings and take an unselfish interest in union elections. Above all, they should **scrutinize** the business affairs of the union to make certain that the union is using its resources for the welfare of its members and not for some "dressed-up" cause the Communists may be sponsoring.*

*Management can do more by looking out for the welfare of employees and getting closer to labor problems....*

*The party sometimes recruits members by misrepresentations. A **Negro** party member, for instance, pointed out at a Communist meeting that many Negroes, when recruited, thought they were joining a union instead of the Communist party. At this point the Negro was shouted down by party members.*

*Schools and colleges should be on the alert against Communist **infiltration**.... Parents should take a greater interest in school affairs and know what organizations attract their children. Communists recruit future members through the high-sounding youth*

**Indoctrinating:** Teaching a belief or an idea.

**Marxian:** Pertaining to the ideas of German philosopher Karl Marx in the nineteenth century; later his ideas formed the basis for communism.

**Divest:** Rid.

**Barnacles:** Small sea creatures that attach themselves to other live or inanimate objects in the sea.

**"Fellow travelers":** What communists call each other.

**Negro:** African American.

**Scrutinize:** Carefully study.

**Infiltration:** The act of entering sneakily or gradually.

**Auxiliary:** An associated group.

**Dissemination:** Spread.

**Atheist:** Belief that there is no God.

**Communist Manifesto:** A document, written by German political philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, that details the political ideology of communism.

**Quarantine:** Block.

*auxiliary, the American Youth for Democracy, formerly known as the Young Communist League.*

*The churches of America also are threatened by Communism....*

*The churches of America should remember that the Communists' protestation of freedom of religion is a camouflage for their true thoughts. Lenin taught: "We must combat religion—this is the ABC of all materialism, and consequently Marxism." "Down with religion!" "Long live atheism!" "The **dissemination** of **atheist** views is our chief task."...*

*No organization worthy of its name has been immune from Communist attempts to infiltrate. The more respected the organization, the greater should be the vigilance.*

*Once organizations are captured by Communists, patriotic members have one of two alternatives: resign or organize to regain control. Their members would vote for officers who stand for the Constitution of the United States and not the **Communist Manifesto**.*

*If there were to be a slogan in the fight against Communism it should convey the thought: Uncover, expose, and spotlight their activities. Once this is done, the American people will do the rest—**quarantine** them from effectively weakening our country.*



## What happened next ...

In 1947, Hoover's FBI investigated the loyalty of the two to three million federal employees. Although only 212 people were fired for loyalty issues, Hoover uncovered alcoholics, homosexuals, and employees in a large amount of debt. It was believed those in debt might sell government secrets to the Soviets. Hoover was intent on exposing communists in labor unions and supplied the HUAC with incriminating information. He also developed a network of informers in Hollywood to report on activities there. Ronald Reagan (1911–), president of the Screen Actors Guild and future U.S. president, was one of Hoover's informants.

In 1950, Hoover's FBI was in charge of the investigation and arrests of the Atomic Spies, including Julius Rosenberg (1918–1953) and his wife, Ethel Rosenberg (1915–1953); Harry Gold (1910–1974); and David Greenglass (1922–). These Americans had passed secrets of the U.S. atomic bomb development program to the Soviets. In the 1960s, Hoover continued to build files. By then, the focus was on Vietnam War (1954–75) protesters and on civil rights activists, including Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968).

### Did you know ...

- Hoover wrote a best-selling book, *Masters of Deceit*, in 1958 to educate the public about the threat of communism.
- By 1960, Hoover was one of the most powerful men in Washington, D.C.
- Hoover, a media hound, helped work on several television programs and Hollywood movies. For example, he collaborated on the popular *The FBI* television series that aired from 1965 to 1974.
- Hoover remained the director of the FBI until his death in 1972, a total of forty-eight years.
- In 1975 and 1976, a Senate investigative committee found Hoover had violated the civil liberties of many innocent Americans in his quest for subversives.

### Consider the following ...

- Were the tactics used by J. Edgar Hoover justified to uncover communists in the 1940s and 1950s?
- What two types of communist operatives did Hoover describe?
- How many communist sympathizers were in the United States in 1947, according to Hoover? Analyze the reasons why people believed Hoover when he made this claim.
- List the institutions in U.S. society that Hoover said were vulnerable to infiltration by the communists.

## For More Information

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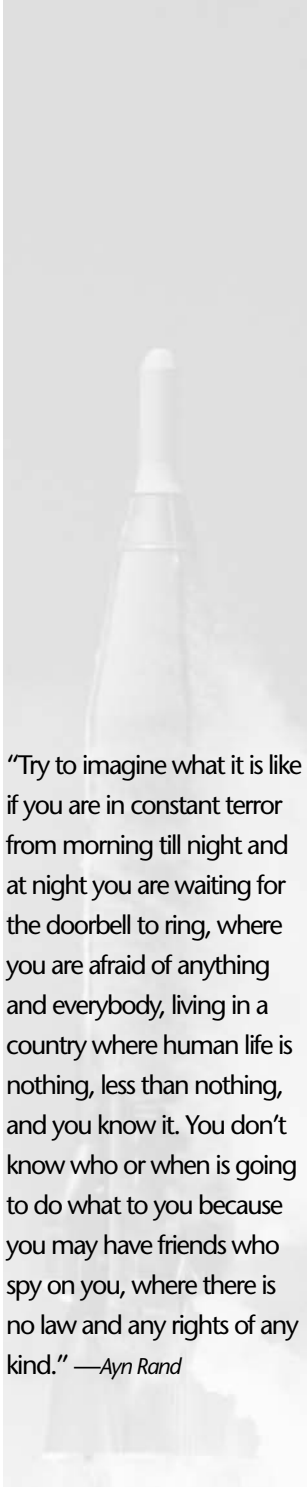
# Ayn Rand and Ronald Reagan

*Excerpt from "Testimony from House Un-American Activities  
Hollywood Hearings, October 1947"*

**Available at *CNN Interactive: Cold War* (Web site)**

In October 1947, to root out communist influence or propaganda either real or imagined in U.S. movies, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) began investigating the U.S. film industry in Hollywood, California. J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972), director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), had already established a network of confidential informers within the industry. Especially under investigation by the HUAC were ten of Hollywood's producers, directors, and screenplay writers. Aptly known as the Hollywood Ten, they were summoned before the committee to explain their politics and memberships or past memberships in organizations considered communist-leaning. Also called to testify were twenty-four Hollywood witnesses. Two friendly witness testimonies excerpted here were those of author and screenplay writer Ayn Rand (1905–1982) and actor Ronald Reagan (1911–). Other famous Hollywood notables who testified were actors Gary Cooper (1901–1961) and Robert Montgomery (1904–1981) and producer Walt Disney (1901–1966).

In the first of the two testimonies, Rand answered questions regarding a recent Hollywood film, *Song of Russia*,



"Try to imagine what it is like if you are in constant terror from morning till night and at night you are waiting for the doorbell to ring, where you are afraid of anything and everybody, living in a country where human life is nothing, less than nothing, and you know it. You don't know who or when is going to do what to you because you may have friends who spy on you, where there is no law and any rights of any kind." —Ayn Rand

that the HUAC believed was produced as Soviet propaganda. Rand, who was born in Russia but left there to come to the United States for good in 1926, related how the Russian society pictured in *Song of Russia* was not the Russia she remembered. By 1947, Rand received national fame for her book *The Fountainhead*. She also had been writing screenplays for Hollywood producers for many years. Her testimony before the committee was riveting, as her talent to use words to create pictures was apparent. Near the end of the testimony, Rand commented that the Russians “try to live a human life, but you understand it is totally inhuman ... you are in constant terror from morning till night and at night you are waiting for the doorbell to ring, where you are afraid of anything and everybody, living in a country where human life is nothing, less than nothing, and you know it.”

The second excerpted testimony comes from then-actor and president of the Screen Actors Guild, Ronald Reagan. Reagan had been active in the anticommunist movements in the late 1940s. This involvement sparked his interest in politics. The HUAC called Reagan to report to the best of his knowledge about members of the Screen Actors Guild who might have communist leanings.

### **Things to remember while reading the excerpt from “Testimony from House Un-American Activities Hollywood Hearings, October 1947”:**

- The HUAC’s mission was to investigate any subversive activity that could lead to the overthrow of the U.S. government.
- The HUAC believed that several movies, such as the *Song of Russia*, glorified the communist system.
- The HUAC opened each questioning session with “Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?” Any answer except “no” brought immediate suspicion.



## **Excerpt from “Testimony from House Un-American Activities Hollywood Hearings, October 1947”**

*Testimony by Ayn Rand before HUAC, October 20, 1947....*

*STRIPLING [Robert Stripling, Chief Investigator]: Would you give the committee a breakdown of your summary of the picture relating to either propaganda or an untruthful account or distorted account of conditions in Russia?*

*RAND: Yes. First of all I would like to define what we mean by propaganda. We have all been talking about it, but nobody—*

*STRIPLING: Could you talk into the microphone?*

*RAND: Can you hear me now? Nobody has stated just what they mean by propaganda. Now, I use the term to mean that communist propaganda is anything which gives a good impression of communism as a way of life. Anything that sells people the idea that life in Russia is good and that people are free and happy would be communist propaganda. Am I not correct? I mean, would that be a fair statement to make—that that would be communist propaganda?*

*Now, here is what the picture “Song of Russia” contains. It starts with an American conductor, played by Robert Taylor, giving a concert in America for Russian war relief. He starts playing the American national anthem and the national anthem dissolves into a Russian mob, with the sickle and hammer on a red flag very prominent above their heads. I am sorry, but that made me sick. That is something which I do not see how native Americans permit, and I am only a naturalized American. That was a terrible touch of propaganda. As a writer, I can tell you just exactly what it suggests to the people. It suggests literally and technically that it is quite all right for the American national anthem to dissolve into the Soviet....*

*Then you see a Moscow restaurant that just never existed there. In my time, when I was in Russia, there was only one such restaurant, which was nowhere as luxurious as that and no one could enter it except **commissars** and **profiteers**. Certainly a girl from a village, who*

**Commissars:** Communist Party officials.

**Profiteers:** Sellers who make excessive profits taking advantage of people during a crisis.

*in the first place would never have been allowed to come voluntarily, without permission, to Moscow, could not afford to enter it, even if she worked 10 years.... From this restaurant they go on to this tour of Moscow. The streets are clean and prosperous-looking. There are no food lines anywhere. You see shots of the marble subway—the famous Russian subway out of which they make such **propaganda capital**. There is a marble statue of [Joseph] Stalin thrown in.*

*There is a park where you see happy little children in white blouses running around.... They are not homeless children in rags, such as I have seen in Russia....*

*You see the manicured starlets driving tractors and the happy women who come from work singing. You see a peasant at home with a close-up of food for which anyone there would have been murdered. If anybody had such food in Russia in that time he couldn't remain alive, because he would have been torn apart by neighbors trying to get food....*

*That for a Communist Party member to have anything to do with religion means expulsion from the party. He is not allowed to enter a church or take part in any religious ceremony. For a private citizen, that is a non-party member, it was permitted, but it was so frowned upon that people had to keep it secret if they went to church....*

*I have never seen so much smiling in my life, except on the murals of the world's fair pavilion of the Soviets. If any one of you have seen it, you can appreciate it. It is one of the stock propaganda tricks of the communists, to show these people smiling....*

*MR. JOHN MCDOWELL: You paint a very dismal picture of Russia. You made a great point about the number of children who were unhappy. Doesn't anybody smile in Russia any more?*

*RAND: Well, if you ask me literally, pretty much no.*

*MCDOWELL: They don't smile?*

*RAND: Not quite that way, no. If they do, it is privately and accidentally. Certainly, it is not social. They don't smile in approval of their system.*

*MCDOWELL: Well, all they do is talk about food.*

*RAND: That is right.*

*MCDOWELL: That is a great change from the Russians I have always known, and I have known a lot of them. Don't they do things at all like Americans? Don't they walk across town to visit their mother-in-law or somebody?*

**Propaganda capital:** Good propaganda.





HUAC investigator Robert Stripling (center), who was involved with the questioning of Ayn Rand and Ronald Reagan, meets with U.S. representatives Richard Nixon and J. Parnell Thomas. *Photograph by Bill Achatz. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

*RAND: Look, it is very hard to explain. It is almost impossible to convey to a free people what it is like to live in a **totalitarian dictatorship**. I can tell you a lot of details. I can never completely convince you, because you are free. It is in a way good that you can't even conceive of what it is like. Certainly they have friends and mothers-in-law. They try to live a human life, but you understand it is totally inhuman. Try to imagine what it is like if you are in constant terror from morning till night and at night you are waiting for the doorbell to ring, where you are afraid of anything and everybody, living in a country where human life is nothing, less than nothing, and you know it. You don't know who or when is going to do what to you because you may have friends who spy on you, where there is no law and any rights of any kind....*

*Testimony of Ronald Reagan before HUAC, October 23, 1947*

*STRIPLING: As a member of the board of directors, as president of the Screen Actors Guild, and as an active member, have you at any time observed or noted within the organization a **clique** of ei-*

**Totalitarian dictatorship:**

Country ruled by a central government that tolerates no difference of opinions.

**Clique:** A small exclusive group of people.

**Ronald Reagan, testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee in October 1947.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*



*ther communists or **fascists** who were attempting to exert influence or pressure on the guild?*

*REAGAN: There has been a small group within the Screen Actors Guild which has consistently opposed the policy of the guild board and officers of the guild, as evidenced by the vote on various issues. That small clique referred to has been suspected of more or less following the tactics that we associate with the Communist Party.*

*STRIPLING: Would you refer to them as a disruptive influence within the guild?*

*REAGAN: I would say that at times they have attempted to be a disruptive influence.*

*STRIPLING: You have no knowledge yourself as to whether or not any of them are members of the Communist Party?*

*REAGAN: No, sir, I have no investigative force, or anything, and I do not know.*

*STRIPLING: Has it ever been reported to you that certain members of the guild were communists?*

**Fascists:** Those who believe in a governmental system led by a dictator and marked by racism, militarism, and extreme support for one's nation.

REAGAN: Yes, sir, I have heard different discussions and some of them tagged as communists....

STRIPLING: Mr. Reagan, what is your feeling about what steps should be taken to rid the motion picture industry of any communist influences?

REAGAN: Well, sir, 99 percent of us are pretty well aware of what is going on, and I think, within the bounds of our democratic rights and never once stepping over the rights given us by democracy, we have done a pretty good job in our business of keeping those people's activities curtailed. After all, we must recognize them at present as a political party. On that basis we have exposed their lies when we came across them, we have opposed their propaganda, and I can certainly testify that in the case of the Screen Actors Guild we have been eminently successful in preventing them from, with their usual tactics, trying to run a majority of an organization with a well organized minority.

In opposing those people, the best thing to do is make democracy work. In the Screen Actors Guild we make it work by insuring everyone a vote and by keeping everyone informed. I believe that, as Thomas Jefferson put it, if all the American people know all of the facts they will never make a mistake. Whether the party should be outlawed, that is a matter for the government to decide. As a citizen, I would hesitate to see any political party outlawed on the basis of its political ideology. However, if it is proven that an organization is an agent of foreign power, or in any way not a legitimate political party—and I think the government is capable of proving that—then that is another matter. I happen to be very proud of the industry in which I work; I happen to be very proud of the way in which we conducted the fight. I do not believe the communists have ever at any time been able to use the motion picture screen as a sounding board for their philosophy or ideology.

CHAIRMAN: There is one thing that you said that interested me very much. That was the quotation from Jefferson. That is why this committee was created by the House of Representatives: to acquaint the American people with the facts. Once the American people are acquainted with the facts there is no question but that the American people will do the kind of job that they want done: that is, to make America just as pure as we can possibly make it. We want to thank you very much for coming here today.

REAGAN: Sir, I detest, I abhor their [communist] philosophy ... but at the same time I never as a citizen want to see our country

*become urged, by either fear or resentment of this group, that we ever compromise with any of our democratic principles through that fear or resentment. I still think that democracy can do it.*



### **What happened next ...**

Despite the “friendly” witnesses’ willingness to testify, the Hollywood Ten refused to answer the HUAC’s questions. Denouncing the questioning as an obvious violation of their constitutional rights, they took the Fifth Amendment’s constitutional privilege of not responding to questions. As a result, all were convicted for contempt of court. Following an unsuccessful appeal to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in 1948, eight served one year and two served six months in prison. Once released, they could get no work because other Hollywood producers had blacklisted them. Blacklisting refers to a practice of refusing work to those who were suspected of communist affiliation or communist sentiments.

Blacklisting spread throughout the radio industry and to the newly emerging television industry as well. Anyone found to have connections in any way to groups who might have supported subversive activities would be blacklisted. The communist paranoia was so rampant in American society that if it were discovered that a member of a group had ever had communist ties, real or imagined, then everyone in that group would be blacklisted. As for the HUAC and Hollywood, the message was clear—either cooperate with the HUAC or be blacklisted.

### **Did you know ...**

- Ayn Rand, original name Alissa Zinooieвна Rosenbaum, was born in St. Petersburg (later Petrograd), Russia, and educated at the University of Petrograd. There, she first watched American movies and was fascinated by the bright world projected on the screen. That world was in stark contrast to the dismal, dark atmosphere of Russia.
- Reagan would be elected the fortieth president of the United States in November 1980. It was in the later



1940s, under the communist scare in the United States, that Reagan's politics shifted from liberal leanings to very conservative.

- In October 1947, as the HUAC opened its investigation of Hollywood's film industry, fifty of Hollywood's most famous celebrities chartered a plane, named it the Star of the Red Sea (the term "red" refers to communists), and hopped across the country holding press conferences

**Actor Humphrey Bogart (left) meets with investigators James Steadman, Robert E. Stripling, and Martin Dies during the HUAC's hearings on subversive activities.**  
*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

where they touched down. They included Humphrey Bogart (1899–1957), Lauren Bacall (1924–), Ira Gershwin (1896–1983), Danny Kaye (1913–1987), and Frank Sinatra (1915–1998). They supported free expression in Hollywood films. Nevertheless, the HUAC was too powerful and Americans' fear of anything communist too great. Most of the fifty realized they were risking blacklisting and backtracked in their support of the Hollywood Ten. Realizing the trip had been a mistake, they quietly headed back to California as quickly as possible.

### Consider the following ...

- What symbolism used at the opening of the movie *Song of Russia* did Ayn Rand especially object to? What is her definition of propaganda?
- Although Reagan related that his Screen Actors Guild did probably have members that had Communist Party affiliations, what was his overall opinion of the Guild?
- At one point in Reagan's testimony, he ever so gently warned the HUAC not to go too far. Identify those words.

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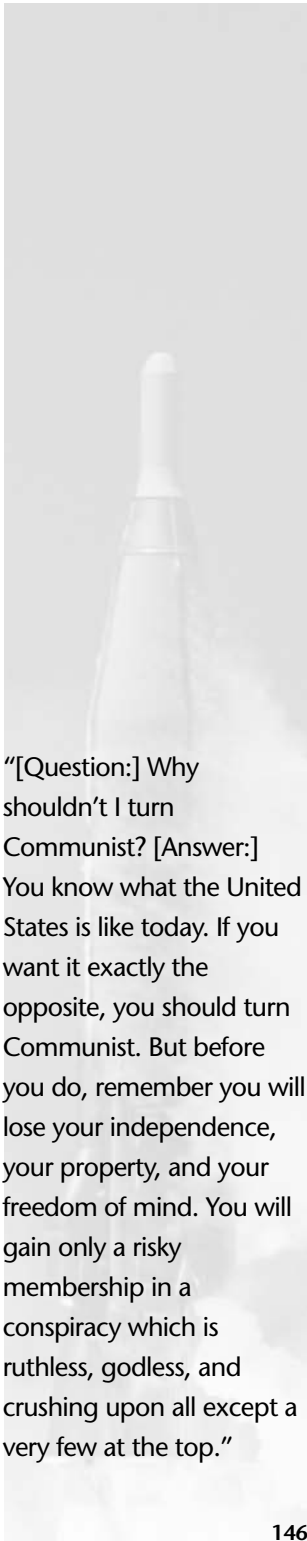
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"[Question:] Why shouldn't I turn Communist? [Answer:] You know what the United States is like today. If you want it exactly the opposite, you should turn Communist. But before you do, remember you will lose your independence, your property, and your freedom of mind. You will gain only a risky membership in a conspiracy which is ruthless, godless, and crushing upon all except a very few at the top."

## House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)

*Excerpt from "One Hundred Things You Should Know About Communism in the U.S.A."*

**Reprinted from *Thirty Years of Treason: Excerpts From Hearings Before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938–1968*, published in 1971**

"**O**ne Hundred Things You Should Know About Communism in the U.S.A." was the first in a series of pamphlets put out by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to educate the American public about communism in the United States. In May 1938, U.S. representative Martin Dies (1900–1972) of Texas managed to get his favorite House committee, HUAC, funded. It had been inactive since 1930. The HUAC was charged with investigation of subversive activities that posed a threat to the U.S. government.

With the HUAC revived, Dies claimed to have gathered knowledge that communists were in labor unions, government agencies, and African American groups. Without ever knowing why they were charged, many individuals lost their jobs. In 1940, Congress passed the Alien Registration Act, known as the Smith Act. The act made it illegal for an individual to be a member of any organization that supported a violent overthrow of the U.S. government, the Communist Party being its main target. Even as World War II (1939–45) raged through Europe and in the Pacific, the stubborn Dies kept the HUAC alive until 1944, when bad health





and constant criticism of his irresponsible charges caused him to step down.

Another Southern conservative congressman, John E. Rankin (1882–1960) of Mississippi, insisted that the HUAC be reestablished in 1945, this time as a permanent, standing House committee. The HUAC soon compiled a list of at least forty groups it labeled as intent on promoting communist ideas. Next, in October 1947, it opened an investigation of the Hollywood film industry (see previous excerpt).

America's apprehensions over communist influence in America snowballed in 1948 with a series of events. J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972), director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), likened communism to a disease spreading across America. Under the 1940 Smith Act, twelve leaders of the American Communist Party were tried and convicted. Elizabeth Bentley (1908–1963), an American-turned-Soviet spy, turned again and testified before the HUAC about a

**Alger Hiss (seated at right) testifies before the House Un-American Activities Committee in November 1947. Hiss, a prominent U.S. State Department employee, was accused of turning over secrets to the Soviets in the late 1930s.**

*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

Washington-based spy ring of which she had been a member. Then, in August, Whittaker Chambers (1901–1961) broke the Alger Hiss case. Alger Hiss (1904–1996), a prominent U.S. State Department employee, was accused of turning over secrets to the Soviets in the late 1930s.

To educate the public, the HUAC began in 1948 a series of booklets that would help Americans identify and deal with communists. As reflected in their titles, the five booklets gave readers “one hundred things you should know about communism” as it pertained to the U.S.A., religion, education, labor, and government.

According to the HUAC, the booklets were intended “to help you know a Communist when you hear him speak and when you see him work.”

### **Things to remember while reading “One Hundred Things You Should Know About Communism in the U.S.A.”:**

- The booklets were widely distributed across the country.
- Most Americans had no specific picture of what communism was, other than a looming threat.
- Although an honest attempt to educate, historians consider the booklets prime examples of U.S. propaganda.



### ***Excerpt from “One Hundred Things You Should Know About Communism in the U.S.A.”***

*When a Communist heads the government of the United States—and that day will come just as surely as the sun rises—the government will not be a capitalist government but a Soviet government, and behind this government will stand the Red army to enforce the dictatorship of the **proletariat**.*

*Sworn statement of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Head of the Communist Party in the United States....*

**Proletariat:** The working class of a society.

*Every citizen owes himself and his family the truth about Communism because the world today is faced with a single choice: To go Communist or not to go Communist. Here are the facts.*

1. *What is Communism?*

*A system by which one small group seeks to rule the world.*

2. *Has any nation ever gone Communist in a free election?*

*No.*

3. *Then how do the Communists try to get control?*

*Legally or illegally, any way they can. Communism's first big victory was through bloody revolution. Every one since has been by military conquest, or internal corruption, or the threat of these.*

*CONSPIRACY is the basic method of Communism in countries it is trying to capture.*

*IRON FORCE is the basic method of Communism in countries it has already captured.*

4. *What would happen if Communism should come into power in this country?*

*Our capital would move from Washington to Moscow. Every man, woman, and child would come under Communist discipline.*

5. *Would I be better off than I am now?*

*No. And the next 17 answers show why.*

6. *Could I belong to a union?*

*Under Communism, all labor unions are run by the Government and the Communists run the Government. Unions couldn't help you get higher pay, shorter hours or better working conditions. They would only be used by the Communists to help keep you down.*

*More complete details are given in ONE HUNDRED THINGS YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM AND LABOR.*

7. *Could I change my job?*

*No, you would work where you are told, at what you are told, for wages fixed by the Government.*

8. *Could I go to school?*

*You could go to the kind of school the Communists tell you to, AND NOWHERE ELSE. You could go as long as they let you AND NO LONGER.*

*You could read ONLY what the Communists let you; hear only what they let you, and as far as they could manage, you would KNOW only what they let you.*

*For details, see ONE HUNDRED THINGS YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM AND EDUCATION.*

*9. Could I belong to the Elks, Rotary, or the American Legion?*

*No. William Z. Foster, the head of the Communists in the United States, says:*

*Under the dictatorship all the capitalist parties—Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc.—will be **liquidated**, the Communist Party functioning alone as the Party of the **toiling** masses.*

*Likewise will be dissolved, all other organizations that are political props of the **bourgeois** rule, including chambers of commerce, employers' associations, Rotary Clubs, American Legion, YMCA, and such **fraternal orders** as the Masons, Odd Fellows, Elks, Knights of Columbus, etc.*

*10. Could I own my own farm?*

*No. Under Communism, the land is the property of the Government, and the Government is run by the Communists.*

*You would farm the land under orders and you could not make any decisions as to when or where you would sell the produce of your work, or for how much.*

*11. Could I own my own home?*

*No. Under Communism, all real estate in the city as well as the country belongs to the government, which is in turn run by the Communists.*

*Your living quarters would be assigned to you, and you would pay rent as ordered.*

*12. What would happen to my insurance?*

*The Communists would take it over.*

*13. What would happen to my bank account?*

*All above a small sum would be **confiscated**. The rest would be controlled for you.*

*14. Could I leave any property to my family when I die?*

*No, because you wouldn't have any to leave.*

**Liquidated:** Eliminated.

**Toiling:** Working.

**Bourgeois:** The wealthy, ruling class of a society.

**Fraternal orders:** Social groups formed for friendship and service.

**Confiscated:** Taken away.

15. *Could I travel around the country as I please?*

No. You would have to get police permission for every move you make, if you could get it.

16. *Could I belong to a church?*

In Russia, the Communists have for thirty years tried every way they could to destroy religion. Having failed that, they are now trying to USE religion from the inside and the same Party strategy is now operating in the United States of America. See ONE HUNDRED THINGS YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM AND RELIGION.

17. *Could I start up a business and hire people to work for me?*

To do so would be a crime for which you would be severely punished.

18. *Could I teach what I please with “academic freedom?”*

You would teach only what the Communists authorize you to teach.

You would be asking for jail or death to try anything else.

19. *Could I do scientific research free of governmental interference and restrictions?*

Police and spies would watch your every move. You would be liquidated on the slightest suspicion of doing ANYTHING contrary to orders.

20. *Could I have friends of my own choice as I do now?*

No, except those approved by the Communists in charge of your life from cradle to grave.

21. *Could I travel abroad or marry a foreigner?*

No, except those approved by the Communists in charge of your life from cradle to grave.

22. *Could I exchange letters with friends in other countries?*

With the police reading your mail, you could try—once.

23. *Could I vote the Communists out of control?*

No. See ONE HUNDRED THINGS YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT COMMUNISM AND GOVERNMENT, showing the facts of Communist government in other countries and the facts of Communism at work within OUR OWN government.

**Academic freedom:** The ability to teach different ideas freely.

24. *But doesn't Communism promise poor people a better life?*

*Communist politicians all over the world try in every way to break down nations as they are, hoping that in the confusion they will be able to seize control.*

*Promising more than you can deliver is an old trick in the history of the human race.*

*Compare Communism's promises with Communism's performances in countries where it has come to power.*

25. *What are some differences between Communist promise and Communist performance?*

*When it is agitating for power, Communism promises more money for less work and security against war and poverty. In practice, it has not delivered any of this, anywhere in the world.*

26. *But don't the Communists promise an end to racial and religious intolerance?*

*Yes, but in practice they have murdered millions for being religious and for belonging to a particular class. Your race would be no help to you under Communism. Your beliefs could get you killed.*

27. *Why shouldn't I turn Communist?*

*You know what the United States is like today. If you want it exactly the opposite, you should turn Communist. But before you do, remember you will lose your independence, your property, and your freedom of mind. You will gain only a risky membership in a conspiracy which is ruthless, godless, and crushing upon all except a very few at the top.*

28. *How many Communists are there in the world?*

*There are 20,000,000 Communists, more or less, in a world of 2,295,125,000. In other words, about one person in 115 is a Communist, on a world basis.*

29. *How many people are now ruled by Communism?*

*About 200,000,000 directly; 200,000,000 more indirectly, and an additional 250,000,000 are under daily Communist pressure to surrender.*

30. *Which countries are Communist controlled or governed?*

*Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Yugoslavia. Important regions*

of Austria, Germany, China, Korea, Mongolia and Manchuria. Communism is concentrating now on immediate capture of Afghanistan, France, Greece, Latin America, Iran and Palestine. It has plans to seize every other country including the United States.

31. How many Communists are there in the United States?

There are approximately 80,000 out of a population of 145,340,000 people. J. Edgar Hoover has testified that "in 1917 when the Communists overthrew the Russian Government there was one Communist for every 2,277 persons in Russia. In the United States today there is one Communist for every 1,814 persons in the country."

32. Why aren't there more?

Because the Communist Party does not rely upon actual Party membership for its strength. J. Edgar Hoover testified: "What is important is the claim of the Communists themselves that for every Party member there are ten others ready, willing, and able to do the Party's work. Herein lies the greatest menace of Communism. For these are the people who **infiltrate** and corrupt various spheres of American life. So rather than the size of the Communist party the way to weigh its true importance is by testing its influence, its ability to infiltrate."

33. How are they organized?

Primarily around something they call a political party, behind which they operate a carefully trained force of spies, revolutionaries, and conspirators. The basic fact to remember is that Communism is a world revolutionary movement and Communists are disciplined agents, operating under a plan of war.

34. Where are their headquarters in the United States, and who is in charge?

Headquarters are at 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City. William Z. Foster, of 1040 Melton Avenue, New York City, has the title of "Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States," but Foster is actually just a **figurehead** under control of foreign operatives unseen by and unknown to rank and file Communists.

35. What is the emblem of the Communist Party in the United States?

The hammer and sickle.

**Infiltrate:** Go into.

**Figurehead:** A person who appears to be the head of a group but is not really.

36. What is the emblem of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union?

*The hammer and sickle. It is also the official emblem of the Soviet Government.*

37. What is the flag of the Communist Party in the United States?

*The red flag, the same as that of all Communist Parties of the world.*

38. What is the official song of the Communist Party of the United States?

*The Internationale. Here is the Chorus: 'Tis the final conflict, Let each stand in his place; The International Soviet shall be the human race.*

39. Do the Communists pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States?

*The present head of the Communists in the United States had testified under oath that they DO NOT.*

40. What is the Communist Party set-up?

*At the bottom level are "shop and street units" composed of three or more Communists in a single factory, office, or neighborhood. Next is the section which includes all units in a given area of a city. Then come districts, composed of one or more States. At the top is the national organization, composed of a national committee and a number of commissions.*

*In the appendix of this pamphlet you will find listed the officers and address for each district of the Communist Party in the United States.*

41. Who can become a member of the Communist Party of the United States?

*Anybody over 17 years of age who can convince the Party that his first loyalty will be to the Soviet Union and that he is able to do the party's work as a Soviet agent. He must be an active member of a Party unit. He must obey ALL Party decisions. He must read the Party literature. He must pay dues regularly.*

42. How do you go about joining the Party?



*You must know some member in good standing who will vouch for you to his Party unit. Your acceptance still depends on the verdict of party officials that you WILL AND CAN obey orders.*

43. *Can you be a secret member?*

*All Communists are secret members until authorized by the Party to reveal their connection. Party membership records are kept in code. Communists have a real name and a "Party name."*

44. *Are meetings public like those of ordinary political parties?*

*No, meetings are secret and at secret addresses. Records are all secret and in code. Public demonstrations are held at regular periods.*

45. *What dues do you have to pay?*

*They are adjusted according to income. They may range from as low as 2 cents a week to \$15 a week with special assessments in addition.*

46. *What do you have to promise?*

*To carry out Communist Party orders promptly. To submit without question to Party decisions and discipline. To work for "The triumph of Soviet power in the United States."*

47. *After you join, what do you have to do?*

*You have to obey the party in all things. It may tell you to change your home, your job, your husband, or wife. It may order you to lie, steal, rob, or to go out into the street and fight. It claims the power to tell you what to think and what to do every day of your life. When you become a Communist, you become a revolutionary agent under a discipline more strict than the United States Army, Navy, Marines, or Air Force have ever known.*

48. *Why do people become Communists then?*

*Basically, because they seek power and recognize the opportunities that Communism offers the unscrupulous. But no matter why a particular person becomes a Communist, every member of the Party must be regarded the same way, as one seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States.*

49. *What kind of people become Communists?*

*The real center of power in Communism is within the professional classes. Of course, a few poor people respond to the Communist claim that it is a "working class movement." But taken as a whole the Party depends for its strength on the support it gets from*

*teachers, preachers, actors, writers, union officials, doctors, lawyers, editors, businessmen, and even from millionaires.*

*50. Can you quit being a Communist when you want to?*

*The Communists regard themselves as being in a state of actual war against life as the majority of Americans want it. Therefore, party members who quit or fail to obey orders are looked on as traitors to the "class war" and they may expect to suffer accordingly when and as the Party gets around to them.*

*51. How does the Communist Party of the United States work, day by day?*

*The Communist Party of the United States works inside the law and the Constitution, and outside the law and the Constitution with intent to get control any way it can.*

*52. What are some types of Communist activities within the law?*

*Working their way into key positions in the schools, the churches, the labor unions, and farm organizations. Inserting Communist propaganda into art, literature, and entertainment. Nominating or seeking control of candidates for public office. The immediate objective of the Communist Party is to confuse and divide the majority so that in a time of chaos they can seize control.*

*53. What are some types of Communist activities outside the law?*

*Spying, sabotage, passport fraud, perjury, counterfeiting, rioting, disloyalty in the Army, Navy and Air Force.*

*54. What are some official newspapers or magazines of the Communist Party?*

*Daily and Sunday Worker, 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York City; Morning Freiheit, 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York City; Daily Peoples World, 590 Folsom Street, San Francisco, Calif.; Masses and Mainstream, 832 Broadway, New York City; Political Affairs, 832 Broadway, New York City. There are also numerous foreign language publications.*

*55. Does the party also publish books and pamphlets?*

*Yes, thousands of them, through such official publishing houses as: International Publishers, 381 Fourth Street, New York City; Workers Library Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York City; New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York City.*

*56. Does the party have public speakers and press agents?*

*Hundreds of them, paid and unpaid, public and secret, hired and volunteered, intentional and unintentional. Publicity seeking is one of the Party's principal "legal" occupations, intended to confuse people on all important issues of the day.*

57. How does the Party get the money for all this?

*At first it received money from Moscow but now it raises millions of dollars here in the United States through dues, **foundations**, **endowments**, special drives, and appeals.*

58. Do only Communists carry out Communist work?

*No. The party uses what it calls "Fellow Travelers" and "Front Organizations" in some of its most effective work.*

59. What is a fellow traveler?

*One who sympathizes with the party's aims and serves the party's purposes in one or more respects without actually holding a Party card.*

60. Is he important in the Communist movement?

*Vital. The fellow traveler is the HOOK with which the Party reaches out for funds and respectability and the WEDGE that it drives between people who try to move against it.*

61. What is a Communist front?

*An organization created or captured by the Communists to do the Party's work in special fields. The front organization is Communism's greatest weapon in this country today and takes its places it could never go otherwise—among people who would never willingly act as Party agents. It is usually found hiding among groups devoted to idealistic activities. Here are 10 examples out of hundreds of Communist fronts which have been exposed:*

- 1. American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.
- 2. American Slav Congress.
- 3. American Youth for Democracy.
- 4. Civil Rights Congress.
- 5. Congress of American Women.
- 6. Council for Pan-American Democracy.
- 7. International Workers Order.
- 8. National Committee to Win the Peace.

**Foundations:** Organizations that provide funds for activities.

**Endowments:** Gifts of money.

- 9. *People's Institute of Applied Religion.*
- 10. *League of American Writers.*

62. *How can a Communist be identified?*

*It is easy. Ask him to name ten things wrong with the United States. Then ask him to name two things wrong with Russia. His answers will show him up even to a child. Communists will denounce the President of the United States but they will never denounce Stalin.*

63. *How can a fellow traveler be identified?*

*Apply the same test as above and watch him defend Communists and Communism.*

64. *How can a Communist front be identified?*

*If you are ever in doubt, write the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Room 226, House Office Building, Washington 25, D.C.*

65. *What do Communists call those who criticize them?*

*"Red baiters," "witch hunters," "Fascists." These are just three out of a tremendous stock of abusive labels Communists attempt to smear on anybody who challenges them.*

66. *How do they smear labor opposition?*

*As "scabs," "finks," "company stooges," and "labor spies."*

67. *How do they smear public officials?*

*As "reactionaries," "Wall Street tools," "Hitlerites," and "imperialists."*

68. *What is their favorite escape when challenged on a point of fact?*

*To accuse you of "dragging in a red herring," a distortion of an old folk saying that originally described the way to throw hounds off the track of a hot trail.*

69. *What is the difference in fact between a Communist and a Fascist?*

*None worth noticing.*

70. *How do Communists get control of organizations in which the majority are not Communists?*

*They work. Others won't.*

**Smear:** Defame; malign.

*They come early and stay late. Others don't.*

*They know how to run a meeting. Others don't.*

*They demand the floor. Others won't.*

*They do not hesitate to use physical violence or ANY form of persecution. They stay organized and prepared in advance of each meeting. The thing to remember is that Communists are trained agents under rigid discipline, but they can always be defeated by the facts.*

*71. When was the Communist party of the United States organized and where?*

*September 1919, at Chicago.*

*72. Has it always been called by its present name?*

*No. Here are the recorded, official name changes:*

*1919—Communist Party of America, and the Communist Labor Party of America.*

*1921—The above parties merged into the United Communist Party of America.*

*1922—The Communist Party of America and the Workers Party of America.*

*1925—The above merged into one organization known as Workers (Communist) Party of America.*

*1928—Communist Party of the United States.*

*1944—Communist Political Association.*

*1945 to present—Communist Party of the United States of America.*

*73. Why has it changed its name so often?*

*To serve Moscow and evade the law of the United States.*

*74. Why isn't the Communist Party a political party just like the Democratic and Republican parties?*

*Because it takes orders from Moscow.*

*75. Are the Communists agents of a foreign power?*

*Yes. The sworn testimony of several former members of the Communist Party who have spent years in being trained in Commu-*

nist work, partly in Moscow, gives evidence to this. Official Communist publications in the files of the committee also bear out this fact.

76. *Where can a Communist be found in everyday American life?*

*Look for him in your school, your labor union, your church, or your civic club. Communists themselves say that they can be found "on almost any conceivable battlefield for the human mind."*

77. *What States have barred the Communist Party from the ballot?*

*Alabama, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.*

78. *How does Communism expect to get power over the United States if it cannot win elections?*

*The Communists only compete for votes to cover their fifth-column work behind a cloak of legality. They expect to get power by ANY means, just so they get it. The examples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other countries in Europe show just how many methods Communism applies. In each country different details—in all the same results.*

79. *Why don't Communists over here go to Russia if they like that system so much?*

*They are on duty here to take over this country. They couldn't go to Russia even if they wanted to, except on orders from Moscow.*

80. *Which Communists get such orders?*

*High Party officials and special agents who are to be trained in spying, sabotage, and detailed planning for capture of this country.*

81. *Where are they trained in Moscow?*

*The Lenin Institute, a college in revolution which teaches how to capture railroads, ships, radio stations, banks, telephone exchanges, newspapers, waterworks, power plants, and such things.*

82. *Does Stalin let American Communists in to see him?*

*Yes. Earl Browder and William Z. Foster, the two heads of the Party for the last 20 years, have both admitted under oath that they conferred with Stalin. The records show that Browder, for instance, made 15 known trips to Moscow, several with false passports.*

83. *Are American Communists used in the Soviet Secret Service?*

*Yes, here are the names of a few such agents proved on the public records: Harry Gold, Julia Wadleigh, Nicholas Dozenberg, George Mink, Philip Aronberg, Charles Dirba, Pascal Cosgrove, J. Mindel, Alexander Trachtenberg, Julia Stuart Poyntz, Jack Johnstone, Charles Krumbain, and Albert Feirabend.*

84. *What central organization controls all the Communist Parties of the world?*

*An organization originally set up in Moscow by the Government of Russia, and known as the "Communist International" called Comintern for short. It has since changed its name to "Communist Information Bureau" and is known as the Cominform.*

85. *Who is the most important Communist in the United States today?*

*The Cominform representative.*

86. *Why is he here?*

*To see that American Communists follow the orders of the Soviet-directed Cominform in all things.*

87. *Do they?*

*Yes.*

88. *Has any representative of this central organization ever been caught?*

*Yes. For example, over a period of 12 years one Gerhart Eisler, alias Brown, alias Edwards, alias Berger, did such work, making regular trips between the United States and Europe. On February 6, 1947, his activities were exposed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and he has since been convicted in court of **perjury** and **contempt** of Congress.*

89. *What is the best way to combat Communism?*

*Detection, exposure, and prosecution.*

90. *Are these being done?*

*Millions of dollars have been spent by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Army and Navy Intelligence, and other executive agencies to detect and keep track of Communists since the Party's organization in this country a generation ago. Exposure in a systematic way began with the formation of the House Committee on Un-*

**Perjury:** Making a false statement under oath.

**Contempt:** In disobedience.

*American Activities, March 26, 1938. Prosecution of Communists, as such, has never taken place in this country, as yet.*

91. *Have any Communists been prosecuted on other grounds?*

*Yes. For violations of such laws as those governing passports, immigration, perjury, criminal **syndicism**, and contempt.*

92. *Is this enough?*

*No. The House of Representatives maintains this Committee on Un-American Activities to study the problems of Communism and all other subversive movements and recommend new laws if it feels they are needed.*

93. *Has the Committee made any such recommendations?*

*Yes. On September 22, 1950, H.R. 9490 was passed by both the House and the Senate, and became Public Law 8 31, eighty-first Congress, second session, "the Internal Security Act of 1950."*

94. *What does this law do?*

*The main points are: To expose Communists and their fronts by requiring them to register publicly with the Attorney General and plainly label all their propaganda as their own.*

*To forbid Communists passports or Government jobs. To make it illegal for ANYBODY to try to set up in this country a **totalitarian dictatorship** having ANY connection with a foreign power. To prevent Communists and members of other totalitarian parties from entering the United States.*

95. *What is Communism's greatest strength?*

*Its secret appeal to the lust for power. Some people have a natural urge to dominate others in all things. Communism invites them to try. The money, hard work, conspiracy, and violence that go into Communism, add up to a powerful force moving in a straight line toward control of the world.*

96. *What is Communism's greatest weakness?*

*The very things that give it strength. For just as some people have a natural lust to dominate everybody else, so do most people have a natural determination to be free. Communism can dominate only by force. Communism can be stopped by driving every Communist out of the place where he can capture power.*

97. *What is treason?*

**Syndicism:** An organized crime group.

**Totalitarian dictatorship:** A government ruled by one party, in this case the Communist Party.



*Our Constitution says that "Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court."*

98. *Are the Communists committing treason today?*

*The Soviet Union has launched what has been called a "cold war" on the United States. Therefore, Communists are engaged in what might be called "COLD WAR TREASON." If our war with Communism should ever change from "cold" to "hot" we can expect the Communists of the United States to fight against the flag of this country openly.*

99. *What should I do about all this?*

*Know the facts. Stay on the alert. Work as hard against the Communists as they work against you.*

100. *Where can I get information about Communism regularly?*

*Write the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

**Overt:** Open; not secret.



## **What happened next ...**

In 1949, the National Education Association, which represented public school teachers, declared communists "unfit" to teach in schools. Many universities also agreed that communists could not be professors. Many state governments required loyalty oaths that made employees swear they were not part of any communist organization. If they refused on the grounds that loyalty oaths violated an individual's liberties, then they could lose their job. Jackie Robinson (1919–1972), the first black Major League baseball player, testified before the HUAC about civil rights groups and communists. Then in 1950, U.S. senator Joseph R. McCarthy (1909–1957) of Wisconsin began his infamous four-year witch-hunt of accusing Americans of being communists, or traitors to their countries.

Republican senator Joseph R. McCarthy influenced the Cold War as much as or more than any other single American. He turned already extreme concerns about communism and homeland security into a national hysteria.

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### **Did you know ...**

- The HUAC hoped the one hundred question-answer format of the booklets would help anyone who got in a debate with a communist sympathizer to “destroy his arguments completely.”
- In three short years, from the end of World War II in August 1945 to the publication of this booklet, the democratic United States and the communist Soviet Union had gone from being allies to being enemies.
- In 1969, the HUAC was renamed the Internal Security Committee. Six years later, in 1975, the committee was abolished and its responsibilities were given to the House Judiciary Committee.

### **Consider the following ...**

- Seek out the HUAC’s answer to “Could I go to school?” How is your schooling currently different from what it would be under communism, according to this pamphlet?

- In question number 30 of the excerpt, locate countries already listed under communist on a map. Draw an iron curtain.
- What is meant by a communist “front” organization?

## For More Information

### Books

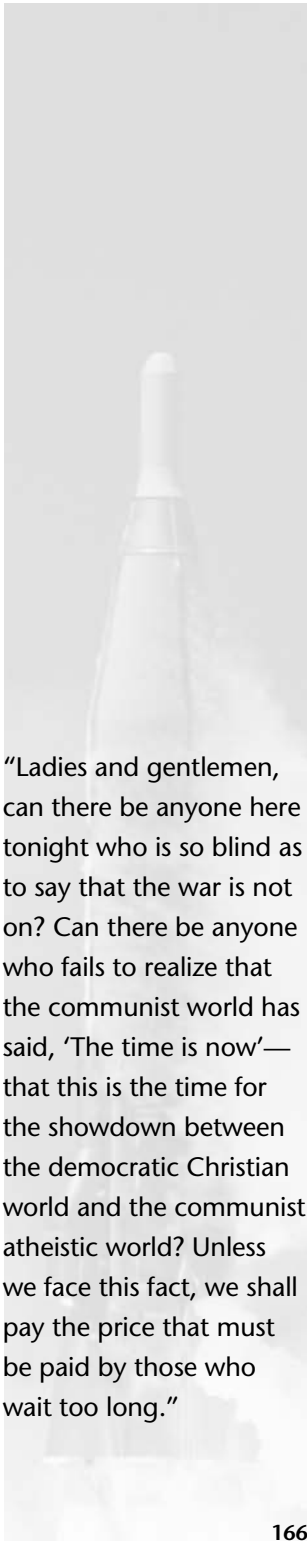
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“Ladies and gentlemen, can there be anyone here tonight who is so blind as to say that the war is not on? Can there be anyone who fails to realize that the communist world has said, ‘The time is now’—that this is the time for the showdown between the democratic Christian world and the communist atheistic world? Unless we face this fact, we shall pay the price that must be paid by those who wait too long.”

## Joseph R. McCarthy

*Excerpt from “Speech on Communists in the U.S. State Department Made Before the Women’s Republican Club in Wheeling, West Virginia, February 1950”*

**Available at CNN Interactive: Cold War (Web site)**

**U**.S. senator Joseph R. McCarthy (1908–1957) of Wisconsin influenced the Cold War (1945–91) as much as or more than any other single American. He took the extreme concerns about communism and homeland security that citizens had and created a national hysteria. His name permanently entered the U.S. vocabulary with the term “McCarthyism,” which came to mean “challenging a person’s individual character with lies and mean-spirited suggestions.” In early 1950, McCarthy was an ineffective Republican senator from Wisconsin. Worried about his chances for reelection in 1952, he decided to grab headlines by warning of disloyalty at the highest ranks of U.S. government in the State Department.

On February 9, 1950, McCarthy addressed the Ohio County Women’s Republican Club in Wheeling, West Virginia. In the Wheeling speech, McCarthy played on the Cold War and Red Scare fears (fear of a communist takeover) by asserting that the communist world, particularly the Soviet Union, was in a showdown with the democratic nations led by the United States. McCarthy dramatically held up a list that he claimed contained names of U.S. State Department



U.S. senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, with his attorney Roy Cohn, at a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing in 1951. *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

employees who supposedly were known members of or influenced by the Communist Party. McCarthy refused to reveal his sources or give all but a few names on the list. Some time later, it was discovered that the list he held up was his laundry list. Nevertheless, he had caught America's attention and became an instant celebrity.

With the speech, he had crowned himself the leading U.S. anticommunist, the exposé of communists. The American people and press listened intently. McCarthy appeared on the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines. McCarthy had hit upon a potent issue that he would pound on for the next four years. The following excerpt from "Speech on Communists in the U.S. State Department" warned Americans of a threat from within.

### **Things to remember while reading "Speech on Communists in the U.S. State Department":**

- Between 1947 and the end of 1949, McCarthy had developed a reputation in the U.S. Senate as a troublemaker.

He had made many enemies with arrogant, rude, inconsistent behavior.

- Nevertheless, McCarthy was a smooth energetic speaker and had a brilliant knack for grabbing news headlines at just the right time.
- Americans were already very fearful that the communists were indeed intent on taking over the United States.



### **Excerpt from “Speech on Communists in the U.S. State Department”**

*Ladies and Gentlemen: ...*

*Five years after a world war has been won, men’s hearts should anticipate a long peace, and men’s minds should be free from the heavy weight that comes with war. But this is not such a period—for this is not a period of peace. This is a time of the Cold War. This is a time when all the world is split into two vast, increasingly hostile armed camps—a time of a **great armaments** race. Today we can almost physically hear the mutterings and rumblings of an invigorated god of war. You can see it, feel it, and hear it all the way from the hills of Indochina, from the shores of Formosa [the island of Taiwan] right over into the very heart of Europe itself....*

*Today we are engaged in a final, all-out battle between communistic **atheism** and Christianity. The modern champions of communism have selected this as the time. And, ladies and gentlemen, the chips are down—they are truly down....*

*Ladies and gentlemen, can there be anyone here tonight who is so blind as to say that the war is not on? Can there be anyone who fails to realize that the communist world has said, “The time is now”—that this is the time for the showdown between the democratic Christian world and the communist atheistic world? Unless we face this fact, we shall pay the price that must be paid by those who wait too long.*

*Six years ago, at the time of the first conference to map out peace—Dumbarton Oaks [site of an estate used for conferences in the Washington, D.C., area]—there was within the Soviet orbit 180*

**Atheism:** A belief that there is no God.



million people. Lined up on the anti-totalitarian side [against Communist Party rule] there were in the world at that time roughly 1.625 billion people. Today, only six years later, there are 800 million people under the absolute domination of Soviet Russia—an increase of over 400 percent. On our side, the figure has shrunk to around 500 million. In other words, in less than six years the odds have changed from 9 to 1 in our favor to 8 to 5 against us. This indicates the swiftness of the *tempo* of communist victories and Amer-

A political cartoon shows U.S. senator Joseph McCarthy hunting for communists in Secretary of State John Foster Dulles's desk. Illustration by Reg Manning. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

**Tempo:** Pace; rate of speed.

ican defeats in the Cold War. As one of our outstanding historical figures once said, "When a great democracy is destroyed, it will not be because of enemies from without but rather because of enemies from within." The truth of this statement is becoming terrifyingly clear as we see this country each day losing on every front.

At war's end we were physically the strongest nation on Earth and, at least potentially, the most powerful intellectually and morally. Ours could have been the honor of being a **beacon** in the desert of destruction, a shining, living proof that civilization was not yet ready to destroy itself. Unfortunately, we have failed miserably and tragically to arise to the opportunity.

The reason why we find ourselves in a position of **impotency** is not because our only powerful, potential enemy has sent men to invade our shores, but rather because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this nation. It has not been the less fortunate or members of minority groups who have been selling this nation out, but rather those who have had all the benefits that the wealthiest nation on earth has had to offer—the finest homes, the finest college education, and the finest jobs in government we can give.

This is glaringly true in the State Department. There the bright young men who are born with **silver spoons in their mouths** are the ones who have been worst....

In my opinion the State Department, which is one of the most important government departments, is thoroughly **infested** with communists.

I have in my hand 57 cases of individuals who would appear to be either card-carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy.

One thing to remember in discussing the communists in our government is that we are not dealing with spies who get 30 pieces of silver to steal the blueprints of new weapons. We are dealing with a far more sinister type of activity because it permits the enemy to guide and shape our policy....

I know that you are saying to yourself, "Well, why doesn't the Congress do something about it?" Actually, ladies and gentlemen, one of the important reasons for the **graft**, the corruption, the dishonesty, the disloyalty, the treason in high government positions—

**Beacon:** A source of light or inspiration.

**Impotency:** Weakness.

**Silver spoons in their mouths:** Wealth.

**Infested:** Overrun by something unwanted in large numbers.

**Graft:** Dishonest use of a person's position.



one of the most important reasons why this continues—is a lack of moral uprising on the part of the 140 million American people. In the light of history, however, this is not hard to explain.

*It is the result of an emotional hangover and a temporary moral **lapse** which follows every war. It is the apathy to evil which people who have been subjected to the tremendous evils of war feel. As the people of the world see mass murder, the destruction of defenseless and innocent people, and all of the crime and lack of morals which go with war, they become numb and **apathetic**. It has always been thus after war. However, the morals of our people have not been destroyed. They still exist. This cloak of numbness and apathy has only needed a spark to rekindle them. Happily, this spark has finally been supplied...*

[The existence of communists] *has lighted the spark which is resulting in a moral uprising and will end only when the whole sorry mess of twisted warped thinkers are swept from the national scene so that we may have a new birth of national honesty and decency in government.*



## What happened next ...

The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) eagerly investigated all those persons on whom McCarthy cast suspicion. Not only did he attack lower-level government officials, but he also reached to the highest levels with his charges. He attacked Secretary of Defense George C. Marshall (1880–1959), Secretary of State Dean Acheson (1893–1971), and even Presidents Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53) and Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61). Republican leadership knew the outrageousness of McCarthy's charges but also knew it was political suicide to try to stop him. The public listened to him. He was reelected as senator of Wisconsin in 1952.

When Eisenhower was inaugurated as president of the United States in 1953, he tried to reel in McCarthy by assigning him to an unimportant committee called the Government Operations Committee. Instead, McCarthy within that committee created the Permanent Subcommittee on In-

**Lapse:** Small slip.

**Apathetic:** Emotionless.



U.S. senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin points to a map titled "Communist party organization of the U.S.A. Feb. 9, 1950," during HUAC testimony June 9, 1954, in Washington, D.C.

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

investigations and appointed himself chairman. The subcommittee became the McCarthy Committee that continued its probing and destruction of individuals, organizations, and even libraries. Finally, by 1954, the public had caught on. Criticism of McCarthyism mounted. When McCarthy began to attack the U.S. Army, he had pushed too far. President Eisenhower, working behind the scenes, and Army attorney Joseph N. Welch (1890–1960) brought McCarthy's long tirade of unjustified attacks to an end. The Senate voted to censure McCarthy, meaning they regarded his behavior from 1950 to 1954 as dishonorable.

### Did you know ...

- McCarthy's strategy was to attack then avoid. He attacked by casting doubt on an individual's political loyalties. Though never producing any evidence, he

nonetheless forced the individual to publicly defend his or her name.

- By early 1951, much of the American public, mesmerized by McCarthyism, really did not care if his charges were true or not.
- Simply being named by McCarthy as a possible subversive was often career-ending.
- For decades, the McCarthy hearings adversely affected U.S. diplomatic efforts toward the communist countries of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China.

### Consider the following ...

- Some called McCarthy a patriot; others accused him of vicious, irresponsible charges that ruined people's lives. Take a side and defend that stance.
- For decades, Americans struggled to comprehend how a person in the high-profile position of U.S. senator could discredit and trample the constitutionally protected liberties of so many people. What conditions in America allowed this to happen?
- In the twenty-first century, when someone accuses another of McCarthyism, of what are they accusing the person?

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## The Colorful Khrushchev

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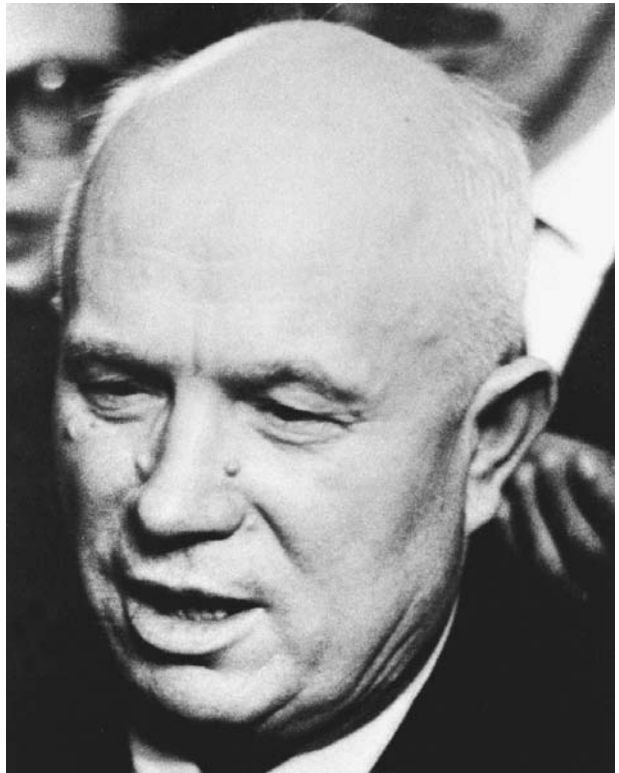
**N**ikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) was twenty-three years of age during the Bolshevik (Communist) Revolution in Russia in 1917. In the 1920s, Khrushchev was able to attend educational institutions established by the Communist Party to instruct young people in basic education and communist doctrine. A bright student and natural leader, Khrushchev began his rise in the Communist Party. By 1935, he held one of the top positions in the party: First Secretary of the Moscow city party. That same year, he was elected to the Soviet Central Committee, the organization that oversaw all the important administrative duties of the Communist Party. By 1939, he became a full member of the Politburo, the policy-making group of the Central Committee.

Khrushchev served in the Soviet army during World War II (1939–45) and rose to the rank of lieutenant general. Following World War II, Khrushchev was back in his native Ukraine in southern Russia, both as leader of the Ukraine Communist Party and as overseer of rebuilding the Ukraine's postwar economy. By the late 1940s, he had returned to Moscow and was one of the inner circle of Soviet leader Joseph

Stalin (1879–1953). He regularly dined with Stalin but managed to escape Stalin's regular purges of Soviet leaders. Stalin died in March 1953. A power struggle ensued between Khrushchev and Stalin's successor, Georgy Malenkov (1902–1988). By 1955, Khrushchev was firmly in power.

Khrushchev became the most colorful leader in Soviet history. Although he had come from a poor peasant background and had struggled to gain an education, he had learned rapidly from experience. He attacked all tasks with energy, enthusiasm, and directness. His mannerisms were boisterous, often rude, independent, and unconventional. Underneath the show was a warm, good-natured man who genuinely cared for the Soviet people and was more interested in the land and agriculture than in military weapons. With his rise to power, the terror tactics of Stalin's thirty-year dictatorship ended.

In the first excerpt here, the "Crimes of Stalin Speech," Khrushchev dared to reveal the murderous trail and paranoid life and activities of Stalin. The several-hour speech was met by shock, amazement, and thunderous applause. The second excerpt, from an article in *American Heritage*, by Sergei Khrushchev (1935–), is a firsthand look at Khrushchev's years in power, 1953 until 1964, through the eyes of his son. Sergei, as talented in the use of words as his father, shows a very human and practical Khrushchev carefully balancing the security of his country through the Cold War (1945–91). The final excerpt is from "Peace and Progress Must Triumph in Our Time," in which Nikita Khrushchev reported to the people of Moscow on his trip to the United States. The Soviets were very curious about what Americans were like, and Khrushchev related his impressions. In the address, he also called repeatedly for peaceful coexistence between the superpowers and for armament-reduction discussions.



**Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev.** *Courtesy of the Library of Congress.*



“After Stalin’s death the Central Committee of the Party began to implement a policy of explaining concisely and consistently that it is impermissible ... to elevate one person, to transform him into a superman possessing supernaturalistic characteristics akin to those of a god. Such a man supposedly knows everything, thinks for everyone, can do anything, is infallible in his behavior.”

## Nikita Khrushchev

*Excerpt from “Crimes of Stalin Speech”*

**Published in *A Treasury of the World’s Great Speeches*,  
published in 1954**

**O**n the night of February 24, 1956, during the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party being held at the Kremlin, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) ordered a select group of delegates to a secret meeting under tight security. The Kremlin was a centuries-old fort in Moscow that was used as the headquarters of the Communist Party. As the delegates approached the doors of the room where the unscheduled night meeting was to occur, they were apprehensive. Some, no doubt remembering the Stalin purges, were quietly terrified. What would befall them in the next hour was completely unknown.

The gathering of the Twentieth Congress had been going on for ten days, since February 14. The last day would be Saturday, February 25. The number of delegates with voting rights in attendance was 1,355, with 81 more delegates there as advisors. The conference session had covered all aspects of Soviet society from economy, agriculture, and health, to the problems of unemployment of youth. There were a few subtle changes from previous Congresses. Noticeably absent was the picture of former Soviet leader Joseph

Stalin (1879–1953) in the main hall. In addition, Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, addressing a general meeting, had delivered a seven-hour report with hardly a mention of Stalin.

Unknown to those entering the secret Friday night meeting was that there was little to fear. Gone were the days when Stalin would simply look into a man's eyes and, depending on what he thought he read in those eyes, the man's life would continue or be shortly ended. A new day had dawned in the Soviet Union. No longer were all problems, perceived problems, or controversies settled by torture and murder as they had been under Stalin. When Stalin died, so did the terror. Nikita Khrushchev spoke to the delegates gathered on Friday night as no Soviet official had dared to speak for three decades. In a several-hour speech, he carefully explained the years of rule by Stalin and pointed out the flaws and crimes of the communist past. The speech became known as Khrushchev's "Crimes of Stalin Speech."

## Things to remember while reading "Crimes of Stalin Speech":

- For thirty years, most of the delegates at the conference had been terrified of Stalin. A secret meeting could have easily meant the announcement of their death sentences.
- Stalin's legacy as a dictator was the Great Terror. The Terror involved execution or exile of millions of both opponents and supporters of the Communist Party.
- The Twentieth Congress was the first all-Party member conference since Stalin's death in 1953.



### *Excerpt from "Crimes of Stalin Speech"*

*Comrades!* [fellow communists, friends]...

After [Joseph] Stalin's death the **Central Committee** of the Party began to implement a policy of explaining concisely and consistently

**Central Committee:** Key administrative body.

**Impermissible:** Not allowable.

**Supernaturalistic:** Something beyond natural laws, such as characteristics of a god.

**Infallible:** Never making a mistake.

**Capricious:** Irrationally impulsive or unpredictable.

**Socialism:** A system of society in which the community or government owns or controls industry and land.

**Liquidated:** Gotten rid of.

**Contracted:** Decreased.

**Mass repression:** Keeping the whole population under strict control.

**Cadres:** Experienced military personnel.

**Collectivization:** Centralized control of production by the state.

that it is **impermissible** and foreign to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism [the founding theory of communism] to elevate one person, to transform him into a superman possessing **supernaturalistic** characteristics akin to those of a god. Such a man supposedly knows everything, thinks for everyone, can do anything, is **infallible** in his behavior.

Such a belief about a man, and specifically about Stalin, was cultivated among us for many years....

In December 1922, in a letter to the Party Congress, Vladimir Ilyich [Lenin] wrote: "After taking over the position of Secretary General [head of the Communist Party and consequently of the Soviet Union as well], Comrade Stalin accumulated in his hands immeasurable power and I am not certain whether he will be able to use this power with the required care.... Stalin is excessively rude, and this defect, which can be freely tolerated in our midst and in contacts among us Communists, becomes a defect which cannot be tolerated in one holding the position of the Secretary General. Because of this, I propose that the comrades consider the method by which Stalin would be removed from this position and by which another man would be selected for it, a man who, above all, would differ from Stalin in only one direction, namely, greater tolerance, greater loyalty, greater kindness and a more considerate attitude toward the comrades, a less **capricious** temper, etc."...

Some years later, when **socialism** in our country was fundamentally constructed, when the exploiting classes were generally **liquidated**, when the Soviet social structure had radically changed, when the social basis for political movements and groups hostile to the Party had violently **contracted**, when the ideological opponents [opposition to communism] of the Party were long since defeated politically—then the repression against them began.

It was precisely during this period [1935 to 1938] that the practice of **mass repression** through the government was born, first against the enemies of Leninism ... and subsequently also against many honest Communists, against those Party **cadres** who had borne the heavy load of the civil war [the Bolshevik Revolution of 1918] and the first and most difficult years of industrialization and **collectivization**.

Stalin originated the concept "enemy of the people." This term ... made possible the usage of the most cruel repression ... against anyone who in any way disagreed with Stalin, against those who were only suspected of hostile intent, against those who had bad reputations.





This concept, “enemy of the people,” actually eliminated the possibility of any kind of ideological fight or the making of one’s views known on this or that issue, even those of a practical character. In the main, and in actuality, the only proof of guilt used ... was the “confession” of the accused himself, and, as subsequent probing proved, “confessions” were acquired through physical pressures [torture] against the accused.

This led to ... the fact that many entirely innocent victims, who in the past had defended the Party line [communist ideals], became victims....

It was determined that of the one hundred thirty-nine members and candidates of the Party’s Central Committee who were elected at the Seventeenth Congress, ninety-eight persons, i.e., 70 percent, were arrested and shot [mostly 1937 to 1938]. [**Indignation** in the hall.]

Facts prove that many abuses were made on Stalin’s orders.... He could look at a man and say: “Why are your eyes so shifty today?” or, “Why do you turn so much today and avoid looking me

**Information card on Joseph Stalin, from the files of the St. Petersburg Tsarist police, around 1913.**  
 Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.

**Indignation:** Strong displeasure in something considered unworthy.

directly in the eyes?" This sickly suspiciousness created in him a general distrust, even toward **eminent** party workers whom he had known for years. Everywhere and in everything he saw "enemies," "two-faces," and "spies."

Possessing unlimited power, he indulged in great willfulness and choked a person morally and physically [destroyed the person]. A situation was created where one could not express one's own will....

Comrades, let us reach for some other facts. The Soviet Union is justly considered as a model of a multinational State because we have in practice assured the equality and friendship of all nations which live in our great Fatherland.

All the more monstrous are the acts whose **initiator** was Stalin and which are rude violations of the basic Leninist principles of the nationality policy [communism] of the Soviet State. We refer to the mass deportations from their native places of whole nations,... this **deportation** action was not dictated by any military considerations....

I recall the days when the conflict between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia began to be blown up artificially. Once, when I came from Kiev to Moscow, I was invited to visit Stalin, who, pointing to a copy of a letter sent to [Yugoslavian leader Josip] Tito, asked me, "Have you read this?"

Not waiting for my reply he answered, "I will shake my little finger and there will be no more Tito. He will fall."

We have paid dearly for this "shaking of the little finger." This statement reflects Stalin's **mania** for greatness, but he acted just that way: "I will shake my little finger—and there will be no Kossior"; "I will shake my little finger again and Postyshev and Chubar will be no more"; "I will shake my little finger once more—and Voznesensky, Kuznetsov [all Soviets that disappeared] and many others will disappear."

But this did not happen to Tito. No matter how much or little Stalin shook, not only his little finger but everything else that he could shake, Tito did not fall....

The question arises why [Lavrenty] Beria [head of the Soviet secret police, Stalin's main enforcer], who had liquidated tens of thousands of Party and Soviet workers, was not unmasked during Stalin's life? He was not unmasked earlier because he had very skillfully played on Stalin's weaknesses; feeding him with suspicion, he assisted Stalin in everything and acted with his support....

**Eminent:** High in rank.

**Initiator:** A person who begins or introduces.

**Deportation:** Sending undesirable people out of a country.

**Mania:** Excessive desire.

Stalin's reluctance to consider **life's realities** and the fact that he was not aware of the real state of affairs in the provinces can be illustrated by his direction of agriculture. All those who interested themselves even a little in the national situation saw the difficult situation in agriculture, but Stalin never even noted it. Did we tell Stalin about this? Yes, we told him, but he did not support us. Why? Because Stalin never traveled anywhere, did not meet city and kolkhoz [collective farm] workers; he did not know the actual situation in the provinces. He knew the country and agriculture only from films. And these films had dressed up and beautified the existing situation in agriculture. Many films so pictured kolkhoz life that the tables were bending from the weight of turkeys and geese. Evidently Stalin thought it was actually so....



Comrades! The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has manifested with a new strength the unshakable unity of our Party, its **cohesiveness** around the Central Committee, its resolute will to accomplish the great task of building communism. [Tumultuous applause.] And the fact that we present in all their **ramifications** the basic problems of overcoming the **cult of the individual** which is alien to Marxism-Leninism, as well as the problem of liquidating its burdensome consequences [righting the wrongs done under Stalin], is an evidence of the great moral and political strength of our party. [Prolonged applause.]

We are absolutely certain that our Party, armed with the historical resolutions of the Twentieth Congress, will lead the Soviet people along the Leninist path to new successes, to new victories. [Tumultuous, prolonged applause.]

Long live the victorious banner of our Party—Leninism. [Tumultuous, prolonged applause ending in ovation. All rise.]



**Joseph Stalin, the brutal and absolute leader of the communist Soviet Union from 1929 until his death in 1953.** Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.

**Life's realities:** Real-life conditions.

**Cohesiveness:** Sticking tightly.

**Ramifications:** Results of an action.

**Cult of the individual:** Glorification of an individual as if the individual were superhuman.

## What happened next ...

The relief in the hall was overwhelming. Astonished at Khrushchev's words, the delegates broke out in thunderous, sustained applause. Copies of the speech were released to party leaders. Following the epic speech, special Communist Party meetings were held throughout the Soviet Union to carry forward Khrushchev's message. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) managed to get a copy of the speech out of Moscow. On June 4, 1956, a translated copy was released to the press by the U.S. State Department.

The Communist government in China under Mao Zedong (1893–1976) highly disapproved of Khrushchev's speech. To the Chinese, it broke from traditional communist doctrine. The speech also caused shock in Eastern European countries. Unintentionally, it fostered a mood of rebellion against communist rule, especially against hard-line Stalin supporters. The rebellious mood in Hungary broke into open revolt on November 1956. Khrushchev felt compelled to crush the revolt, killing soldiers and civilians alike. With his actions in Hungary, the prestige he had gained within the international community was lost.

Nevertheless, Khrushchev indeed went down a different path from Stalin. Rather than secluding himself in the Kremlin, he traveled widely across the Soviet Union and to foreign countries, including Great Britain and the United States.

## Did you know ...

- Khrushchev, to survive the purges of Stalin, worked with Stalin as a close advisor in the 1930s and 1940s. In a January 1937 speech, he said, "Stalin is hope; ... Stalin is our banner! Stalin is our will! Stalin is our victory!"
- It was not surprising to many who knew the flamboyant, independent-thinking Khrushchev that he could deliver such a risky, revolutionary speech.
- The "Crimes of Stalin Speech" is considered Khrushchev's most dramatic moment in his colorful history as leader of the Soviet Union.

## Consider the following ...

- According to Khrushchev, Stalin was out of touch with “life’s realities,” or the real conditions facing Soviet citizens. Why?
- Khrushchev spoke of “overcoming the cult of the individual.” Explain what a “cult of the individual” is and why it is dangerous. Can you think of any European leaders during World War II who enjoyed “cult of the individual” status?
- If Stalin “shook his little finger” at you, what would happen?

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er whether the Americans were irrevocably bent on war or whether it was possible to reach agreement with them. Interestingly enough, the White House was thinking along more or less the same lines.

In April 1953 President Eisenhower took the first step, delivering a rather **conciliatory** speech [the “Chance for Peace Speech;” see Chapter 4, second excerpt] at the National Press Club, in Washington. The next day it was published in full in Pravda [the Soviet Communist Party newspaper], an unprecedented event in those times. Probably this was the turning point from war to peace, and the beginning of dialogue. But it was only the beginning. Both parties had to learn to understand each other. Living on either side of the **iron curtain**, we knew nothing about each other. Diplomats and intelligence agents supplied their leaders with information, of course, but that was not enough to gain an understanding of the other side. We had to look into each other’s eyes.

The first time that my father and President Eisenhower met was in Geneva in 1955, at the Four-Power Summit Conference. The most important thing that happened in Geneva was that Khrushchev and Eisenhower got to know each other, made their first contacts, and held their first talks. The first step is the most difficult. The process of getting acquainted was not without its curious moments. During one of the breaks between sessions, Eisenhower introduced Father to his assistant Nelson Rockefeller. Father inquired, “Is he that Rockefeller?” As Father told me when he returned to Moscow, his curiosity was very much aroused when he was told that this was indeed that Rockefeller. A multimillionaire, but looking no different from anyone else, not in top hat and tails but modestly dressed, moreover serving in a **subordinate** position. Continuing his account, Father said that he was dying to touch a real multi-millionaire, but he didn’t know how that would be taken. He didn’t hesitate for long, though, but spread his arms and embraced Rockefeller somewhere around the waist. (Rockefeller was a head and a half taller than Father.) At first Rockefeller was taken aback, but after a moment he responded in kind. I’m describing this to give the reader a sense of what the atmosphere was like in those years. It is hard for us now to imagine how distant we were from each other and how little we understood each other. Such episodes were more valuable than any routine session of negotiations, which were as yet essentially unproductive.

The first misunderstandings also arose in Geneva, and some of them had far-reaching consequences. Eisenhower presented his

**Conciliatory:** Friendly and full of good will.

**Iron curtain:** Symbolic boundary between the bloc of Soviet-dominated communist countries in Eastern Europe and democratic Western Europe.


**Subordinate:** Less important.

# Nikita Khrushchev

*Excerpt from "Peace and Progress Must Triumph in Our Time"*  
Originally published in *Soviet Booklets*

In September 1959, Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971), accompanied by his wife, Nina Petrovina Khrushchev (1900–1984), visited the United States for the first time at the invitation of U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61). On his return home, he reported on his trip to the people of Moscow at the packed Sports Palace of Lenin Stadium. His address, delivered on September 28, 1959, cleverly intertwined a call for peaceful coexistence of the world's nations, a travelogue-like accounting of each U.S. city he visited, and a call for disarmament discussions between the superpowers.

At each stop, Khrushchev perceptively related to his Moscovites how he was received. The trip began in Washington, D.C., where President Eisenhower greeted him with a welcome suitable for the leader of "our great country." Khrushchev was annoyed, however, at Vice President Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994), who had just delivered a speech before the Association of Dentists that indicated that he did not want the Cold War (1945–91) to end. Khrushchev moved onward to New York City, where he addressed the United Nations. Khrushchev reported that he was tightly guarded as he proceeded to Los An-



"A great deal would perish in [a nuclear] war. It would be too late to discuss what peaceful co-existence means when such frightful means of destruction as atom and hydrogen bombs, and ballistic rockets which are practically impossible to intercept and are capable of delivering nuclear warheads to any part of the globe, go into action. To disregard this is to shut one's eyes and ears and bury one's head like the ostrich does when in danger."

**Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev (right) walks with U.S. vice president Richard Nixon in Moscow, 1959. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.**



geles, California. Because of security concerns, he was not allowed to visit Disneyland, which he had very much wanted to do. Also he kept hearing speeches quoting him as saying the Soviets would “bury the capitalists.” He said the quote was taken out of context, and to him it seemed that U.S. speech makers were “using the communist bogey to frighten people [Americans] who have only a vague notion of what communism is.” Khrushchev complained of the too-tight security and the mean-spirited speeches while in Los Angeles.



The next morning, Khrushchev traveled to the “big and beautiful city” of San Francisco, and “everything had indeed changed.” He was “unhandcuffed” (he could go out among crowds of people) and heard no more divisive speeches. He was warmly greeted there and spoke to the Longshoremen’s Union. Soon he was off to Iowa, where he met his friend, farmer and businessman Roswell Garst (1898–1977), toured cornfields, and met with other farmers. It was then on to the industrial city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where he chatted not only with workers but also with businessmen and intellectuals. Lastly, he returned to Washington, D.C., for his meetings with Eisenhower.

The following excerpt is taken from the portions of the speech that dealt with the very serious points of peaceful coexistence and disarmament. Khrushchev related that in the twentieth century, humans should no longer live like beasts ready to destroy each other. Instead, he believed that nations must meet to resolve problems and begin to live peacefully side by side in “peaceful co-existence.” He insisted that those who did not earnestly seek a peaceful coexistence were only intensifying the Cold War. Khrushchev next told the Soviet audience that indeed there were those in the United States who were against relieving Cold War tensions, and then he proceeded to thoroughly scold them. Khrushchev turned to the end of his trip—three days at Camp David, the U.S. presidential retreat 70 miles (113 kilometers) from Washington. It was during this time that Khrushchev and Eisenhower began to actually develop a dialogue of mutual confidence.

### **Things to remember while reading “Peace and Progress Must Triumph in Our Time”:**

- Although he felt warmly greeted by many people, Khrushchev also related that there were hostile and grim American faces in the crowd. The Cold War was, after all, still in a highly tense period.
- Despite tensions, Khrushchev was eager to relate that he wanted to “thaw the ice and normalize international relations.”
- Relating his travels gave his curious audience a picture of America on a human level. It gave a human face to the need for peaceful coexistence.



## Excerpt from “Peace and Progress Must Triumph in Our Time”

*On his Visit to the United States to a meeting of Moscow People at the Sports Palace of the Lenin Stadium September 28, 1959.*

*The most farsighted statesmen of a number of countries have come to realize the need to make some kind of efforts to end the cold war, to do away with the tension which has developed in international relations, to clear the atmosphere and create more or less normal relations among states. Then the nations would be able to live and look to the future without fear.*

*The 20th century is a century of the greatest flourishing of human thought and genius.... Must we, in this period of the flourishing of human genius, which is penetrating the secrets of nature and harnessing its mighty forces, put up with **primitive relations** being maintained like those that existed between people when man was still a beast?...*

*Our times can and should become a time of the fulfillment of great ideals, a time of peace and progress.*

*The Soviet government has long been aware of this. Precisely for this reason we have repeatedly proposed to the great powers that a meeting between heads of government be arranged so as to exchange views on urgent international problems. When we made these proposals we were expressing our belief in man’s reason. We believed that, given a wise approach, the proponents of various political views, countries with differing social systems, would be able to find a common language so as to resolve correctly and in the interests of consolidating peace the present-day problems that cause concern to all mankind.*

*In our age of great technical progress, in conditions when there are states with different social systems, international problems cannot be resolved successfully in any other way than on principles of **peaceful co-existence**. There is no other way.*

*Those people who say they do not understand what peaceful co-existence is and are fearful of it, contribute, willingly or unwillingly, to the further intensification of the cold war, which will certainly extend if we do not interfere and stop it. It will reach a **pitch** where a spark might at any moment set off a world **conflagration**.*

**Primitive relations:**

Continuing hostilities.

**Peaceful co-existence:**

Maintaining international relations without hostilities.

**Pitch:** Tense level.

**Conflagration:** A large, destructive fire; here, meaning resulting from nuclear war.



## Corn, Khrushchev, and Roswell Garst

Nikita Khrushchev saw Soviet production of corn as a means of raising the level of food production toward levels in America. Corn would supply feed for livestock and thereby raise meat production as well.

In 1955, about the same time as the end of the Geneva Conference, the KGB, the Soviet intelligence agency, placed a newspaper editorial from an Iowa paper, the *Des Moines Register*, on Khrushchev's desk. The article called on the superpowers to compete on the farm fields, a "corn race" instead of an "arms race." Immediately, Khrushchev sent the best Soviet agricultural scientists to Iowa to see the latest advances in corn production. Then the Soviet delegation invited American farmers to the Soviet Union. The Cold War was at its height, and only one Iowa farmer dared to take up the offer. He was Roswell Garst. Garst would subsequently make many visits to the Soviet Union, as he and

Khrushchev got along famously. Garst traveled to southern Russian cornfields to advise and supervise planting techniques. Khrushchev remarked, "This American capitalist cares more about our harvests than Soviet collective farmers do."

In his book *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower*, Sergei Khrushchev, Nikita's son, related that on a trip to Iowa in the 1990s, the governor of Iowa quipped that when he had gone to the Soviet Union, the Russians he encountered exclaimed, "Iowa! The most famous American state! Nikita Khrushchev brought corn from there to the Soviet Union." It seemed the Iowa governor never ran into anyone in a foreign country that had ever even heard of Iowa. Sergei also related he believed the friendship between Garst and his father was no less fruitful than many months of negotiations of veteran diplomats in easing tensions between the two countries.

*A great deal would perish in such a war. It would be too late to discuss what peaceful co-existence means when such frightful means of destruction as atom and hydrogen bombs, and ballistic rockets which are practically impossible to intercept and are capable of delivering nuclear warheads to any part of the globe, go into action. To disregard this is to shut one's eyes and ears and bury one's head like the ostrich does when in danger.*

*But if we, the people, imitate this ostrich and hide our heads in the sand, then, I ask you: What is the use of having this head if it is unable to avert the threat to its very life?*

*No, we must display human reason and confidence in this reason, confidence in the possibility of reaching agreement with states-*

men of different countries, and mobilize the people by joint efforts to avert the war danger. It is necessary to have the will-power and courage to go against those who persist in continuing the cold war. It is necessary to bar the road to it, to thaw the ice and normalize international relations....

We also met with hostile and grim American faces....

What am I saying this for? Is it because I want to cool the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States? No, I am speaking about this because you ought to know the truth and so that you may see, not only the side that is pleasant to us, but also the other, backstage, side which should not be concealed. There are forces in America which are acting against us, against the easing of tension and for the continuation of the cold war.

To disregard that would mean showing weakness in the struggle against those evil forces, against those evil spirits. No, they must be exposed; they must be shown to the world and publicly whipped; they must be subjected to the torments of **Hades**. Let those who want to continue the cold war fume. No ordinary people anywhere in the world, no sensible person will support them....

I jokingly said to Mr. [U.N. ambassador John Cabot] Lodge that if I, a representative of the working class, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and he, a representative of the capitalist world, were by chance cast away on a desert island we would probably find a common language and ensure peaceful co-existence there. Why, then, cannot the states with differing social systems ensure co-existence? Our states are also, so to speak, on an island—after all, with the present-day means of communication, which have brought the continents so close together, our planet really resembles a small island, and we should realize this. Having understood the need for co-existence, we should pursue a peaceful policy, live in friendship, not **brandish** weapons but destroy them.

Comrades, on September 25 we again met the United States President at the White House and left together with him by helicopter for his country residence, which is called Camp David. We stayed there on September 25, 26 and 27....

It should be taken into account, however, that with the President we could not, of course, clear out at one go all the cold war rubble that has piled up during many years. It will take time to clear out this rubbish, and not only clear it out but destroy it. Things dividing us are still too fresh in the memory. Sometimes it is

**Hades:** An underworld inhabited by desperate souls in Greek mythology.

**Brandish:** Display threateningly.

*difficult for certain statesmen to give up the old positions, the old views and formulas.*

*But I will tell you with all frankness, dear comrades, that I got the impression from the talks and discussions on concrete questions with the United States President that he sincerely wishes to end the state of cold war, to create normal relations between our two countries, to promote the improvement of relations among all states. Peace is indivisible now and it cannot be ensured by the efforts of two or three countries alone. So we must strive for peace in such a way that all the nations, all the countries are drawn into this struggle.*

*We exchanged views with the United States President on questions of disarmament. He said that the United States government was studying our proposal and that the United States, just as we did, wanted complete disarmament under proper control [some sort of inspection program to ensure compliance]....*

*I want to tell you, dear comrades, that I do not doubt the President's readiness to exert his will and efforts to reach agreement between our two countries, to create friendly relations between our two nations and to solve urgent problems in the interests of strengthening peace.*

*At the same time I got the impression that there are forces in America which are not working in the same direction as the President. Those forces are in favor of continuing the cold war and in favor of the arms race. I would not be in a hurry to say whether those forces are large or small, influential or not influential, whether the forces supporting the President—and he is backed by the absolute majority of the American people—can win....*

*For our part we shall do everything we can to turn the barometer's hand away from "stormy," and even from "changeable," towards "fine"....*

*In our actions we rely on reason, on truth, on the support of all the people. Moreover, we rely on our great potential.*

*And let it be known to those who want to continue the cold war so as to turn it sooner or later into a shooting war, that in our times only a madman can start a war, and he himself will perish in its flames....*

*Dear Comrades Muscovites, we are boundlessly happy to return home, to see the faces of the Soviet people which are so dear to our hearts.*

*Long live the great Soviet people, who are successfully building communism under the leadership of the glorious Leninist party!*

*Long live Soviet-American friendship!*

*Long live friendship among all the peoples of the world!*



### **What happened next ...**

When Khrushchev left Camp David, the two super-power leaders' relationship seemed to be on a much stronger footing. The improved relations were referred to as the Spirit of Camp David. Although no agreements were concluded, Khrushchev and Eisenhower conferred on such topics as the high cost of developing and producing military "toys" to be sure they are ready for a future war. They commiserated on the power of the military leaders demanding more and more funds for more and more weapons. According to Sergei Khrushchev (see previous excerpt in this chapter), the first signs of mutual confidence appeared. They agreed to meet again in Europe in May 1960.

The improving relations chilled, however, just before the next scheduled meeting. On May 1, an American U-2 spy plane was shot down by a Soviet anti-aircraft missile. The pilot was captured alive. Eisenhower refused to apologize, and Khrushchev refused to participate in the summit in protest. It also resulted in cancellation of the U.S. president's visit to the Soviet Union that had been widely heralded. The two would not meet again. Nevertheless, a foundation for future negotiations now existed.

### **Did you know ...**

- Khrushchev's trip to the United States was followed intently by the Soviet public. The general feeling was pride that he was reaching out to the Americans.
- Khrushchev saw the trip as a starting point for ending the Cold War.

- Just before his arrival, a significant portion of the U.S. press had published statements, editorials, and articles that had a very anti-Khrushchev tone. Khrushchev considered this a “propaganda campaign against my visit.”

### Consider the following ...

- Relate Khrushchev’s following symbolism of an ostrich to the Cold War: “But if we, the people, imitate this ostrich and hide our heads in the sand, then, I ask you: What is the use of having this head if it is unable to avert the threat to its very life?”
- What did Khrushchev and Eisenhower learn during their Camp David meeting?
- According to Sergei Khrushchev, with what does the ultimate fate of humankind “rest”?

### For More Information

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## Endangered Berlin

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**B**y 1947, the Cold War (1945–91) clearly was the most threatening issue dominating international affairs. The Cold War was not fought on battlefields with large armies. Instead, it evolved into a battle of ideologies, or social and political ideas, between the communist Soviet Union and the democratic, capitalistic Western nations led by the United States. Communism is a system of government in which the nation's leaders are selected by a single political party that controls almost all aspects of society. Private ownership of property is eliminated and government directs all economic production. The goods produced and accumulated wealth are, in theory, shared relatively equally by all. At the epicenter of the Cold War were Germany and its capital city, Berlin.

World War II (1939–45) had come to an end in Europe on May 7, 1945, when Germany surrendered to the Allies in Reims, France. The Big Four allies were the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. Immediately, Germany was divided into four zones. Each zone was occupied by troops from one of the Big Four powers. The American, British, and French zones, under democratic influence, were soon collec-



tively known as West Germany. The Soviet zone, under communist influence, was known as East Germany.

Berlin was located 110 miles (177 kilometers) deep within the Soviet zone. Nevertheless, Berlin was also divided into four sectors. The U.S., British, and French sectors became known as West Berlin. The Soviet sector was known as East Berlin. The three Western powers expected the Soviets to grant free access to West Berlin through road, rail, water, and air routes from West Germany across and over East Germany into West Berlin.

An actual peace treaty between the four powers concerning the future of Germany did not materialize despite extensive negotiations. The biggest dispute was reunification of Germany. Because of the damage Germany did to the Soviet Union in World War II, the Soviets were bitterly opposed to a reunified Germany, which they assumed would again pose a threat to the Soviet Union. The United States and Britain both agreed that a reunited, rebuilt Germany would hopefully stand in the way of further westward spread of communism. France detested the idea of a strong reunited Germany but nevertheless sided with the United States and Britain.

Relations between the Western powers and the Soviets continued to worsen, and no settlement could be reached. In response, the Soviets began to harass those using transportation routes into West Berlin. Democratic West Berlin, deep in Soviet-controlled East Germany, was a very sore thorn in the Soviets' side. The harassment soon escalated into a full blockade in June 1948 of all land and water routes into West Berlin, effectively blocking it from receiving supplies from West Germany. However, the United States, Britain, and to a lesser extent France organized an airlift of supplies into the stranded portion of the city. The airlift was an amazing success: By the spring of 1949, 8,000 tons (about 7,250 metric tons) of vital supplies arrived each day at West Berlin airports. On May 12, 1949, the Soviets halted the blockade and reopened highway, train, and water routes through East Germany into Berlin. Relations between the Western powers and the Soviets, however, remained frigid.

Through the 1950s, West Germany's economy regrouped and flourished. East Germany made progress but lagged far behind the West. More and more East Germans



**Children cheer as a U.S. cargo plane with supplies for West Berlin flies overhead during the Soviet blockade of 1948–49.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

finished their education in East Germany but then left for jobs in the free and capitalist West Germany. It is estimated that roughly three million East Germans left for the West during the 1950s. Those leaving were skilled industrial craftsmen, farmers, scientists, engineers, doctors, lawyers, and teachers. This was a brain and labor drain that struggling East Germany could not afford.

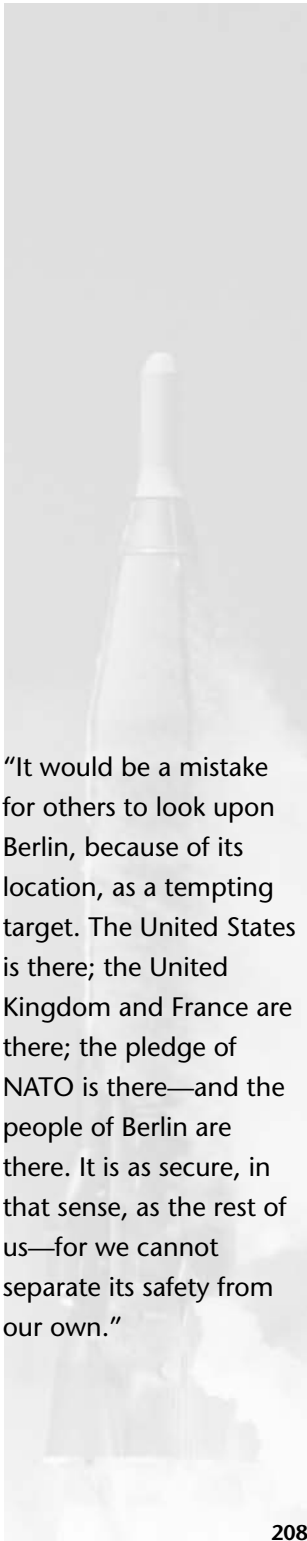
The refugees' escape route was through Berlin. Soon after taking power, East German leader Walter Ulbricht (1893–1973) had closed the entire 900-mile (1,448-kilometer) border between East and West Germany, making travel between the two impossible. But the four sectors in Berlin remained wide open, with many East Berliners making the daily commute to West Berlin for work and shopping. East Germans wishing to leave for the West simply made their way to East Berlin. Some, over a few weeks or months, discreetly took a few belongings at a time into West Berlin.

When ready, East Germans then simply registered at a refugee assembly camp in the Western sector. Most were sent on into West Germany, where jobs were plentiful.

The migration from east to west was devastating to the East German economy. Ulbricht complained loud and long to the Soviets and demanded that Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) do something to stop the population loss. Ulbricht demanded the Soviet army be used to invade West Berlin, rid it of Western influence, and unite Berlin under his control. This would close the last route out and stop the population drain. However, Khrushchev knew the Western powers had drawn a “line in the sand” at Berlin as evidenced by the Berlin airlift of 1948 and 1949. Nevertheless, he reinitiated a crisis state in Berlin in November 1958 by demanding that the United States proceed with work on a German peace treaty. If they did not, Khrushchev would deal directly with East Germany and turn over to the East Germans control over all transportation routes into West Berlin. The United States rejected Khrushchev’s demands.

The first excerpt is the “Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Berlin Crisis, July 25, 1961,” from U.S. president John F. Kennedy (1917–1963; served 1961–63). Kennedy had just returned from his first and only meeting with Khrushchev and reported on the grave Berlin situation. The second excerpt, “Khrushchev’s Secret Speech on the Berlin Crisis, August 1961,” is the Soviet leader’s reaction to Kennedy’s speech on July 25 (the first excerpt). Khrushchev spoke to a small group of top leaders of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union and to leaders of the Socialist (Communist) parties in Eastern European countries, including Walter Ulbricht of East Germany.

By August 13, 1961, the infamous Berlin Wall would be in place dividing East Berlin from West Berlin. The wall remained until November 1989. In June 1963, President Kennedy traveled to a divided Berlin and delivered his stirring speech, commonly known as the “I am a Berliner” speech. The third excerpt is from this speech. He addressed this speech to thousands of West Berliners gathered at Rudolph Wild Platz, West Berlin, on June 26, 1963.



“It would be a mistake for others to look upon Berlin, because of its location, as a tempting target. The United States is there; the United Kingdom and France are there; the pledge of NATO is there—and the people of Berlin are there. It is as secure, in that sense, as the rest of us—for we cannot separate its safety from our own.”

# John F. Kennedy

*Excerpt from “Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Berlin Crisis, July 25, 1961”*

**Published in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1961***

**O**n November 27, 1958, Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971), irritated that a German peace treaty had yet to be agreed on, threw Berlin into another crisis when he sent a letter to Western powers. The letter gave them six months to make substantial progress on a German peace treaty. If the Western powers did not accomplish this, Khrushchev would make a separate treaty with East Germany on May 27, 1959. In this treaty, all transportation routes into West Berlin would be turned over to East German control. The East Germans would then presumably do all they could to force out the Western powers and make West Berlin a part of East Germany. Khrushchev also demanded withdrawal of Western troops from Berlin.

The Soviets and East German leader Walter Ulbricht (1893–1973) were pleased with Khrushchev’s tough stand. The peace treaty they sought would permanently divide Germany and recognize both East and West Germany as independent nations. East Germany would provide the communist buffer between the West and the Soviet Union. The United States instead wanted Germany reunited into one country.



**U.S. president John F. Kennedy.** *Reproduced by permission of the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library.*

U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61) and the Western allies rejected Khrushchev's demands and collectively held their breath. The Western allies would not pull out of Berlin, nor could they come to terms on a peace treaty to the liking of the Soviets. They believed Khrushchev would not actually go to war—which could risk turning into a nuclear war—over Berlin. They guessed right. Khrushchev backed down from his six-month ultimatum. May 27, 1959, passed without incident.

John F. Kennedy (1919–1963; served 1961–63) was elected U.S. president in November 1960 and took office on January 20, 1961. During the previous year-and-a-half, tough negotiations over Berlin had continued. The increasingly bold Ulbricht demanded economic assistance from the Soviets as thousands of East German workers and professionals continued to leave for West Germany. His excessive demands strained the Soviet Union's economy. He also relentlessly implored Khrushchev to halt the population drain by taking over West Berlin. In this atmosphere, the new U.S. president met with Khrushchev in June 1961 in Vienna, Austria.

In Vienna, both Khrushchev and Kennedy held a tight line—neither budged on their stands on Germany and Berlin. The young Kennedy was clearly taken aback by Khrushchev’s behavior. The Soviet leader talked too loudly, spoke rudely, and generally created quite an uproar. Kennedy had been warned but never expected the level of intimidation coming from Khrushchev. Unwavering but shaken, Kennedy returned to the United States. He addressed the American people over radio and television on July 25, 1961, concerning his talks about Berlin with Khrushchev.

**Things to remember while reading the excerpt from “Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Berlin Crisis, July 25, 1961”:**

- West Berlin had become a symbol or “outpost” of the free world within a communist-dominated area. Western powers had drawn the line to stop the spread of communism at Berlin in 1948 with the Berlin airlift. They would not leave West Berlin.
- Both the United States and the Soviet Union possessed stockpiles of nuclear weapons. Should a dispute ever push the powers to war, the Soviets could destroy West Germany, England, and France in a matter of minutes. Soviet missiles could reach the United States just as U.S. missiles were reaching the Soviet Union.
- Khrushchev was under intense pressure from Soviet leaders at home and East German leader Ulbricht to rid Berlin of Westerners and to halt the exodus of East Germans through Berlin to the West.



***Excerpt from “Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Berlin Crisis, July 25, 1961”***

*Good evening:*



*Seven weeks ago tonight I returned from Europe to report on my meeting with Premier [Nikita] Khrushchev and the others. His grim warnings about the future of the world ... [and] Berlin, his subsequent speeches and threats which he and his agents have launched, and the increase in the Soviet military budget that he has announced, have all prompted a series of decisions by the Administration and a series of consultations with the members of the **NATO** organization....*

*The immediate threat to free men is in West Berlin. But that isolated outpost is not an isolated problem. The threat is worldwide. Our effort must be equally wide and strong.... We face a challenge in Berlin, but there is also a challenge in southeast Asia, where the borders are less guarded, the enemy harder to find, and the dangers of communism less apparent to those who have so little. We face a challenge ... indeed wherever else the freedom of human beings is at stake.*

*Let me remind you that the fortunes of war and diplomacy left the free people of West Berlin, in 1945, 110 miles behind the **Iron Curtain**....*

**U.S. president John F. Kennedy wipes his brow before speaking to the nation about the Berlin Crisis on July 25, 1961.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

**NATO:** North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a peacetime alliance of the United States and eleven other nations.

**Iron Curtain:** Symbolic boundary between the bloc of Soviet-dominated communist countries in Eastern Europe and democratic Western Europe.

*Thus, our presence in West Berlin, and our access thereto, cannot be ended by any act of the Soviet government. The NATO **shield** was long ago extended to cover West Berlin—and we have given our word that an attack upon that city will be regarded as an attack upon us all.*

*For West Berlin—lying exposed 110 miles inside East Germany, surrounded by Soviet troops and close to Soviet supply lines, has many roles. It is more than a showcase of liberty, a symbol, an island of freedom in a Communist sea. It is even more than a link with the Free World, a beacon of hope behind the Iron Curtain, an escape hatch for refugees.*

*West Berlin is all of that. But above all it has now become—as never before—the great testing place where our solemn commitments stretching back over the years since 1945, and Soviet ambitions now meet in basic confrontation.*

*It would be a mistake for others to look upon Berlin, because of its location, as a tempting target. The United States is there; the United Kingdom and France are there; the pledge of NATO is there—and the people of Berlin are there. It is as secure, in that sense, as the rest of us—for we cannot separate its safety from our own....*

*We do not want to fight—but we have fought before....*

*So long as the Communists insist that they are preparing to end by themselves **unilaterally** our rights in West Berlin and our commitments to its people, we must be prepared to defend those rights and those commitments....*

*The new preparations that we shall make to defend the peace are part of the long-term build-up in our strength which has been underway since January....*

*We have another sober responsibility. To recognize the possibilities of nuclear war in the missile age, without our citizens knowing what they should do and where they should go if bombs begin to fall, would be a failure of responsibility. In May, I pledged a new start on Civil Defense. Last week, I assigned, on the recommendation of the Civil Defense Director [Frank Ellis], basic responsibility for this program to the Secretary of Defense [Robert S. McNamara], to make certain it is administered and coordinated ... at the highest civilian level. Tomorrow, I am requesting of the Congress new funds for the following immediate objectives: to identify and mark space in existing structures—public and private—that could be used for*

**Shield:** Military protection.

**Unilaterally:** Acting on their own.



*fall-out shelters in case of attack; to stock those shelters with food, water, first-aid kits and other minimum essentials for survival; to increase their capacity; to improve our air-raid warning and fall-out detection systems, including a new household warning system which is now under development; and to take other measures that will be effective at an early date to save millions of lives if needed.*

*In the event of an attack, the lives of those families which are not hit in a nuclear blast and fire can still be saved—if they can be warned to take shelter and if that shelter is available. We owe that kind of insurance to our families—and to our country. In contrast to our friends in Europe, the need for this kind of protection is new to our shores. But the time to start is now. In the coming months, I hope to let every citizen know what steps he can take without delay to protect his family in case of attack....*

*We recognize the Soviet Union's historical concern about their security in Central and Eastern Europe, after a series of ravaging invasions, and we believe arrangements can be worked out which will help to meet those concerns, and make it possible for both security and freedom to exist in this troubled area....*

*The world is not deceived by the Communist attempt to label Berlin as a hot-bed of war. There is peace in Berlin today. The source of world trouble and tension is Moscow, not Berlin. And if war begins, it will have begun in Moscow and not Berlin....*

*And the challenge is not to us alone. It is a challenge to every nation which asserts its **sovereignty** under a system of liberty. It is a challenge to all those who want a world of free choice. It is a special challenge to the **Atlantic Community**—the heartland of human freedom....*

*The solemn voice each of us gave to West Berlin in time of peace will not be broken in time of danger. If we do not meet our commitments to Berlin, where will we later stand? If we are not true to our word there, all that we have achieved in collective security, which relies on these words, will mean nothing. And if there is one path above all others to war, it is the path of weakness and disunity.*

*Today, the endangered frontier of freedom runs through divided Berlin. We want it to remain a frontier of peace. This is the hope of every citizen of the Atlantic Community; every citizen of Eastern Europe; and, I am confident, every citizen of the Soviet Union. For I cannot believe that the Russian people—who bravely suffered enormous losses in the Second World War—would now wish to see the*

**Sovereignty:** The independence of a political state.

**Atlantic Community:** A reference to NATO member nations.

*peace upset once more in Germany. The Soviet government alone can convert Berlin's frontier of peace into a pretext for war....*

*I would like to close with a personal word....*

*Now, in the thermonuclear age, any mis-judgment on either side about the intentions of the other could rain more devastation in several hours than has been wrought in all the wars of human history....*

*I know that sometimes we get impatient, we wish for some immediate action that would end our perils. But I must tell you that there is no quick and easy solution. The Communists control over a billion people, and they recognize that if we should falter, their success would be imminent.*

*Thank you and good night.*

*We must look to long days ahead, which if we are courageous and persevering can bring us what we all desire.*



## **What happened next ...**

Khrushchev, who was vacationing at a Black Sea resort called Pitsunda, was outraged at Kennedy's speech. He called Kennedy's disarmament advisor, John Jay McCloy (1895–1989), who was in Moscow for talks, to come immediately to Pitsunda. Khrushchev growled that Kennedy's speech was practically a declaration of war. He threateningly added that if war was what Kennedy wanted, it is what he would get, even though it would most likely be a nuclear war. On August 4, 1961, Khrushchev met with communist leaders and expressed his opinions on Kennedy's words (see next excerpt).

## **Did you know ...**

- By the mid- to late 1950s, Khrushchev had decided the Soviet Union could not keep pace with the U.S. military buildup. Instead, he focused on key military areas for strengthening. He then used an approach called “bluster and intimidation” to frighten the United States into

thinking the Soviets were militarily much more powerful than they were. This approach explained much of his behavior during his meeting with the young American president. The U.S. officials did not know this was a calculated approach. Instead, they thought he was merely showing his determination and assertive personality to meet the United States head on in war.

- Khrushchev had no intention of starting a war over Berlin. In fact, Ulbricht made him very nervous with his aggressive suggestions.
- Soon after Kennedy's speech, which emphasized civil defense, yellow and black nuclear shelter signs appeared in cities throughout the United States. Individual U.S. citizens with the desire and monetary means built bomb shelters in their backyards in preparation for nuclear war.
- The stream of refugees from East Germany to the West continued until construction of the Berlin Wall began on August 13, 1961.

### Consider the following ...

- What did President Kennedy say West Berlin was a symbol of? Why did he say this?
- Since West Berlin geographically seemed to be easy prey for a communist takeover, why do you think this did not happen?
- At your local public library, check your town's old newspapers for July 26 through August 1961 for local reaction to Kennedy's speech and civil defense plans.

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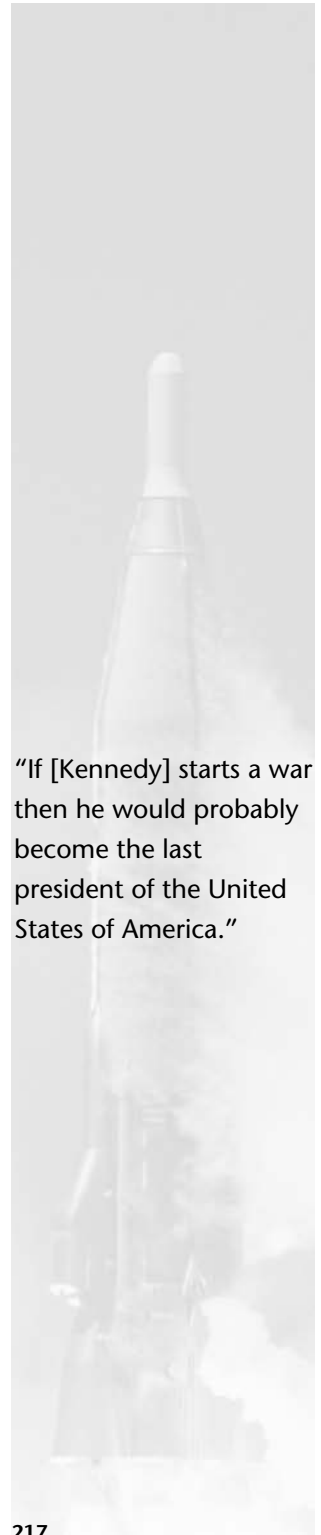
# Nikita Khrushchev

*Excerpt from "Khrushchev's Secret Speech  
on the Berlin Crisis, August 1961"*

**Excerpted from *Cold War International  
History Project Virtual Archive (Web site)***

In this excerpt from "Khrushchev's Secret Speech on the Berlin Crisis, August 1961," Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) spoke to his Communist Party leaders. These leaders included Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko (1909–1989); the leaders of Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania; and most importantly, Walter Ulbricht (1893–1973) of East Germany. He was responding to the radio and television address of U.S. president John F. Kennedy (1917–1963; served 1961–63) on July 25, 1961. Kennedy was speaking to American citizens about Berlin and Khrushchev. Much of Khrushchev's speech revolved around his conversation with U.S. envoy John J. McCloy (1895–1989), a disarmament expert who happened to be in Moscow at the time of Kennedy's speech. First, Khrushchev stressed that the Soviets must continue to push for a German peace treaty that would permanently separate East and West Germany, giving independent country status to both. (The United States would agree only to a reunited Germany.)

The excerpt begins with Khrushchev considering whether or not the United States will go to war over German



"If [Kennedy] starts a war then he would probably become the last president of the United States of America."

**Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev pounds his fist on the podium while giving a speech.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*



reunification and over West Berlin, where the Western powers maintained a military presence. Khrushchev spoke of the possibility of nuclear war and his belief that pursuing a German peace treaty was worth the risk of war. He also gave his impression of the young president. He described Kennedy as a “rather unknown quantity ... a light-weight,” hardly capable of influencing the U.S. government.

Khrushchev vowed to meet the Western powers on a strong and equal basis if war came. He also defended Soviet involvement in East Germany as a vital buffer between the Soviet Union and the West.

**Things to remember while reading the excerpt from “Khrushchev’s Secret Speech on the Berlin Crisis, August 1961”:**

- It was imperative that Khrushchev maintain a very hard line in front of his fellow communist leaders.

- Khrushchev believed the young Kennedy did not measure up to past U.S. statesmen and was confident that he could frighten and overwhelm the new president.
- The original translated version of Khrushchev's speech that follows includes text in brackets generally meant to clarify certain passages; in some instances, the original Russian word or phrase is included as well.



### **Excerpt from “Khrushchev’s Secret Speech on the Berlin Crisis, August 1961”**

*[There was always an understanding ... that the West] would **intimidate** us, call out all spirits against us to test our courage, our **acumen** and our will.... As for me and my colleagues in the state and party leadership, we think that the **adversary** [the United States] proved to be less staunch [zhestokii] than we had estimated.... We expected there would be more blustering and ... so far the worst spurt of intimidation was in the Kennedy speech [on 25 July 1961].... Kennedy spoke [to frighten us] and then got scared himself [referring to Kennedy strengthening U.S. civil defense]....*

*Immediately after Kennedy delivered his speech I spoke with [U.S. envoy John J. McCloy]. We had a long conversation, talking about disarmament instead of talking, as we needed to, about Germany and conclusion of a peace treaty on West Berlin. So I suggested: come to my place [Black Sea resort in Pitsunda] tomorrow and we will continue our conversation....*

*I said [to McCloy]: “I don’t understand what sort of disarmament we can talk about, when Kennedy in his speech declared war on us and set down his conditions. What can I say? Please tell your president that we accept his ultimatum and his terms and will respond **in kind**....”*

*He then said ... [that] Kennedy did not mean it, he meant to negotiate. I responded: “Mr. McCloy, but you said you did not read Kennedy’s speech?” He faltered [zamialisia], for clearly he knew about the content of the speech....*

*“You want to frighten us,” I went on [to McCloy]. “You convinced yourself, that Khrushchev will never go to war ... so you*

**Intimidate:** Frighten.

**Acumen:** Keen insight.

**Adversary:** Opponent.

**In kind:** In the same way.

scare us [expecting] us to retreat. True, we will not declare war, but we will not withdraw either, if you push it on us. We will respond to your war in kind....”

I told him to let Kennedy know ... that if he starts a war then he would probably become the last president of the United States of America....

[Khrushchev said he had met Italian Prime Minister Amintore Fanfani, who came to Moscow **ostensibly** at his own initiative, but in fact at Kennedy’s prodding.]

[Khrushchev reports that he told Fanfani:] We have means [to retaliate]. Kennedy himself acknowledged, that there is equality of forces, i.e. the Soviet Union has as many hydrogen and atomic weapons as they have. I agree with that, [although] we did not crunch numbers. [But, if you recognize that] let us speak about equal opportunities. Instead they [Western leaders] behave as if they were a father dealing with a toddler: if it doesn’t come their way [the Soviets do not agree on a peace treaty with a united Germany], they threaten to pull our ears.... We already passed that age, we wear long trousers, not short ones....

I told Fanfani yesterday: “I don’t believe, though, there will be war. What am I counting on? I believe in your [Western leaders’] common sense. Do you know who will argue most against war? [West German chancellor Konrad] Adenauer. [Because, if the war starts] there will not be a single stone left in place in Germany....”

[British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan visited Moscow in 1959 and told Khrushchev that war was impossible. Khrushchev presumes that Western leaders continue to act on that conviction.] Macmillan could not have lost his mind since then. He considered war impossible then and, suddenly, now he changes his mind? No, no. The outcome of modern war will be decided by atomic weapons....

Can we clash? Possibly.... I told Fanfani, that [the American state] is a barely governed state.... Kennedy himself hardly influences the direction and development of policies [politiki] in the American state.... The American Senate and other [state] organizations are very similar to our **Veche of Novgorod**.... One party there defeated the other when it tore off half of the beards of another party.... They shouted, yelled, pulled each other’s beards, and in such a way resolved the question who was right....

Hence anything is possible in the United States. War is also possible. They can unleash it. There are more stable situations in Eng-

**Ostensibly:** Appearing to be.

**Veche of Novgorod:** A ruling assembly of citizens of the Russian city of Novgorod from the late ninth century through the late fifteenth century.



land, France, Italy, Germany. I would even say that, when our “friend” [U.S. secretary of state John Foster] Dulles was alive, they had more stability [in the United States]. I told McCloy about it...

I told McCloy, that if they deploy one division in Germany, we will respond with two divisions, if they declare mobilization, we will do the same. If they mobilize such and such numbers, we will put out 150–200 divisions, as many as necessary. We are considering now ... to deploy tanks defensively along the entire border [between the GDR (German Democratic Republic, East Germany) and the FRG (Federal Republic of Germany, West Germany)]. In short, we have to seal every weak spot they might look for...

[Khrushchev admitted the GDR cost the Soviets much more than they needed for their own defense.] Each division there costs us many times more, than if it had been located [on the Soviet territory]. Some might say, why do we need the GDR, we are strong, we have **armaments** and all, and we will stand on our borders. This would have really been a narrow nationalist vision [a point of view considering only the Soviet Union]....

Summing up, our Central Committee and government believe, that now preparations are proceeding better, but there will be a thaw, and, more importantly, a cooling down.... We have to work out our tactics now and perhaps it is already the right time.



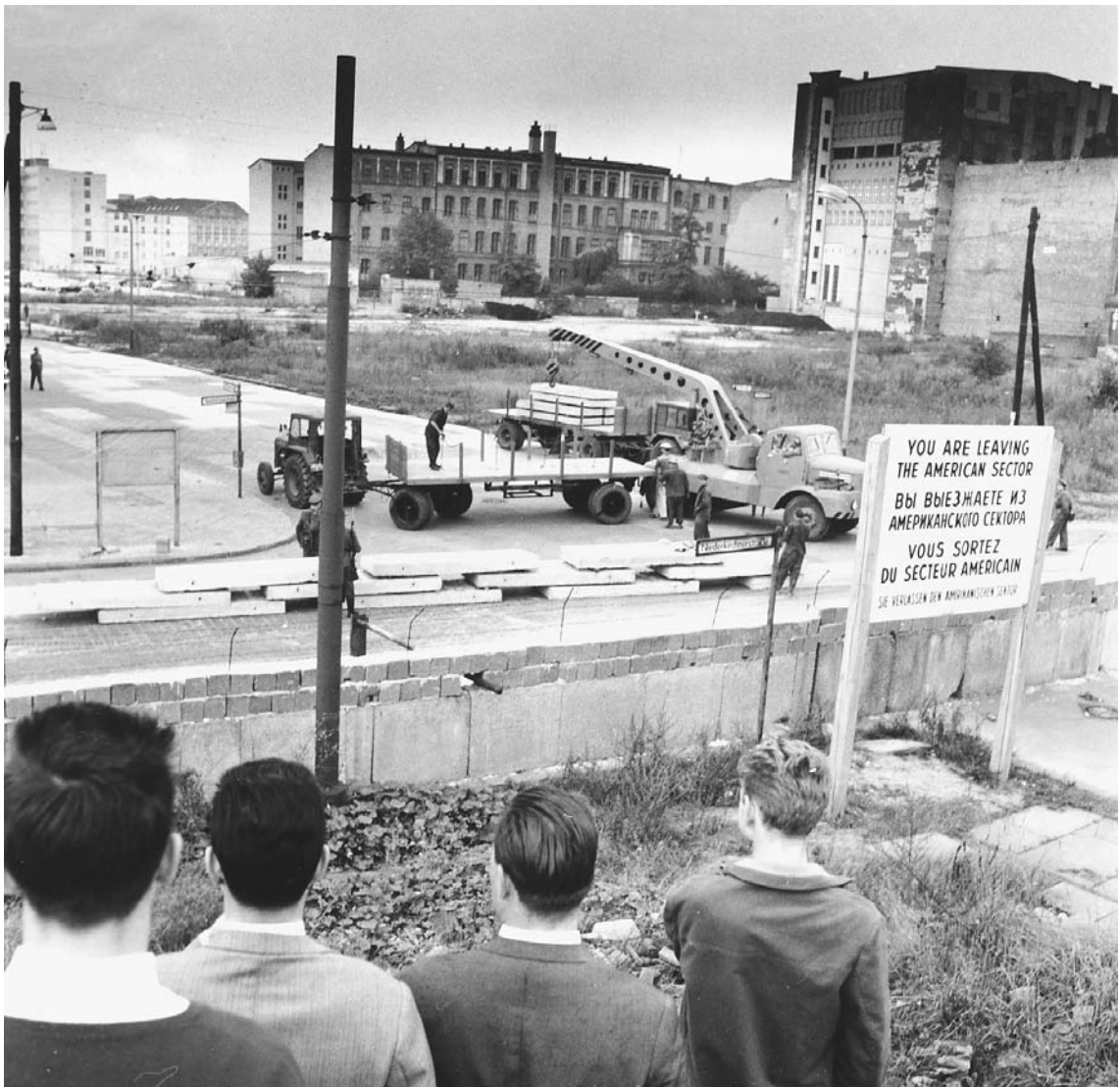
## What happened next ...

After Kennedy’s speech and Khrushchev’s reply, thousands and thousands of East Germans crossed into West Berlin. They sensed something was about to happen. Then, in the early morning hours of August 13, 1961, Khrushchev made his move on Berlin. It was not with tanks, guns, or missiles but jackhammers and rolls of barbed wire. He ordered the construction of the Berlin Wall.

## Did you know ...

- In part of Khrushchev’s talk not excerpted here, he sounded as if the Soviets also used domino theory thinking. He

**Armaments:** Weapons.



West Berliners watch concrete plates being unloaded, to reinforce the Berlin Wall and help prevent escapes. *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

stated that if Germany were united, East Germany would disappear and be absorbed under the Western powers. Then Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union would be next to fall, like dominos, to the Western powers. Dean G. Acheson (1893–1971), secretary of state under President Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53), had earlier expressed the same domino concern in connection with the likelihood of countries in Western Europe, the Middle East, or Africa falling to communism.

- Even though East Germany had the highest standard of living of Eastern European countries, East Germans continued to vote with their feet—and headed west through Berlin.

### Consider the following ...

- Look back to the introduction to this entire chapter and the introduction to the first excerpt. Find the overriding reason that the Soviets wanted a German peace treaty recognizing both separate countries of East and West Germany.
- For all his blustering, Khrushchev says he does not really believe there will be a war. Why?
- What impression of President Kennedy did Khrushchev have during his talk?

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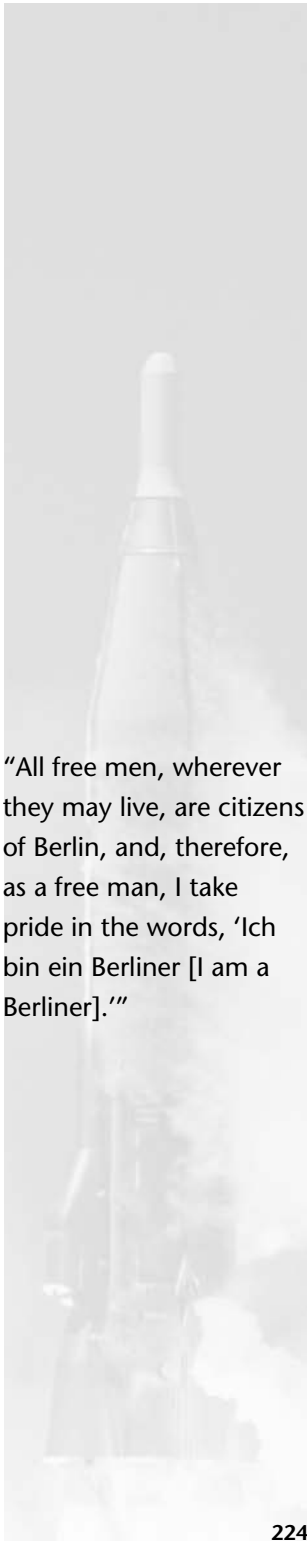
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“All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words, ‘Ich bin ein Berliner [I am a Berliner].’”

## John F. Kennedy

*Excerpt from “Remarks in the Rudolph Wild Platz, Berlin, June 26, 1963”*

**Originally published in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1963***

**O**n August 12, 1961, twenty-five hundred East Germans crossed over into West Berlin to work and live under freedom and democracy. Although through the 1950s approximately three million East Germans had crossed into West Berlin with most proceeding to West Germany, that number for one day was unusually high. After U.S. president John F. Kennedy (1917–1963; served 1961–63) gave a speech regarding Berlin on July 25 and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) responded on August 4 (see first and second excerpts in this chapter), it was clear to many East Germans that the days of relatively unrestricted crossover through Berlin might well be coming to an end.

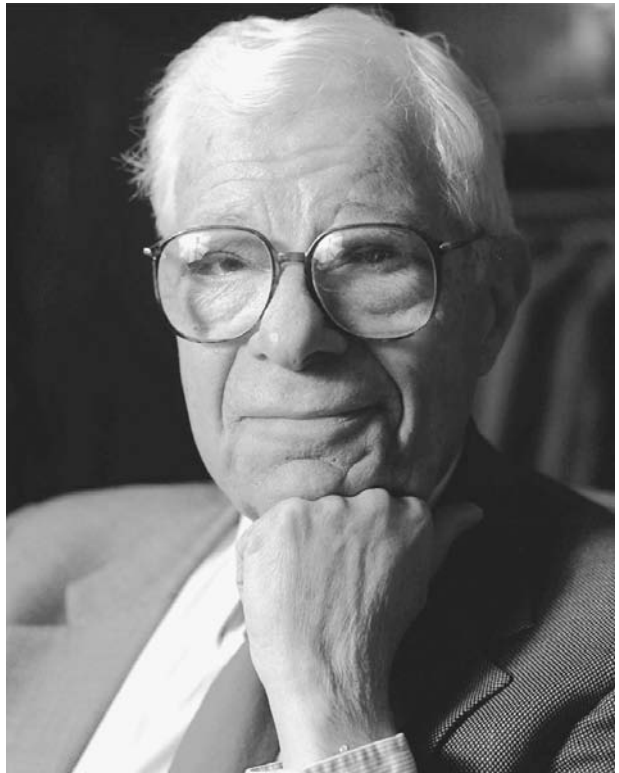
With German peace treaty negotiations stalemated, Walter Ulbricht (1893–1973), leader of East Germany, was screaming for Khrushchev to stop the exodus. Ulbricht’s answer to the heavy crossover was a Soviet military action to take over West Berlin and declare it part of East Germany. Khrushchev, despite his own boisterous talk, knew Ulbricht’s solution was too aggressive and was likely to risk war—nuclear war—with the West. Khrushchev decided to put in

place an old plan—one developed years earlier. He would construct a wall running along the sector lines of the Soviet-occupied East Berlin and the West Berlin sectors occupied by the United States, Britain, and France. He would seal off the Western sectors from East Berlin, thereby halting the crossing of refugees from East Berlin into West Berlin.

As noted on the *History Today* Web site, Daniel Schorr, former Eastern European bureau correspondent for CBS news, recalled, “I had gone to Berlin [in the summer of 1961] because it was clear something was happening there. On August 12, 2,500 people crossed over [from East to West]. The East Germans couldn’t let this [stream of refugees] go on. At 2:30 in the morning, I got a call from my cameraman. He said something very strange was going on at the sector border and that I should come down, so—grumbling—I got out of bed and went. Under floodlights and guarded by soldiers, engineering crews were using jackhammers to sink posts in the ground. Between these posts they were unrolling sheets of barbed wire. By 7 A.M., West Berliners were there, hooting and jeering.”

By morning, the border between East and West was closed. Berliners with family members living in various sectors of the city, who until this moment had enjoyed free movement through all sectors, found themselves split apart. Commuter trains carrying East Berliners to their jobs in the West were halted at the crossing and could not proceed.

Meanwhile that same morning across the Atlantic Ocean, President Kennedy was setting out from Hyannis Port, Massachusetts, with his family for a day of sailing on their yacht, the *Marlin*. According to *Time* magazine reporter Hugh Sidey in the November 20, 1989, issue, an army major on duty at the Kennedy compound ran into the surf in his full uniform to give the Berlin bulletin to Brigadier General



**Journalist Daniel Schorr, who covered for CBS the events surrounding the construction of the Berlin Wall.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*



**U.S. president John F. Kennedy (standing, far left, in car) looks at the cheering crowd during a ticker tape parade upon his arrival in Berlin, West Germany, on June 26, 1963. Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.**

Chester Clifton (1913–1991), who was swimming offshore. Clifton was the president’s military aide. Clifton signaled the *Marlin* to shore and informed Kennedy of what had transpired in Berlin the previous night. Kennedy was astounded. Out of at least forty contingency plans, building a wall through Berlin had never been discussed. Sidey further reported that Kennedy, back in the Oval Office, told Clifton that the Wall would stay until the Soviets tired of it. Kennedy said, “We could have sent tanks over and knocked the Wall down. What then? They build another one back a hundred yards? We knock that down, then we go to war.” Kennedy knew a “wall” was better than a “war.” As long as the Soviets and East Germans left West Berlin alone, Kennedy would not act militarily.

Khrushchev’s risky guess had paid off. There would be no war as long as West Berlin was not threatened. Khrushchev had successfully stopped the flow of refugees out of East Berlin, as Ulbricht demanded. Many historians believe

Khrushchev had a second reason for the wall—to seal Ulbricht in so that he would not take matters into his own hands and start a war.

Very limited access was granted to West Berliners to occasionally go into East Berlin at only a few specific crossing points. Other Westerners, including U.S. citizens, could only cross into East Berlin at the Friedrichstrasse Crossing, commonly called Checkpoint Charlie. Many thought of Checkpoint Charlie as where the communist East came face to face with the democratic West.

It was to Checkpoint Charlie that President Kennedy came on June 26, 1963, when he visited West Berlin. Asking aides to remain back, Kennedy alone climbed up a viewing stand and peered into the gray of East Berlin. Shortly thereafter, he delivered one of the most memorable speeches of his presidency, a presidency filled with rousing, eloquent speeches. Having set aside the original speech, he spoke from the heart to the 250,000 gathered West Berliners. If anyone did not understand the differences between a free world and a communist world, Kennedy called out repeatedly, “Let them come to Berlin.” He ended dramatically with “Ich bin ein Berliner (I am a Berliner).”

### **Things to remember while reading the excerpt from “Remarks in the Rudolph Wild Platz, Berlin, June 26, 1963”:**

- By the time Kennedy visited Berlin, the wall had been in place one year and ten months. Many East Germans had lost their lives trying to escape over, under, and through the wall.
- The wall was an ugly testament to the divisions brought about during the Cold War. Because the wall showed that the only way to keep people under a communist system was to force them to stay, the wall was a propaganda symbol for the West.
- By June 1963, Kennedy had shown his strength as a leader and was already loved by Europeans despite his relative youth.



### **Excerpt from “Remarks in the Rudolph Wild Platz, Berlin, June 26, 1963”**

*There are many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the free world and the Communist world. Let them come to Berlin. There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future. Let them come to Berlin. And there are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the Communists. Let them come to Berlin. And there are even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system, but it permits us to make economic progress. Lass' sie nach Berlin kommen. Let them come to Berlin.*

*Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in, to prevent them from leaving us. I want to say, on behalf of my countrymen, who live many miles away on the other side of the Atlantic, who are far distant from you, that they take the greatest pride that they have been able to share with you, even from a distance, the story of the last 18 years. I know of no town, no city, that has been besieged for 18 years that still lives with the vitality and the force, and the hope and the determination of the city of West Berlin. While the wall is the most obvious and vivid demonstration of the failures of the Communist system, for all the world to see, we take no satisfaction in it, for it is, as your Mayor has said, an offense not only against history but an offense against humanity, separating families, dividing husbands and wives and brothers and sisters, and dividing a people who wish to be joined together.*

*What is true of this city is true of Germany—real, lasting peace in Europe can never be assured as long as one German out of four is denied the elementary right of free men, and that is to make a free choice. In 18 years of peace and good faith, this generation of Germans has earned the right to be free, including the right to unite their families and their nation in lasting peace, with good will to all people. You live in a defended island of freedom, but your life is part of the main. So let me ask you, as I close, to lift your eyes beyond the dangers of today, to the hopes of tomorrow, beyond the freedom merely of this city of Berlin, or your country of Germany, to the advance of freedom everywhere, beyond the wall to the day of peace with justice, beyond yourselves and ourselves to all mankind.*





*Freedom is **indivisible**, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free. When all are free, then we can look forward to that day when this city will be joined as one and this country and this great Continent of Europe in a peaceful and hopeful globe. When that day finally comes, as it will, the people of West Berlin can take sober satisfaction in the fact that they were in the front lines for almost two decades.*

*All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words, "Ich bin ein Berliner [I am a Berliner]."*



## What happened next ...

The wall remained for twenty-eight years. West Berlin's economy prospered while East Berlin's languished.

**U.S. president John F. Kennedy (fourth from right on podium) looks over at the Brandenburg Gate of the Berlin Wall on June 26, 1963. Red flags drape the gate so that Kennedy cannot see behind it.**

*Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

**Indivisible:** Not separated into parts.

Ish bin ein Berliner  
Kerwis Roman us sum  
Lust z haach Berlin loman

A copy of a note card used by U.S. president John F. Kennedy during his Berlin speech in June 1963. The first line shows Kennedy's phonetic version of his famous line "Ich bin ein Berliner." *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

On October 7, 1989, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–) visited East Germany to promote reform in East Germany. Two days later, amid fireworks and celebration, the gates opened and the wall began coming down.

### Did you know ...

- The fence sealing off West Berlin's perimeter was 103 miles (166 kilometers) long. The wall that ran through the city was 28.5 miles (46 kilometers) long. The barbed wire fence in the city portion was replaced by a concrete wall topped by a round concrete pipe that was impossible to grasp by someone trying to climb over the wall.
- Around the wall was a no-man's land of guard towers, land mines, a guard patrol track, structures to destroy tires, and plenty of coiled barbed wire.

- On October 27, 1961, a few months after the wall went up, a dispute over passport procedures at Checkpoint Charlie escalated way beyond its importance. Soviet tanks moved up and directly faced U.S. tanks. Diplomatic efforts prevented shots from being fired. Some historians believe this confrontation at Checkpoint Charlie came as close as any during the Cold War to igniting a hot war.

### Consider the following ...

- Explain what the wall, called the “Wall of Shame” in West Berlin, came to symbolize.
- Why did Kennedy not use military force to immediately bring the wall down?
- Imagine and tell what it must have been like to be a member of a family split apart by the wall. Remember the wall remained in place for twenty-eight years and there was no Internet.

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## Cuban Missile Crisis



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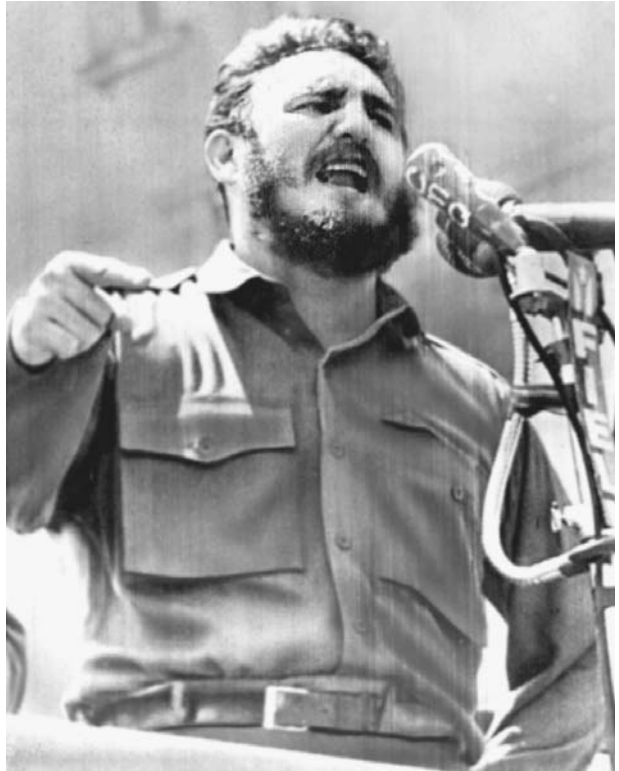
**O**n January 1, 1959, revolutionary Fidel Castro (1926–) established himself as leader of the small island of Cuba, 90 miles (145 kilometers) off the coast of Florida. At the time, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) and other Soviet leaders took no notice. Considered unimportant to Soviet interests, the Cuban Soviet embassy had shut its doors in 1952. There were no Soviet representatives in Cuba in 1959.

The American media at first offered positive reports about Castro. They labeled him a daring, educated soldier interested in improving the lives of Cubans. On the other hand, Soviet intelligence reported to Moscow that Castro was the usual Central American dictator who was most likely closely affiliated with the U.S. government. Castro, however, was determined to choose his own independent path. He angered many wealthy and middle-class Cubans, many of whom had fled to the United States, by breaking up their large properties and giving parcels to common citizens to work. His intention to end America's domination of much of Cuba's economy, such as the sugar industry and oil refineries, was soon apparent. Also, Castro refused to hold free elections as he had promised.

Castro was quickly becoming troublesome in the eyes of U.S. leaders, including President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969; served 1953–61). Among Soviets, it was Khrushchev who first took notice. The Soviets set up economic ties with Cuba as the U.S.-Cuban relationship worsened. As early as the mid-1960s, intelligence coming in from the National Security Agency (NSA) indicated that the Soviets were sending arms and advisors to Cuba. The NSA's Signal Intelligence (SIGINT) was America's prime intelligence organization for listening in on and analyzing foreign communications.

In September 1960, Khrushchev and Castro met and warmly greeted each other at the United Nations in New York City. Soon, Castro publicly aligned Cuba with the Soviet Union. On January 3, 1961, Cuba and the United States severed all diplomatic ties. Khrushchev privately delighted in the realization that communism had gained a foothold in the Americas. (The Americas include North America, Central America, and South America, which together make up the Western Hemisphere.) President Eisenhower was privately dismayed that Cuba had gone communist. He authorized funds to train Cuban exiles to invade Cuba and take back the island. This invasion, known as the Bay of Pigs, took place on April 17, 1961, under the new U.S. president, John F. Kennedy (1917–1963; served 1961–63). Castro learned of the invasion ahead of time, and his Soviet-made tanks defeated the exiles quickly. The Bay of Pigs invasion failed miserably.

By May 1961, SIGINT reported radio chatter from Cuba about anti-aircraft radar systems. Over the next twelve months, Soviet arms and advisors continued to arrive in Cuba. For the U.S. military and government officials aware of the situation, Cuba was quietly becoming a nightmare. Nevertheless, they took some reassurance that Moscow, through diplomatic channels, insisted that all Soviet military buildup in Cuba was



**Cuban leader Fidel Castro.**  
*Reproduced by permission of  
AP/Wide World Photos.*

only defensive for Cuba's protection should the United States or others try again to invade and topple Castro. For Moscow and Khrushchev, Cuba was a strategic military dream: it was only 90 miles (145 kilometers) from the United States.

By the spring of 1962, Khrushchev had decided on a plan of action in keeping with his "bluster and intimidation" plan. Its main tool being Khrushchev's exaggerated talk, "bluster and intimidation" was a calculated approach to make the United States believe the Soviets and the United States had approximately the same nuclear-weapon capabilities. In actuality the U.S. capabilities, at least in number of weapons, far surpassed those of the Soviets.

Khrushchev for some years had been furious over U.S. placement of missiles with nuclear warheads aimed at the Soviet Union in Turkey, Italy, and Great Britain. Khrushchev decided to secretly install in Cuba forty missile launchers, each armed with two missiles topped with nuclear warheads. By July 1962, Soviet ships carrying missile equipment were on their way to Cuba. As the cargo arrived, missile launch sites were prepared.

In August and September 1962, the intercepted intelligence chatter turned alarming. SIGINT reported that apparently Soviet surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) had been shipped to Cuba. SAMs could shoot down high-flying U.S. Air Force reconnaissance (spy-photography) aircraft such as the U-2. The U.S. military reasoned correctly that if the Soviets were sending missiles as sophisticated as SAMs, then they must have secret operations on Cuba that needed protection.

The first excerpt that follows comes from the book *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis*, by U.S. attorney general Robert Kennedy (1925–1968). In the excerpt, Kennedy, also the president's brother, describes the meetings of the Executive Committee (Ex-Comm) of the National Security Council. Ex-Comm was quickly assembled by President Kennedy to analyze and make suggestions as to what to do about the Soviet missile placement. Once a response was decided upon, President Kennedy informed the American people of the crisis.

The second excerpt comes from President Kennedy's "Radio and Television Report to the American People on the

Soviet Arms Buildup in Cuba, October 22, 1962.” Over the six days that followed the speech, the United States and Soviet Union went to the brink of nuclear war. The third excerpt is from Khrushchev’s communiqué, or message, to President Kennedy on October 28, 1962, accepting an end to the crisis. The communiqué is reprinted in *The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962: National Security Archive Documents Reader*.



“It shall be the policy of this Nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.”

## John F. Kennedy

*Excerpt from “Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Soviet Arms Buildup in Cuba, October 22, 1962”*  
**Originally published in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1962*, published in 1963**

**P**resident John F. Kennedy (1917–1963; served 1961–63) addressed the American people on the evening of Monday, October 22, 1962, to inform them about the crisis in Cuba. He explained the United States had undeniable evidence that Soviet missiles were in place in Cuba to provide “nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere,” consisting of North, Central, and South America. Kennedy announced that a naval “quarantine” of Cuba would begin on Wednesday morning, October 24. That meant that all ships approaching Cuba would be stopped, searched, and could only proceed if no military equipment was onboard. This was essentially the same thing as a blockade, but because blockades were illegal under international law and considered an act of war, the term “quarantine” was used instead.

Kennedy also announced that the U.S. military was on full-alert status; that any nuclear missile launched by the Soviets would be met with a “full retaliatory response” aimed at the Soviet Union; called for an immediate meeting of international peacekeeping organizations; and called on Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) “to halt and elimi-





nate this clandestine [secret], reckless, and provocative [challenging] threat to world peace.”

**Things to remember while reading the excerpt from “Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Soviet Arms Buildup in Cuba, October 22, 1962”:**

- President Kennedy believed the blockade most likely would not trigger an immediate nuclear war. It gave Khrushchev time and a way to withdraw from the situation.
- Grim-faced leaders in Moscow gathered to await Kennedy’s words, not knowing what his plan of action would be.
- U.S. leaders had decided they would never back down from their demand that the missiles be removed.

**A Cuban refugee in Miami, Florida, watches U.S. president John F. Kennedy address the nation on TV.**  
*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



## Excerpt from “Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Soviet Arms Buildup in Cuba, October 22, 1962”

Good evening, my fellow citizens:

*This Government, as promised, has maintained the closest **surveillance** of the Soviet military buildup on the island of Cuba. Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on that imprisoned island. The purpose of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere.*

*Upon receiving the first preliminary hard information of this nature last Tuesday morning at 9 A.M., I directed that our surveillance be **stepped up**. And having now confirmed and completed our evaluation of the evidence and our decision on a course of action, this Government feels **obliged** to report this new crisis to you in fullest detail.*

*The characteristics of these new missile sites indicate two distinct types of installations. Several of them include medium-range **ballistic missiles**, capable of carrying a nuclear warhead for a distance of more than 1,000 nautical miles. Each of these missiles, in short, is capable of striking Washington, D.C., the Panama Canal, **Cape Canaveral**, Mexico City, or any other city in the southeastern part of the United States, in Central America, or in the Caribbean area.*

*Additional sites not yet completed appear to be designed for intermediate range ballistic missiles—capable of traveling more than twice as far—and thus capable of striking most of the major cities in the Western Hemisphere, ranging as far north as Hudson Bay, Canada, and as far south as Lima, Peru. In addition, jet bombers, capable of carrying nuclear weapons, are now being uncrated and assembled in Cuba, while the necessary air bases are being prepared.*

*This urgent transformation of Cuba into an important strategic base—by the presence of these large, long-range, and clearly offensive weapons of sudden mass destruction—constitutes an **explicit** threat to the peace and security of all the Americas...*

*This action also contradicts the repeated assurances of Soviet spokesmen, both publicly and privately delivered, that the arms*

**Surveillance:** Watchfulness.

**Stepped up:** Intensified.

**Obliged:** That it is necessary.

**Ballistic missiles:** Projectiles with maximum flight performance and the ability to hit specific targets.

**Cape Canaveral:** The site in Florida from which the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), the U.S. space agency, launches its rockets.

**Explicit:** Clear.

*buildup in Cuba would **retain its original defensive character**, and that the Soviet Union had no need or desire to station **strategic missiles** on the territory of any other nation....*

*Nuclear weapons are so destructive and ballistic missiles are so swift, that any substantially increased possibility of their use or any sudden change in their **deployment** may well be regarded as a definite threat to peace.*

*For many years, both the Soviet Union and the United States, recognizing this fact, have deployed strategic nuclear weapons with great care, never upsetting the **precarious status quo** which insured that these weapons would not be used in the absence of some vital challenge. Our own strategic missiles have never been transferred to the territory of any other nation under a **cloak** of secrecy and deception; and our history—unlike that of the Soviets since the end of World War II—demonstrates that we have no desire to dominate or conquer any other nation or impose our system upon its people. Nevertheless, American citizens have become adjusted to living daily on the bull's-eye of Soviet missiles located inside the U.S.S.R. or in submarines.*

*In that sense, missiles in Cuba add to an already clear and present danger—although it should be noted the nations of Latin America have never previously been subjected to a potential nuclear threat....*

*We will not prematurely or unnecessarily risk the costs of worldwide nuclear war in which **even the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouth**—but neither will we shrink from that risk at any time it must be faced.*

*Acting, therefore, in the defense of our own security and of the entire Western Hemisphere, and under the authority entrusted to me by the Constitution as endorsed by the resolution of the Congress, I have directed that the following initial steps be taken immediately:*

*First: To halt this offensive buildup, a strict **quarantine** on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated. All ships of any kind bound for Cuba from whatever nation or port will, if found to contain cargoes of offensive weapons, be turned back. This quarantine will be extended, if needed, to other types of cargo and carriers. We are not at this time, however, denying the necessities of life as the Soviets attempted to do in their Berlin blockade of 1948.*

*Second: I have directed the continued and increased close surveillance of Cuba and its military buildup.... Should these offensive*

**Retain its original defensive character:** Exist to defend Cuba only.

**Strategic missiles:** Long-range missiles designed to offensively attack and destroy an enemy's capability to wage war.

**Deployment:** Strategic placement.

**Precarious status quo:** Uncertain existing condition.

**Cloak:** Disguise.

**Even the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouth:** Even in victory, the United States would suffer great devastation.

**Quarantine:** Blockade; this term was chosen because international law prohibited blockades.

**Eventualities:** Possible outcomes.

**Retaliatory:** Strike back in return.

**Guantanamo:** A U.S. military base on the east end of Cuba.

**Dependents:** Families.

**Organization of American States:** An alliance of nations from North and Latin America that sought to maintain political stability in the region for protection and cooperation.

**Convoked:** Called together.

**Clandestine:** Secret.

**Provocative:** Challenging.

**Abyss:** Edge.

**Refraining from:** Halting.

**Intimidation:** Threatening behavior.

*military preparations continue, thus increasing the threat to the hemisphere, further action will be justified. I have directed the Armed Forces to prepare for any **eventualities**...*

*Third: It shall be the policy of this Nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full **retaliatory** response upon the Soviet Union.*

*Fourth: As a necessary military precaution, I have reinforced our base at **Guantanamo**, evacuated today the **dependents** of our personnel there, and ordered additional military units to be on a stand-by alert basis.*

*Fifth: We are calling tonight for an immediate meeting of the Organ of Consultation under the **Organization of American States**, to consider this threat to hemispheric security...*

*Sixth: Under the Charter of the United Nations, we are asking tonight that an emergency meeting of the Security Council be **convoked** without delay to take action against this latest Soviet threat to world peace. Our resolution will call for the prompt dismantling and withdrawal of all offensive weapons in Cuba, under the supervision of U.N. observers, before the quarantine can be lifted.*

*Seventh and finally: I call upon Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this **clandestine**, reckless, and **provocative** threat to world peace and to stable relations between our two nations. I call upon him further to abandon this course of world domination, and to join in an historic effort to end the perilous arms race and to transform the history of man. He has an opportunity now to move the world back from the **abyss** of destruction—by returning to his government's own words that it had no need to station missiles outside its own territory, and withdrawing these weapons from Cuba—by **refraining from** any action which will widen or deepen the present crisis—and then by participating in a search for peaceful and permanent solutions...*

*We have no wish to war with the Soviet Union—for we are a peaceful people who desire to live in peace with all other peoples.*

*But it is difficult to settle or even discuss these problems in an atmosphere of **intimidation**. That is why this latest Soviet threat—or any other threat which is made either independently or in response to our actions this week—must and will be met with determination. Any hostile move anywhere in the world against the*

*safety and freedom of peoples to whom we are committed—including in particular the brave people of West Berlin—will be met by whatever action is needed....*

*My fellow citizens: let no one doubt that this is a difficult and dangerous effort on which we have set out. No one can foresee precisely what course it will take or what costs or **casualties** will be incurred....*

*The path we have chosen for the present is full of hazards, as all paths are—but it is the one most consistent with our character and courage as a nation and our commitments around the world. The cost of freedom is always high—but Americans have always paid it. And one path we shall never choose, and that is the path of surrender or **submission**.*

*Our goal is not the victory of might, but the **vindication** of right—not peace at the expense of freedom, but both peace and freedom, here in this hemisphere, and, we hope, around the world. God willing, that goal will be achieved.*

*Thank you and good night.*



## **What happened next ...**

On Tuesday, October 23, Khrushchev vowed Soviet vessels would continue on course to Cuba. If stopped by American naval ships, Soviet submarines, stationed around Cuba and armed with nuclear warheads, would fire. It was apparent to all sides that the world was at the brink of nuclear war. U Thant (1909–1974), the secretary general of the United Nations, pleaded with the superpowers to refrain from plunging the world into a nuclear holocaust.

Twenty-four hours later, on Wednesday morning, October 24, the United States began the quarantine as Kennedy's speech had promised. The world held its collective breath. Many historians believe that morning provided the Cold War's most intense and terrifying moments. Khrushchev sent a message to Kennedy calling the quarantine "an act of aggression."

**Casualties:** Losses.

**Submission:** Giving in.

**Vindication:** Upholding.



Russian men read coverage of the Cuban Missile Crisis in the Russian newspaper *Pravda*. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.

Given Khrushchev's statement to Kennedy, the next events seemed almost miraculous. The U.S. communications intelligence service (SIGINT) reported to President Kennedy that interception of radio messages from Soviet vessels approaching Cuba indicated the Soviets were stopping short of the quarantine circle. In fact, when SIGINT plotted the location of the Soviet vessels they were stopped dead in the water outside the ring of U.S. ships. They were avoiding confrontation. As noted in Dino A. Brugioni's *Eyeball to Eyeball: The Inside Story of the Cuban Missile Crisis*, U.S. secretary of state Dean Rusk (1909–1994) commented, "We're eyeball to eyeball and I think the other fellow just blinked." Sergei Khrushchev (1935–), son of Nikita Khrushchev, reported in his 2000 book *Nikita Khrushchev: and the Creation of a Superpower* that his father believed, "the one who decides to blink first doesn't have weaker nerves but possesses greater wisdom."

### Did you know ...

- Anatoly Dobrynin (1919–), the Soviet ambassador to the United States, had no knowledge of the Soviet missiles in

Cuba. A text of Kennedy's speech was given to him before Kennedy went on television. Dobrynin was dumbfounded and had to gather himself together before he could relay the speech to Moscow.

- Although the United States had been targeted for some time by nuclear missiles located in the Soviet Union, Central and South America had never before been within reach of nuclear weapons.
- The missiles in Cuba were the first Soviet missiles located outside the Soviet Union. The United States had missiles with nuclear warheads placed in Turkey, Italy, and Great Britain, all within easy range of the Soviet Union.

### Consider the following ...

- Stand in the shoes of President Kennedy or Soviet Premier Khrushchev. What would you have done the morning of October 24? Remember you carry the responsibility of the world's safety on your shoulders.
- Kennedy suggested it was impossible to discuss peace between the superpowers when the Soviets intimidated the United States with the Cuban missiles. What do you think the Soviets thought about having U.S. missiles relatively close in Turkey, Italy, and Great Britain and pointed at their country?
- Explain Kennedy's statement that even victory would be "ashes in our mouth."

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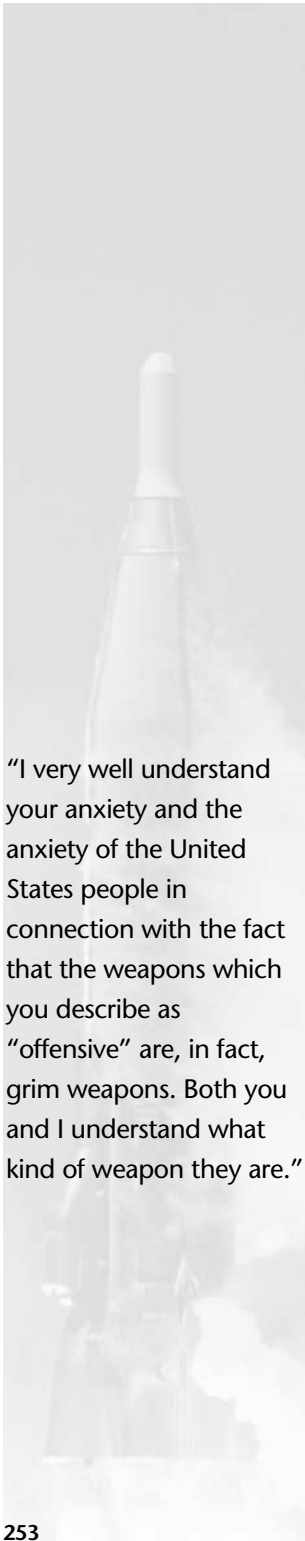
# Nikita Khrushchev

*Excerpt from "Communiqué to President Kennedy Accepting an End to the Missile Crisis, October 28, 1962"*

**Originally published in *The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962: National Security Archive Documents Reader, 1992***

**O**n Wednesday, October 24, 1962, the first day of the U.S. naval quarantine, or blockade, designed to prevent Soviet ships carrying military equipment from reaching the island of Cuba, the U.S. military was at alert level DEFCON 2 (DEFense CONdition 2). DEFCON 2 is the last level before DEFCON 1, which means a nuclear war is imminent or has begun. At no other time in U.S. history had the level been at DEFCON 2. Then by midday, the Soviet ships apparently had stopped in the water and not challenged the U.S. ships forming the quarantine ring. On Thursday, October 25, the Soviet vessels carrying military equipment indeed turned around and headed back to the Soviet Union. However, this did not end the crisis. It was only a momentary breather because missiles with nuclear warheads already on site on the island remained.

By Friday, October 26, Attorney General Robert Kennedy (1925–1968), at the request of his brother, President John F. Kennedy (1917–1963; served 1961–63), was having “backdoor” meetings with the Soviet ambassador to the United States, Anatoly Dobrynin (1919–). That evening, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) sent President Kennedy a letter



“I very well understand your anxiety and the anxiety of the United States people in connection with the fact that the weapons which you describe as “offensive” are, in fact, grim weapons. Both you and I understand what kind of weapon they are.”



An aerial photo of a Cuban naval port shows Soviet missiles being loaded onto ships on November 5, 1962. *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

offering to remove the missiles already located on the island if President Kennedy would assure him that the United States would not invade Cuba. That same evening, Dobrynin and Attorney General Kennedy met, and Dobrynin hinted that the United States should remove the U.S. missiles located in Turkey. On Saturday morning, Khrushchev sent President Kennedy yet another letter demanding those missiles in Turkey be removed if the Soviets agreed to remove the missiles in Cuba.

Before President Kennedy could reply to either of Khrushchev's letters, more rapid-fire events turned Saturday, October 27, into "Black Saturday." It was so named because many thought it was the day the world came closest to annihilation. Two incidents occurred involving U.S. U-2 reconnaissance (spy-photography) aircraft. In the first instance, a U-2 flying over Alaska drifted into Soviet airspace. The Soviets took the incident as a test of their defense system. The second incident occurred over Cuba, where a U-2 was shot down and the pilot killed. By the afternoon, the U.S. military and various members of Congress were pressing President Kennedy hard for an immediate invasion of Cuba.

Ignoring much of the uproar and staying intensely focused, Attorney General Kennedy came up with a simple compromise. He told the president to ignore the second letter from Khrushchev and accept the terms of the first—promising Khrushchev the United States would not invade Cuba and would halt the quarantine if he removed the missiles. This was the public part of the agreement. Then, privately, Dobrynin got his assurance that the missiles in Turkey would be removed. The next morning, Sunday, October 28, Khrushchev sent a message to President Kennedy agreeing to remove the missiles from Cuba. The following is an excerpt from Khrushchev's October 28 message.

**Things to remember while reading the excerpt from "Communiqué to President Kennedy Accepting an End to the Missile Crisis, October 28, 1962":**

- President Kennedy was under intense U.S. military and congressional pressure to invade Cuba.

- Sergei Khrushchev (1935–), son of Nikita Khrushchev, writes in his book *Nikita Khrushchev: Creation of a Superpower*, “When Father argued at a meeting of the Soviet leadership in favor of withdrawing the missiles, he made this unprecedented statement: ‘We have to help Kennedy withstand pressure from the hawks [supporters of war]. They are demanding an immediate military invasion.’” Khrushchev knew an invasion would lead to nuclear war.
- Nikita Khrushchev agreed to a U.S. president’s “promise” not to invade Cuba again. According to Sergei Khrushchev, this would have been “inconceivable” only a few years earlier.



### **Excerpt from “Communiqué to President Kennedy Accepting an End to the Missile Crisis, October 28, 1962”**

*Esteemed Mr. President: I have received your message of October 27, 1962. I express my satisfaction and gratitude for the **sense of proportion** and understanding of the responsibility **borne** by you at present for the preservation of peace throughout the world which you have shown. I very well understand your anxiety and the anxiety of the United States people in connection with the fact that the weapons which you describe as “offensive” are, in fact, grim weapons. Both you and I understand what kind of weapon they are.*

*In order to complete with greater speed the **liquidation** of the conflict dangerous to the cause of peace, to give confidence to all people longing for peace, and to calm the American people, who, I am certain, want peace as much as the people of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, in addition to previously issued instructions on the **cessation** of further work at building sites for the weapons, has issued a new order on the dismantling of the weapons which you describe as “offensive,” and their crating and return to the Soviet Union.*

*Mr. President, I would like to repeat once more what I had already written to you in my preceding letters—that the Soviet Government has placed at the disposal of the Cuban Government economic aid, as well as arms, inasmuch as Cuba and the Cuban*

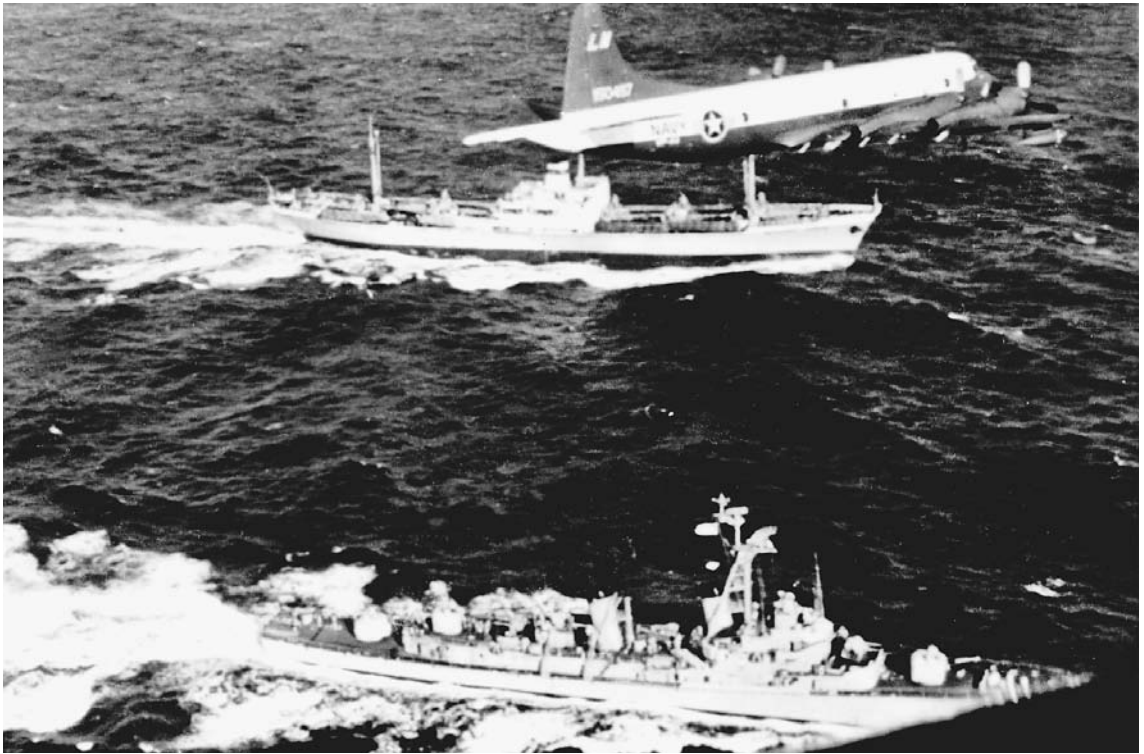
**Esteemed:** Respected.

**Sense of proportion:** Appreciation of the seriousness.

**Borne:** Carried.

**Liquidation:** End.

**Cessation:** Halting.



*people have constantly been under the continuous danger of an invasion [from the United States]....*

*We stationed them there in order that no attack should be made against Cuba and that no rash action should be permitted to take place.*

*I regard with respect and trust your statement in your message of October 27, 1962, that no attack will be made on Cuba—that no invasion will take place—not only by the United States, but also by other countries of the Western Hemisphere, as your message pointed out. Then the motives which promoted us to give aid of this nature to Cuba cease. They are no longer **applicable**, hence we have instructed our officers—and these means, as I have already stated, are in the hands of Soviet officers—to take necessary measures for stopping the building of the **said projects** and their dismantling and return to the Soviet Union....*

*I note with satisfaction that you have responded to my wish that the said dangerous situation should be liquidated and also that conditions should be created for a more thoughtful appraisal of the*

**A U.S. destroyer sails near a Russian freighter in preparation for an inspection of a presumed cargo of missiles being withdrawn from Cuba in November 1962. An American patrol plane flies overhead.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

**Applicable:** Relevant.

**Said projects:** Missile sites.

**Fraught:** Filled.

**Invested:** Given authority or power.

**Exacerbation:** Increased severity.

*international situation which is **fraught** with great dangers in our age of thermonuclear weapons, rocket technology ... global rockets, and other lethal weapons. All people are interested in insuring peace. Therefore, we who are **invested** with trust and great responsibility must not permit an **exacerbation** of the situation and must liquidate the breeding grounds where a dangerous situation has been created fraught with serious consequences for the cause of peace. If we succeed along with you and with the aid of other people of good will in liquidating this tense situation, we must also concern ourselves to see that other dangerous conflicts do not arise which might lead to a world thermonuclear catastrophe....*

*Mr. President, I trust your statement. However, on the other hand, there are responsible people who would like to carry out an in-*

vasion of Cuba at this time, and in such a way to spark off a war. If we take practical steps and announce the dismantling and evacuation of the appropriate means from Cuba, then, doing that, we wish to establish at the same time the confidence of the Cuban people that we are with them and are not **divesting** ourselves of the responsibility of granting help to them.

We are convinced that the people of all countries, like yourself, Mr. President, will understand me correctly. We do not issue threats. We desire only peace. Our country is now on the **upsurge**. Our people are enjoying the fruits of their peaceful labor...

We value peace, perhaps even more than other people, because we experienced the **terrible war against Hitler**. However, our peo-

**Divesting:** Freeing.

**Upsurge:** Rise.

**Terrible war against Hitler:**  
A reference to the invasion of the Soviet Union by Germany and its Nazi leader Adolf Hitler, during World War II.



**U.S. president John F. Kennedy tells the nation that the Cuban Missile Crisis is over.** *Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.*

*ple will not **flinch in the face of** any ordeal. Our people trust their government, and we assure our people and the world public that the Soviet government will not allow itself to be provoked.*

*Should the **provocateurs** unleash a war, they would not escape the grave consequences of such a war. However, we are confident that reason will triumph. War will not be unleashed and the peace and security of people will be insured....*

*With respect for you, Khrushchev. October 28, 1962.*



**Flinch in the face of:** Shy away from.

**Provocateurs:** Instigators; those who stir up action.

### **What happened next ...**

With the agreement, both sides immediately breathed easier. The U.S. military alert level went to DEFCON



5, the lowest level of military concern. Khrushchev proceeded to bring the missiles back to the Soviet Union. Both sides claimed victory. President Kennedy had achieved the goal of moving the missiles out of Cuba. Khrushchev had gotten a promise of protection for communist Cuba. As of 2003, the United States had never invaded Cuba. Both Khrushchev and Kennedy claimed victory that a nuclear war was avoided.

The primary consequence of the Cuban Missile Crisis was that the American public now believed that the Soviet Union's nuclear capabilities equalled those of the United States. Citizens would not listen to numbers that showed the United States with far more missiles. As far as Americans were concerned, each country could totally annihilate the other—or, for that matter, all life on earth. It was the last of the Cold War “missile bluff” diplomacies.

Both sides had so frightened the other during the Cuban Missile Crisis that the first serious negotiations in controlling nuclear weaponry began in August 1963. The United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain—which also had nuclear capabilities—signed the Limited Test-Ban Treaty to ban nuclear testing underwater, in the atmosphere, and in outer space.

### **Did you know ...**

- For the first time in Cold War history, the two superpower leaders negotiated not with mutual public threats and propaganda but in reasoned secret personal correspondence.
- Knowing mutual dialogue and a new trust had averted a disaster for the world, President Kennedy asked the news media to tone down their shouts of victory as Khrushchev withdrew the missiles from Cuba.
- In June 1963, a direct hot line was set up between the Kremlin (Soviet government headquarters) in Moscow and the White House in Washington, D.C., to reduce the chance of nuclear war through miscalculation or misunderstanding.

### **Consider the following ...**

- The Cuban Missile Crisis is rarely thought of in terms of positive outcomes. Find and list at least five good results

or consequences (for either the Americans or the Soviets or both) stemming from the Cuban Missile Crisis.

- One of the reasons Khrushchev brought Soviet missiles to Cuba was to protect Cuba from invasion. Could this have been accomplished with less drastic tactics? What might be another underlying reason Khrushchev wanted missiles in Cuba?
- Do you think the Soviets really intended to fire the missiles at the United States? Why or why not?

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## Changing Superpower Relations in the 1970s and 1980s

9

**C**old War rivalry in the 1960s was marked by dramatic tense events and often bloody hot spots. The Cold War was a prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats. During the John F. Kennedy (1917–1963; served 1961–63) and Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973; served 1963–69) presidential years from 1961 to 1969, the U.S. foreign policy of containment, to contain communism from spreading around the globe, suffered two major setbacks.

First, Soviet relations with Cuba cemented and firmly set the island nation as a communist stronghold 90 miles (145 kilometers) from the Florida coast. Second, by 1969, the Vietnam War (1954–75), a major hot spot of the Cold War, had proved unwinnable for the United States. The U.S. government consistently underestimated communist North Vietnam's will to continue fighting and overestimated the U.S. citizens' support of the war. The seemingly endless war led to President Johnson's decision not to run for reelection in

**Richard M. Nixon**  
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**Richard M. Nixon**  
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**Ronald Reagan**  
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1968. Republican candidate and former vice president Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994; served 1969–74) won the November 1968 presidential election. Nixon pledged during the campaign to end U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Although the end of the Vietnam War would not come for several years, by beginning the withdrawal process, Nixon recognized America had limits to its power to contain every occasional communist rebel group threatening to gain power in a country. In the first excerpt in this chapter, “Informal Remarks in Guam with Newsmen (Nixon Doctrine), July 25, 1969,” President Nixon stressed that the United States must always be interested and involved in the Asian nations but not necessarily impose its form of government there.

By 1969, a considerable rift between the two largest communist nations, the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China (PRC), had developed. President Nixon and national security advisor Henry Kissinger (1923–) skillfully exploited this rift, to the advantage of the United States. The Soviet Union dreaded the idea that the United States might become friendly with the PRC. That is exactly what Nixon and Kissinger set out to do. First Kissinger quietly became the first U.S. government representative to visit China since the communist takeover in 1949. Kissinger’s visit paved the way for a very public visit by the president and the first lady, Pat Nixon (1912–1993) in February 1972. In the second excerpt, “Remarks at Andrews Air Force Base on Returning from the People’s Republic of China, February 28, 1972,” Nixon reports on his amazing visit to China.

The Soviet Union, threatened by the improved U.S.-PRC relations, decided they too must improve relations with the United States. This was the precise response Nixon and Kissinger had hoped for. Over the next few years, not only did diplomatic communications open up between the United States and China, but Nixon and Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982) began a new era in U.S.-Soviet relations known as *détente*, or an easing of international tensions.

*Détente* depended on the personalities of Nixon, Kissinger, and Brezhnev. Unfortunately, *détente* became entangled in a web of U.S. domestic politics. In August 1974, Nixon became the first president in U.S. history to resign, after a domestic political scandal known as Watergate. The scandal

stemmed from the June 1972 burglarizing of the offices of the Democratic National Committee (located in the Watergate building in Washington, D.C.) and the cover-up that followed. With the departure of Nixon, a departure that seemed totally unnecessary to the Soviets, détente began to flounder.

Vice President Gerald R. Ford (1913–; served 1974–77) replaced Nixon and maintained the policies of détente, but the Soviets were skeptical if détente would continue. Nevertheless, on August 1, 1975, President Ford, Soviet premier Brezhnev, and leaders from numerous other countries gathered in Finland to sign the Helsinki Accords. The Accords addressed geographic issues in Europe; promised cooperation in trade, cultural exchanges, and scientific areas; and dealt with humanitarian issues. Ford and Brezhnev overcame critics in their respective countries to sign the Accords. The signing was the high point of détente.

As the 1976 presidential campaign got into full swing, two key candidates, U.S. senator Henry Jackson (1912–1983) of Washington state (a Democrat) and former California governor Ronald Reagan (1911–) (a Republican) forcefully opposed détente. They convinced many Americans that détente played up Soviet strengths and U.S. weaknesses. The ultimate victor in the race was Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter (1924–; served 1977–81), former governor of Georgia. Carter had almost no foreign affairs experience and changed his approach toward the Soviets several times in his one term in office. As a result, tensions steadily heated up.

In 1980, Carter lost his reelection bid to Reagan. When Reagan took office in 1981, the superpower rivalry escalated. Reagan's campaign was full of strong anticommunist rhetoric. Historians refer to the Carter and early Reagan presidential years as the "freeze" in superpower relations. In the early 1980s, the military budgets of both the United States and the Soviet Union rose dramatically, affecting the economies of both nations.

Reagan was reelected in November 1984. Within only a few months, in March 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–) assumed leadership of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev, outgoing, intelligent, and articulate, was determined to take his country down a different path. Reagan began to listen to Gorbachev's offers of arms reduction and opening of trade relations. The

two met four times between 1985 and 1988 to work out differences between the Soviet Union and the United States. Their second meeting in October 1986 in Reykjavik, Iceland, brought a common understanding toward the goal of actual reductions in nuclear weapons. In the third excerpt, "Address to the Nation on the Meetings with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev in Iceland, October 13, 1986," Reagan reported to Americans on his meeting in Iceland with Gorbachev.


## Richard M. Nixon

*Excerpt from "Informal Remarks in Guam with Newsmen (Nixon Doctrine), July 25, 1969"*

**Originally published in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard M. Nixon, 1969*, published in 1971**

**D**espite conflicts in Europe, particularly in Berlin, Germany, Indochina proved to be the region that consumed America's energies, finances, and resources during the mid- and late 1960s. Indochina is a region of Southeast Asia extending south from the southern border of the People's Republic of China (PRC), commonly referred to as China, along the eastern portion of a large peninsula extending into the South China Sea. Indochina comprises three countries—Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

In 1954, Vietnam was divided into the communist North Vietnam and the democratic, U.S.-influenced South Vietnam. However, there was no peace in Vietnam. Immediately, communist forces began waging guerrilla warfare in the South, and the United States, by lending assistance to the South, became increasingly involved in the conflict. Between 1965 and 1968, North Vietnam received at least \$2 billion in military aid and economic assistance from the Soviets and the Chinese. By 1968, over five hundred thousand U.S. troops were in Vietnam trying to keep South Vietnam from falling to the communists. Approximately fifty thousand U.S. soldiers



"As far as our role is concerned, we must avoid that kind of policy that will make countries in Asia so dependent upon us that we are dragged into conflicts such as the one that we have in Vietnam. This is going to be a difficult line to follow. It is one, however, that I think, with proper planning, we can develop."



**U.S. president Richard Nixon calls on a reporter at a press conference in 1969.**  
*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

lost their lives there. When Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994; served 1969–74) assumed the U.S. presidency in January 1969, he pledged to the American people, very weary of the Vietnam War (1954–75), to end U.S. involvement.

In mid-1969, Nixon nudged Americans and American foreign policy toward a new way of thinking about all of the Pacific Rim, including Asia and Indochina. By withdrawing from Vietnam, Nixon recognized that America had limits to its power. He also called to the attention of communist-fearing Americans that the communist world outside the Soviet Union was not poised to consume the United States. Instead, the communist world had many centers that sporadically rose and fell in power and were almost never joined to one another. Because Nixon understood this, the Nixon Doctrine became defined as a shift in American foreign commitments—

away from immediately sending American troops to wherever a communist rebel group threatened to gain control in a country. In this excerpt from “Informal Remarks in Guam with Newsmen (Nixon Doctrine), July 25, 1969,” Nixon stressed that the United States must be highly involved in the Pacific Rim and develop a “long-range view” there. (Guam is a territory of the United States located in the Mariana Islands of the southwest Pacific region.) At the same time, the United States would no longer be the world’s policeman and hoped to never again be involved in a Vietnamlike entanglement.

**Things to remember while reading the excerpt from “Informal Remarks in Guam with Newsmen (Nixon Doctrine), July 25, 1969”:**

- Major U.S. conflicts generally radiated from the Pacific Rim area—an attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, by Japan threw



the United States into World War II (1939–45). The Korean War (1950–53) and Vietnam War both occurred in Asia.

- Thinking along more peaceful lines, much of the Pacific Rim was experiencing dramatic economic growth that could present the U.S. economy with great trade potential.



### **Excerpt from “Informal Remarks in Guam with Newsmen (Nixon Doctrine), July 25, 1969”**

#### UNITED STATES ROLE IN ASIA

*Now, insofar as this phase of the trip is concerned, and I will speak first to the Asian phase ... I think what would be of greatest interest to you before we go to your questions is to give you the perspective that I have with regard to Asia and America's role in Asia.*

*As you know, my background here goes back a few years. It was in 1953 that I first visited this area. That trip was very extensive.... It provided an opportunity to meet the leaders, but more than that to know the countries in a very effective way....*

*Now, a word about what is a very consuming interest in Asia. A consuming interest, I say, because it is one that I have had for a number of years, and one that now, as I look at the perspective of history, becomes even more imperative.*

*The United States is going to be facing, we hope before too long—no one can say how long, but before too long—a major decision: What will be its role in Asia and in the Pacific after the end of the war in Vietnam? We will be facing that decision, but also the Asian nations will be wondering about what that decision is.*

*When I talked to Prime Minister [John Grey] Gorton [of Australia], for example, he indicated, in the conversations he had had with a number of Asian leaders, they all wondered whether the United States, because of its frustration over the war in Vietnam, because of its earlier frustration over the war in Korea—whether the United States would continue to play a significant role in Asia, ... whether we would withdraw from the Pacific and play a minor role.*

*This is a decision that will have to be made, of course, as the war comes to an end. But the time to develop the thinking which will*

go into that decision is now. I think that one of the weaknesses in American foreign policy is that too often we react rather **precipitately** to events as they occur. We fail to have the perspective and the long-range view which is essential for a policy that will be **viable**....

I am convinced that the way to avoid becoming involved in another war in Asia is for the United States to continue to play a significant role.... Whether we like it or not, geography makes us a Pacific power.

Also, as we look over the historical perspective, while World War II began in Europe, for the United States it began in the Pacific. It came from Asia. The Korean war came from Asia. The Vietnamese war came from Asia.

So, as we consider our past history, the United States involvement in war so often has been tied to our Pacific policy, or our lack of a Pacific policy, as the case might be.

As we look at Asia today, we see that the major world power which adopts a very aggressive attitude and a **belligerent** attitude in its foreign policy, Communist China, of course, is in Asia, and we find that the two minor world powers—minor, although they do have significant strength as we have learned—that most greatly threaten the peace of the world, that adapt the most belligerent foreign policy, are in Asia, North Korea and, of course, North Vietnam.

When we consider those factors we, I think, realize that if we are thinking down the road, down the long road—not just 4 years, 5 years, but 10, 15, or 20—that if we are going to have peace in the world, that potentially the greatest threat to that peace will be in the Pacific.

I do not mean to suggest that the Mideast is not a potential threat to the peace of the world and that there are not problems in Latin America that concern us, or in Africa and, of course, over it all, we see the great potential conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, the East-West conflict between the two super powers.

But as far as those other areas are concerned, the possibility of finding some kind of solution, I think is potentially greater than it is in the Asian area.

Pursuing that line of reasoning a bit further then, I would like to put it in a more positive sense: When we look at the problems in Asia, the threat to peace that is presented by the growing power of Communist China, the belligerence of North Korea and North Vietnam, we should not let that **obscure** the great promise that is here.

**Precipitately:** Quickly and thoughtlessly.

**Viable:** Workable for the long term.

**Belligerent:** Warlike.

**Obscure:** Hide.

*As I have often said, the fastest rate of growth in the world is occurring in non-Communist Asia. Japan, in the last 10 years, has tripled its **GNP**; South Korea has doubled its GNP; Taiwan has doubled its GNP; Thailand has doubled its GNP. The same is true of Singapore and of Malaysia....*

*So, what I am trying to suggest is this: As we look at Asia, it poses, in my view, over the long haul, looking down to the end of the century, the greatest threat to the peace of the world, and, for that reason the United States should continue to play a significant role. It also poses, it seems to me, the greatest hope for progress in the world....*

*We must recognize that there are two great, new factors which you will see, a very great growth of nationalism ... national pride is becoming a major factor, regional pride is becoming a major factor.*

*The second factor is one that is going to, I believe, have a major impact on the future of Asia, and it is something that we must take into account. Asians will say in every country that we visit that they do not want to be dictated to from the outside, Asia for the Asians. And that is what we want, and that is the role we should play. We should assist, but we should not dictate.*

*At this time, the political and economic plans that they are gradually developing are very hopeful. We will give assistance to those plans. We, of course, will keep the treaty commitments that we have.*

*But as far as our role is concerned, we must avoid that kind of policy that will make countries in Asia so dependent upon us that we are dragged into conflicts such as the one that we have in Vietnam.*

*This is going to be a difficult line to follow. It is one, however, that I think, with proper planning, we can develop.*



## **What happened next ...**

Holding his promise to end U.S. involvement in Vietnam, Nixon had dispatched national security advisor Henry Kissinger (1923–) for secret negotiations with the communist North Vietnamese to end the war. The talks were not produc-

**GNP:** Gross national product, the value of goods and services produced by a nation during a given period of time.

tive, so Nixon and Kissinger looked to the Soviet Union and China to help in bringing an end to the war. In reality, in spite of their military aid to the North, neither had much influence over the North Vietnamese. U.S. military leaders became convinced the only way to end the conflict was to destroy the North supply lines originating in the neighboring countries of Cambodia and Laos. Secret bombing commenced but did not remain secret for long. Shocked and outraged, many Americans viewed this action as an escalation of the war rather than as a beginning to an end. Nevertheless, by October 1972, secret peace talks became more productive. On January 27, 1973, a cease-fire went into effect. The last U.S. soldiers left Vietnam on March 29. The relentless North Vietnamese, however, took to the offensive again and gained control of the South by early 1975. The war then ended as the communists gained control of all of Vietnam.

### **Did you know ...**

- The bombing in Cambodia and Laos led to violent outbursts on America's college campuses. Four students were killed at Kent State University in Kent, Ohio, in May 1970 when national guardsmen opened fire on antiwar protesters.
- Laos and Cambodia also fell to the communists, but the communist spread then halted as it came up against more prosperous countries such as Thailand. The Nixon Doctrine appeared vindicated. Communism would not devour all of Asia.
- The United States became a major player in the booming Asian economies, as President Nixon had hoped.

### **Consider the following ...**

- Consider the involvement of the U.S. economy with Asia at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Explain how the Nixon Doctrine, despite its critics in the United States, appears to have been very farsighted.
- The United States did not become involved in another major military conflict using air and ground troops until

the Persian Gulf War of 1991. Think of the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and the Nixon Doctrine to offer some reasons why.

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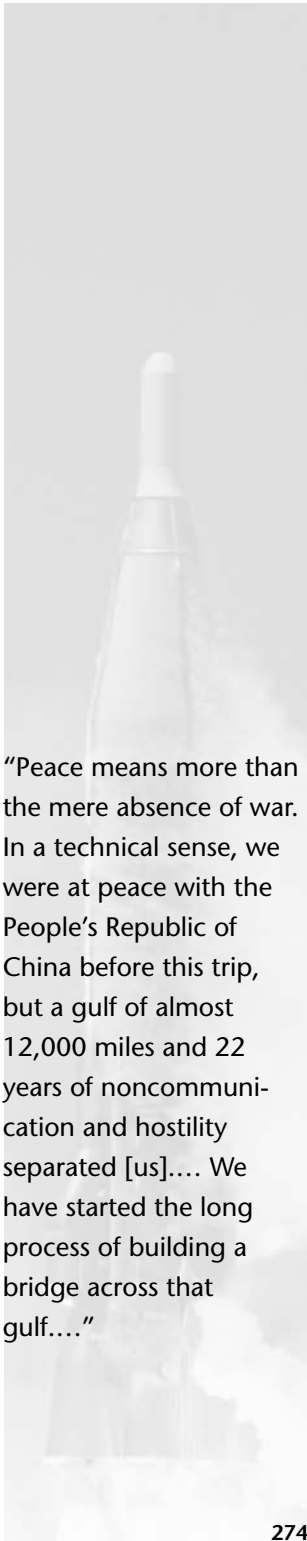
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“Peace means more than the mere absence of war. In a technical sense, we were at peace with the People’s Republic of China before this trip, but a gulf of almost 12,000 miles and 22 years of noncommunication and hostility separated [us].... We have started the long process of building a bridge across that gulf....”

# Richard M. Nixon

*Excerpt from “Remarks at Andrews Air Force Base on Returning from the People’s Republic of China, February 28, 1972”*

**Originally published in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard M. Nixon, 1972*, published in 1974**

**W**hile U.S. president Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994; served 1969–74) in 1969 and 1970 was trying to remove the United States from the Vietnam War (1954–75), tensions between the People’s Republic of China (PRC), or simply China, and the Soviet Union were at an all-time high. Along their 3,000-mile (4,828-kilometer) common border, sporadic fighting broke out between Soviet and Chinese troops. Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982) had introduced the Brezhnev Doctrine, which proclaimed the right of the Soviet Union to intervene in the internal affairs of any other communist country. The Chinese angrily assumed the Soviets included them under this doctrine. China was also displeased that the Soviets had not shared in any meaningful way industrial and military technology.

To take advantage of the rocky relationship between the world’s two largest communist countries, President Nixon secretly sent his national security advisor, Henry Kissinger (1923–), to Warsaw, Poland, in 1970 to meet with Chinese officials. Fearful of Soviet aggression, China was eager to improve relations with the powerful United States. Believing China was



U.S. president Richard Nixon (right, front) walks alongside Chinese leader Zhou Enlai during his visit to China in February 1972. Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.

supplying the communist North Vietnamese with weapons, President Nixon hoped China could be persuaded to halt the supplies so that he could pull out U.S. troops faster. Both Nixon and Kissinger believed that if the Soviets thought the United States and China were becoming allies, then the Soviets would also push for better relations with the United States.

Kissinger's secret talks led the way for a visit to China by the president and the first lady, Pat Nixon (1912–1993) in February 1972. Portions of the visit were televised back to the United States. In this excerpt, Nixon had just returned to Washington, D.C., aboard *Air Force One*. Nixon describes agreements between the United States and China announced in a joint communiqué, or statement. The joint statement was released to the Chinese in Shanghai, China, and to Americans by the White House.

Nixon's only disappointment with the meeting was that the Chinese did not agree to halt support for the North

Vietnamese. As a result of the open communications, however, tensions over the Vietnam War as well as over the Nationalist Chinese government located in Taiwan since 1949 were greatly lessened.

### **Things to remember while reading the excerpt from “Remarks at Andrews Air Force Base on Returning from the People’s Republic of China, February 28, 1972”:**

- There had been no communication between the People’s Republic of China and the United States in twenty-two years, since the communist takeover in 1949.
- It was obvious Nixon had applied his Nixon Doctrine (see earlier excerpt in this chapter) when he stated that the United States was opposed to “domination of the Pacific area by any one power” and that the United States would broaden cultural exchanges, trade, and further communications with China. Nixon had stressed that the United States must be highly involved in the Pacific area nations, but should no longer be the world’s policeman.
- Nixon and Chinese leader Mao Zedong (1893–1976) communicated despite vastly different fundamental philosophies of how people should be allowed to live.



### ***Excerpt from “Remarks at Andrews Air Force Base on Returning from the People’s Republic of China, February 28, 1972”***

*Mr. Vice President, members of the Congress, members of the Cabinet, members of the diplomatic corps, and ladies and gentlemen:*

*Because of the superb efforts of the hardworking members of the press who accompanied us—they got even less sleep than I did—millions of Americans in this past week have seen more of China than I did. Consequently, tonight I would like to talk to you*





*not about what we saw but about what we did, to sum up the results of the trip and to put it in perspective.*

*When I announced this trip last July, I described it as a journey for peace. In the last 30 years, Americans have in three different wars gone off by the hundreds of thousands to fight, and some to die, in Asia and in the Pacific. One of the central motives behind my journey to China was to prevent that from happening a fourth time to another generation of Americans.*

*As I have often said, peace means more than the mere absence of war. In a technical sense, we were at peace with the People's Republic of China before this trip, but a gulf of almost 12,000 miles and 22 years of noncommunication and hostility separated the United States of America from the 750 million people who live in the People's Republic of China, and that is one-fourth of all the people in the world.*

*As a result of this trip, we have started the long process of building a bridge across that gulf, and even now we have something bet-*

**U.S. secretary of state William Rogers (left) sits next to President Richard Nixon and Chinese leader Zhou Enlai at a meeting in Peking, China, in February 1972. Reproduced by permission of AP/Wide World Photos.**

*ter than the mere absence of war. Not only have we completed a week of intensive talks at the highest levels, we have set up a procedure whereby we can continue to have discussions in the future. We have demonstrated that nations with very deep and fundamental differences can learn to discuss those differences calmly, rationally, and frankly, without compromising their principles. This is the basis of a structure for peace, where we can talk about differences rather than fight about them.*

*The primary goal of this trip was to reestablish communication with the People's Republic of China after a generation of hostility. We achieved that goal.*

*Let me turn now to our joint communiqué.*

*We did not bring back any written or unwritten agreements that will guarantee peace in our time. We did not bring home any magic formula which will make unnecessary the efforts of the American people to continue to maintain the strength so that we can continue to be free.*

*We made some necessary and important beginnings, however, in several areas. We entered into agreements to expand cultural, educational, and journalistic contacts between the Chinese and the American people. We agreed to work to begin and broaden trade between our two countries. We have agreed that the communications that have now been established between our governments will be strengthened and expanded.*

*Most important, we have agreed on some rules of international conduct which will reduce the risk of confrontation and war in Asia and in the Pacific.*

*We agreed that we are opposed to domination of the Pacific area by any one power. We agreed that international disputes should be settled without the use of the threat of force and we agreed that we are prepared to apply this principle to our mutual relations.*

*With respect to Taiwan [the noncommunist Republic of China located on the island of Taiwan], we stated our established policy that our forces overseas will be reduced gradually as tensions ease, and that our ultimate objective is to withdraw our forces as a peaceful settlement is achieved.*

*We have agreed that we will not negotiate the fate of other nations behind their backs, and we did not do so at Peking. There were no secret deals of any kind. We have done all this without giving up any United States commitment to any other country.*

*In our talks, the talks that I had with the leaders of the People's Republic and that the Secretary of State had with the office of the Government of the People's Republic in the foreign affairs area, we both realized that a bridge of understanding that spans almost 12,000 miles and 22 years of hostility can't be built in one week of discussions. But we have agreed to begin to build that bridge, recognizing that our work will require years of patient effort. We made no attempt to pretend that major differences did not exist between our two governments, because they do exist.*

*This communique was unique in honestly setting forth differences rather than trying to cover them up with diplomatic **doubletalk**...*

*We hope ... this journey for peace will grow and prosper into a more enduring structure for peace and security in the Western Pacific.*

*But peace is too urgent to wait for centuries. We must seize the moment to move toward that goal now, and this is what we have done on this journey.*

*As I am sure you realize, it was a great experience for us to see the timeless wonders of ancient China, the changes that are being made in modern China. And one fact stands out, among many others, from my talks with the Chinese leaders: It is their total belief, their total dedication, to their system of government. That is their right, just as it is the right of any country to choose the kind of government it wants.*

*But as I return from this trip, just as has been the case on my return from other trips abroad which have taken me to over 80 countries, I come back to America with an even stronger faith in our system of government.*

*As I flew across America today, all the way from Alaska, over the Rockies, the Plains, and then on to Washington, I thought of the greatness of our country and, most of all, I thought of the freedom, the opportunity, the progress that 200 million Americans are privileged to enjoy. I realized again this is a beautiful country. And tonight my prayer and my hope is that as a result of this trip, our children will have a better chance to grow up in a peaceful world.*

*Thank you.*



**Doubletalk:** Deliberate use of unclear or evasive language.

## What happened next ...

Nixon's historic China trip was a turning point in the Cold War. The Cold War was a prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The weapons of conflict were commonly words of propaganda and threats. Nixon's trip paved the way for full diplomatic relations with China seven years later in 1979. Cultural exchanges of educators and planning of tourist travel began. The most important immediate effect was that the Soviet Union felt a great deal of pressure with a U.S.-China alignment.

Kissinger continued his secret, so-called "back door" trips. This time, he went to Moscow both to speak of peace talks on Vietnam and to discuss points of U.S.-Soviet disagreement in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I). Just as he had in China, Kissinger paved the way for President Nixon to visit Moscow in what would be another historic meeting. Nixon went to Moscow even though he knew the Soviets were arming the North Vietnamese and although he had just ordered another heavy bombing campaign against Hanoi, the capital of North Vietnam. Nixon and Brezhnev met in Moscow on May 22, 1972. They signed the SALT I treaty for the first time, scaling back the arms race by setting limits on the numbers of certain weapons. The costs of the arms race were fast becoming overwhelming for both countries. They significantly reduced the chance of nuclear war by establishing a working relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union.

## Did you know ...

- Almost one-fourth of the population of the world lived in China at the time.
- Nixon, as a young congressman in the late 1940s and 1950s, had staked his early reputation on fierce anticommunism. In 1972, he toasted leaders of the two largest communist nations. Political times change and Nixon adapted.
- The most famous scene brought to Americans of the China trip was President and Mrs. Nixon walking along

the Great Wall of China with other Chinese and U.S. government officials.

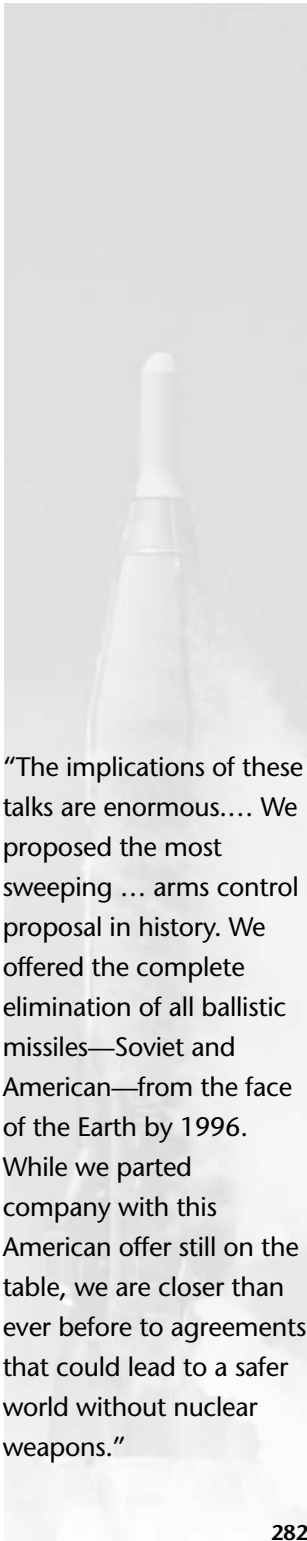
### Consider the following ...

- Find in the excerpt and then list all areas where the United States and China made communicative progress at the February meeting.
- What did Nixon stress as his number one reason for traveling to China?
- Research the life of Henry Kissinger and his role in diplomacy during the Cold War.

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“The implications of these talks are enormous.... We proposed the most sweeping ... arms control proposal in history. We offered the complete elimination of all ballistic missiles—Soviet and American—from the face of the Earth by 1996. While we parted company with this American offer still on the table, we are closer than ever before to agreements that could lead to a safer world without nuclear weapons.”

# Ronald Reagan

*Excerpt from “Address to the Nation on the Meetings with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev in Iceland, October 13, 1986”*

**Originally published in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Ronald Reagan, 1986, Book 2, published in 1989***

**W**ith the Watergate scandal-driven resignation of U.S. president Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994; served 1969–74), the erratic foreign policies of President Jimmy Carter (1924–; served 1977–81), and the strong anticommunist stance of President Ronald Reagan (1911–; served 1981–89), U.S.-Soviet relations in the early 1980s were in a deep freeze. Détente, an easing of international tensions, had long stalled. Both the United States and the Soviet Union were spending vast sums on the military arms race.

U.S.-Soviet arms-reduction talks had stalled by the early 1980s. A key reason was a proposed new U.S. missile system called the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). The new missile system was announced by President Reagan in March 1983. It became commonly known as the “Star Wars” project, named after the popular science-fiction movie of the time, because SDI involved a protective shield of laser-armed satellites in space. Together the missile, rockets, and laser beams would search out and destroy enemy missiles fired toward U.S. targets. The project would require vast sums of money, would be highly complex, and quite possibly might not work. Reagan

persisted with the Star Wars project, even though the Soviets would feel compelled to develop a similar system despite the severe strain that would put on their weak economy. Soviet premier Yuri Andropov (1914–1984) charged that Star Wars violated the Outer Space Treaty of 1967. Disgruntled, he proclaimed that the arms race now had no bounds. The year 1983 was one of great tension in the Cold War superpower rivalry.

The SDI program and other arms development programs gave President Reagan an increasing sense of U.S. nuclear superiority and a feeling of security. The overall result was that Reagan, negotiating from his position of strength, became a bit more accommodating toward the Soviets. Also, the November 1984 presidential election campaign was heating up. Under pressure from opposing Democratic candidates for president, Reagan realized he must soften his approach somewhat and commit to arms control talks if he had hopes of Congress funding his massive Star Wars program and hopes of reelection.

In February 1984, Andropov died and was replaced by another old-guard Soviet communist leader, Konstantin Chernenko (1911–1985). Chernenko was not eager to negotiate with Reagan. He wanted to see if Reagan was going to win reelection that fall. He did—by easily defeating former vice president Walter Mondale (1928–)—and he began his second term in January 1985. Not long afterwards, Chernenko died on March 10. The U.S.S.R.'s series of aging communist leaders, fiercely anti-United States, and unable to halt the economic state of stagnation in the Soviet Union, came to an end. By late evening on March 10, the Politburo, the key policy-making body of the Soviet Communist Party, elected fifty-four-year-old Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–) to lead the Soviet Union.

Vice President George Bush (1924–) and Secretary of State George Shultz (1920–) represented the United States at Chernenko's funeral. While in Moscow, they spoke with Gorbachev. Upon returning to the United States, Bush and Shultz informed Reagan that significant changes for the Soviet Union were on the horizon. They believed Gorbachev was a Soviet leader that they could possibly work with.

Gorbachev adopted a plan for Soviet economic recovery and opened up Soviet society to greater freedom of expression. To get his economic recovery program underway, he cut back economic aid to Third World nations, including



## Reagan's Early Tough Talk About the Soviets

In January 1981, Republican Ronald Reagan was inaugurated as the fortieth president of the United States. Reagan had spoken in fiercely anticommunist rhetoric during his campaign. With no desire to bargain with the Soviets on arms control or anything else, he held a hard-line stance in the early years of his presidency. To illustrate this stance, he labeled the Soviet Union the “focus of evil in the modern world.” His “focus of evil” speech was made to a national convention of ministers on March 8, 1983. The following is an excerpt containing his famous words:

*Whatever sad episodes exist in our past, any objective observer must hold a positive view of American history, a history that has been the story of hopes fulfilled and dreams made into reality. Especially in this century, America has kept alight the torch of freedom, but not just for ourselves but for millions of others around the world.*

*And this brings me to my final point today. During my first press confer-*

*ence as President, in answer to a direct question, I pointed out that, as good Marxist-Leninists, the Soviet leaders have openly and publicly declared that the only morality they recognize is that which will further their cause, which is world revolution. I think I should point out I was only quoting Lenin, their guiding spirit, who said in 1920 that they repudiate all morality that proceeds from supernatural ideas—that's their name for religion.*

*This doesn't mean we should isolate ourselves and refuse to seek an understanding with them. I intend to do everything I can to persuade them of our peaceful intent, to remind them that it was the West that refused to use its nuclear monopoly in the forties and fifties for territorial gain and which now proposes a 50 percent cut in strategic ballistic missiles and the elimination of an entire class of land-based, intermediate-range nuclear missiles.*

*At the same time, however, they must be made to understand we will never compromise our principles and standards. We will never give away our freedom. We will never abandon our belief in God. And*

Nicaragua, Cambodia, Angola, and Ethiopia. (Third World countries are poor underdeveloped or economically developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.) Gorbachev began withdrawing Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The Soviets had tried to prop up a procommunist government in Afghanistan but had become entangled in an unsuccessful decade-long conflict that resembled the earlier U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Gorbachev then boldly proposed an end to the arms race and an end to the Cold War. He desired immediate talks with President Reagan. With most Soviets living in relative poverty, Gorbachev knew that the only way to begin significant social



*we will never stop searching for a genuine peace....*

*Yes, let us pray for the salvation of all of those who live in that totalitarian darkness [those who live under a government that does not allow differing opinions and exercises total control over all aspects of an individual's life]—pray they will discover the joy of knowing God. But until they do, let us be aware that while they preach the supremacy [highest authority] of the state, declare its omnipotence [all-powerful force or quality] over individual man, and predict its eventual domination of all peoples on the Earth, they are the focus of evil in the modern world.*

*While America's military strength is important, let me add here that I've always maintained that the struggle now going on for the world will never be decided by bombs or rockets, by armies or military might. The real crisis we face today is a spiritual one; at root, it is a test of moral will and faith.*

*I believe we shall rise to the challenge. I believe that communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages even now are being written. I believe this because the source of our*

*strength in the quest for human freedom is not material, but spiritual. And because it knows no limitation, it must terrify and ultimately triumph over those who would enslave their fellow man.*

*God bless you, and thank you very much.*

Nineteen years after Reagan's remarks, U.S. president George W. Bush (1946–; served 2001–) made similar remarks in front of the U.S. Congress concerning what he called the “axis of evil” in 2002—Iraq, Iran, and North Korea. Bush had harkened back to wording used during World War II (1939–45)—the Axis powers referring to U.S. enemies Germany, Italy, and Japan—and to Reagan's Cold War words.

(Excerpt from “Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals, in Orlando, Florida, March 8, 1983.” Published in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Ronald Reagan, 1983, Book 1, January 1 to July 1, 1983*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.)

changes was to end the arms race with the United States that drained much of the Soviets' economic resources.

Reagan, still suspicious of Soviet intentions, met first with Gorbachev in Geneva, Switzerland, in November 1985. The meeting was designed primarily to build confidence and a personal relationship between the leaders. One year later, the two met again, in October 1986, in Reykjavik, Iceland. To the Americans' surprise, Gorbachev proposed a broad detailed plan to reduce arms. A major obstacle, however, continued to be Reagan's Star Wars program. Despite this obstacle, some as-



U.S. president Ronald Reagan (left) grimly walks alongside Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev following a disappointing close to their October 1986 summit in Reykjavik, Iceland. Gorbachev continued to insist that Reagan and the Americans do away with their Star Wars missile program, to which Reagan would not agree. *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

tounding common understandings were personally reached between Reagan and Gorbachev at Reykjavik. These included a desire to eliminate all intermediate-range missiles located in Europe, to eliminate all ballistic missiles over a ten-year period, and to make other major reductions involving bombers and tactical (short-range) weapons. The two leaders left Iceland disappointed that they did not accomplish more, but they looked forward to figuring out how to accomplish these goals. The following excerpt is from a televised address by Reagan to the American people reporting on the progress made at Reykjavik.

**Things to remember while reading the excerpt from “Address to the Nation on the Meetings with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev in Iceland, October 13, 1986”:**

- Only three years earlier, the arms race had appeared to have no limits.

- For the first time, the two superpower leaders talked of actually eliminating entire classes of nuclear weapons.
- If the United States actually developed a working Star Wars defense shield, then it could attack the Soviet Union with no fear of Soviet retaliation. Economically, the Soviets had no hope of developing such a program on their own, so they had to continue serious negotiations with the United States.



***Excerpt from “Address to the Nation on the Meetings with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev in Iceland, October 13, 1986”***

*Good evening. As most of you know, I’ve just returned from meetings in Iceland with the leader of the Soviet Union, General Secretary Gorbachev. As I did last year when I returned from the summit conference in Geneva [the first summit meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev in 1985], I want to take a few moments tonight to share with you what took place in these discussions. The implications of these talks are enormous and only just beginning to be understood. We proposed the most sweeping and generous arms control proposal in history. We offered the complete elimination of all **ballistic missiles**—Soviet and American—from the face of the Earth by 1996. While we parted company with this American offer still on the table, we are closer than ever before to agreements that could lead to a safer world without nuclear weapons....*

*Before I report on our talks, though, allow me to set the stage by explaining two things that were very much a part of our talks: one a treaty and the other a defense against nuclear missiles, which we’re trying to develop. Now, you’ve heard their titles a thousand times—the ABM treaty [signed in 1972 with both sides agreeing to limit the number of antiballistic missiles—defensive missiles to shoot down incoming offensive missiles] and SDI. Well, those letters stand for ABM, antiballistic missile; SDI, Strategic Defense Initiative [“Star Wars” program]....*

*So, here we are at Iceland for our second such meeting. In the first, and in the months in between, we have discussed ways to reduce and in fact eliminate nuclear weapons entirely....*

**Ballistic missiles:** Nuclear-tipped missiles capable of being programmed to hit specific targets by taking an arcing path.

*But by their choice, the main subject was arms control. We discussed the **emplacement** of intermediate-range missiles in Europe and Asia and seemed to be in agreement they could be drastically reduced. Both sides seemed willing to find a way to reduce, even to zero, the strategic ballistic missiles we have aimed at each other. This then brought up the subject of SDI.*

*I offered a proposal that we continue our present research. And if and when we reached the stage of testing, we would sign, now, a treaty that would permit Soviet observation of such tests. And if the program was practical, we would both eliminate our **offensive missiles**, and then we would share the **benefits** of advanced defenses. I explained that even though we would have done away with our offensive ballistic missiles, having the defense would protect against cheating or the possibility of a madman, sometime, deciding to create nuclear missiles. After all, the world now knows how to make them. I likened it to our keeping our gas masks, even though the nations of the world had outlawed poison gas after World War I. We seemed to be making progress on reducing weaponry, although the General Secretary was registering opposition to SDI and proposing a pledge to observe ABM for a number of years as the day was ending...*

*The Soviets had asked for a 10-year delay in the **deployment** of SDI programs. In an effort to see how we could satisfy their concerns—while protecting our principles and security—we proposed a 10-year period in which we began with the reduction of all strategic nuclear arms, bombers, air-launched **cruise missiles**, intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched ballistic missiles and the weapons they carry. They would be reduced 50 percent in the first 5 years. During the next 5 years, we would continue by eliminating all remaining offensive ballistic missiles, of all ranges. And during that time, we would proceed with research, development, and testing of SDI—all done in conformity with ABM provisions. At the 10-year point, with all ballistic missiles eliminated, we could proceed to deploy advanced defenses, at the same time permitting the Soviets to do likewise.*

*And here the debate began. The General Secretary wanted wording that, in effect, would have kept us from developing the SDI for the entire 10 years. In effect, he was killing SDI. And unless I agreed, all that work toward eliminating nuclear weapons would go down the drain—canceled. I told him I had pledged to the American people that I would not trade away SDI, there was no way I could tell our people their government would not protect them against nuclear destruction. I went to Reykjavik determined that everything was*

**Emplacement:** Placement.

**Offensive missiles:** Missiles primarily intended to destroy each other.

**Benefits:** Technological knowledge.

**Deployment:** Strategic placement.

**Cruise missiles:** Long-range, jet-propelled missiles guided by remote control.

*negotiable except two things: our freedom and our future. I'm still optimistic that a way will be found. The door is open, and the opportunity to begin eliminating the nuclear threat is within reach.*

*So you can see, we made progress in Iceland. And we will continue to make progress if we pursue a **prudent**, deliberate, and above all, realistic approach with the Soviets. From the earliest days of our administration this has been our policy. We made it clear we had no illusions about the Soviets or their ultimate intentions. We were publicly **candid** about the critical, moral distinctions between **totalitarianism** and democracy. We declared the principal objective of American foreign policy to be not just the prevention of war, but the extension of freedom. And we stressed our commitment to the growth of democratic government and democratic institutions around the world. And that's why we assisted freedom fighters who are resisting the **imposition** of totalitarian rule in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia, and elsewhere. And finally, we began work on what I believe most spurred the Soviets to negotiate seriously: rebuilding our military strength, reconstructing our strategic deterrence, and above all, beginning work on the Strategic Defense Initiative....*

*I realize some Americans may be asking tonight: Why not accept Mr. Gorbachev's demand? Why not give up SDI for this agreement? Well, the answer, my friends, is simple. SDI is America's insurance policy that the Soviet Union would keep the commitments made at Reykjavik. SDI is America's security guarantee if the Soviets should—as they have done too often in the past—fail to comply with their solemn commitments. SDI is what brought the Soviets back to arms control talks at Geneva and Iceland. SDI is the key to a world without nuclear weapons. The Soviets understand this. They have devoted far more resources, for a lot longer time than we, to their own SDI. The world's only operational missile defense today surrounds Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union.*

*What Mr. Gorbachev was demanding at Reykjavik was that the United States agree to a new version of a 14-year-old ABM treaty that the Soviet Union has already violated. I told him we don't make those kinds of deals in the United States. And the American people should reflect on these critical questions: How does a defense of the United States threaten the Soviet Union or anyone else? Why are the Soviets so **adamant** that America remain forever vulnerable to Soviet rocket attack? As of today, all free nations are utterly defenseless against Soviet missiles—fired either by accident or design. Why does the Soviet Union insist that we remain so—forever?*

**Prudent:** Wise.

**Candid:** Honest.

**Totalitarianism:** A highly centralized form of government that has total control over the population.

**Imposition:** Forced burden.

**Adamant:** Determined.

*So, my fellow Americans, I cannot promise, nor can any President promise, that the talks in Iceland or any future discussion with Mr. Gorbachev will lead inevitably to great breakthroughs or momentous treaty signing....*

*So, if there's one impression I carry away with me from these October talks, it is that, unlike the past, we're dealing now from a position of strength. And for that reason, we have it within our grasp to move speedily with the Soviets toward even more breakthroughs.... So, there's reason, good reason for hope. I saw evidence of this in the progress we made in the talks with Mr. Gorbachev.*



### **What happened next ...**

In February 1987, Gorbachev dropped all his demands that Reagan abandon Star Wars. That cleared the way for removing all intermediate-range nuclear force (INF) missiles in Europe, both U.S. missiles aimed at the Soviets and Soviet missiles in Eastern Europe aimed at the United States. Reagan and Gorbachev signed the historic INF Treaty on December 8, 1987, in Washington, D.C., at their third meeting.

For their fourth meeting, Reagan went to Moscow in June 1988 to show support for Gorbachev's domestic reform in the Soviet Union. It was the first visit of a U.S. president to Moscow in fourteen years, since Richard Nixon visited in 1974. In December 1988, Gorbachev traveled to New York City to speak before the United Nations' General Assembly. There, he gave a dramatic speech promoting democracy and individual liberty (see next chapter). The Cold War was indeed winding down.

### **Did you know ...**

- Under the INF treaty, the United States would destroy 850 missiles and dismantle approximately 1,000 nuclear warheads. The Soviet Union would destroy 1,800 missiles and 3,000 nuclear warheads.



- On July 25, 1988, Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze (1928–) made the startling and sweeping statement that the entire decades-old arms race with the United States was a massively mistaken policy.
- Ultimately, Congress refused to adequately fund Star Wars and it died with the Cold War.

**Once foes, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev (left) and U.S. president Ronald Reagan developed a close relationship.** *Photograph by Bill FitzPatrick. Reproduced by permission of Getty Images.*

## Consider the following ...

- Although under criticism from many in the United States, Reagan insisted on his Star Wars program. List the various reasons he may have had for this determination. Also list reasons why many opposed it.
- What are the major reasons Gorbachev chose to pursue serious arms elimination talks?
- Consider and write down your reflections on what emotions must have been involved as Reagan and Gorbachev, leaders of nations that had been bitter enemies for forty years, sat down for talks.

## For More Information

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## End of the Cold War

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**B**etween 1985 and 1988, U.S. president Ronald Reagan (1911–; served 1981–89) and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–) brought major changes to relations between the two Cold War rivals. At a second summit meeting between the two leaders held in Reykjavik, Iceland, in October 1986, Gorbachev surprised Reagan and the U.S. delegation with detailed proposals for major reductions in nuclear arms. It was becoming much clearer to the Americans that Gorbachev was indeed pressing for major changes both within the Soviet Union and in its international relations. Although no formal agreements were reached at Reykjavik, the two leaders agreed in principle to pursue certain major goals in arms reduction.

Negotiations through the following year led to the intermediate-range nuclear force treaty (INF) signed by Reagan and Gorbachev on December 8, 1987. It was a historic moment. Not only were the number of some types of nuclear weapons to be reduced, but other types were eliminated altogether.

With their working relationship continuing to grow, in June 1988, Reagan journeyed to Moscow for a fourth meeting with Gorbachev to express support for the Soviet re-

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**Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev addresses his Russian comrades in Moscow on November 2, 1987.** *Photograph by Peter Turnley. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

forms Gorbachev was pressing in the Soviet communist system. Gorbachev also continued to make changes in foreign policy by withdrawing Soviet troops from Afghanistan after a decade of bloody warfare during which the Soviets tried to prop up an unpopular pro-Soviet government.

To gain greater acceptance of the Soviet Union in the world community of nations, Gorbachev journeyed to New York City in December 1988 to speak before the United Nations (UN) General Assembly. In the first excerpt from Gorbachev's "Address to the 43rd United Nations General Assembly Session, December 7, 1988," the Soviet leader stressed the depth of change coming to his nation and the desire for more peaceful international relations. To provide continued proof of his intentions, Gorbachev traveled to the People's Republic of China in May 1989 to end years of hostile relations between the two communist giants.

Although U.S.-Soviet relations had warmed considerably through 1988, the new U.S. president George Bush



(1924–; served 1989–93), inaugurated in January 1989, had run a strong anticommunist presidential campaign. His campaign was typical of many other campaigns during the previous four decades. Even though he was Reagan’s vice president through all eight years of Reagan’s administration, he was critical of what he considered Reagan’s rush to work with Gorbachev. He and his advisors worried that Gorbachev’s reforms would quickly lose favor in the Soviet Union and that hard-line communists would regain control. Bush was fearful of reducing nuclear arms too quickly. However, Reagan and other world leaders urged Bush to continue U.S. support for Gorbachev. Gorbachev even continued reducing Soviet nuclear arms without getting Bush’s agreement to do likewise.

By early 1989, change was coming faster than anyone, including Gorbachev, had anticipated. Bush and others worried about political stability and chaos in Eastern Europe. First Poland, followed by Hungary, East Germany, Czecho-

**As communist governments fell, so did the symbols of past regimes, In Bucharest, Hungary, toppled statues of Romanian leader Petru Groza (left) and Soviet leader Vladimir I. Lenin lie on the ground.** *Photograph by Barry Lewis. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

slovakia, and Romania threw out their communist governments. The most dramatic moment was the dismantling of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. The wall had divided communist East Berlin from the democratic West Berlin since 1961. Unrest was similarly growing with the Soviet Union's fifteen republics. Bush became increasingly worried that the Soviet nuclear arsenal could fall into the hands of terrorists or remaining groups of hard-line communists. By May 1989, Bush had begun responding cautiously with further reductions in conventional forces in Europe. Then he agreed to personally meet with Gorbachev in December 1989 on a ship in a harbor in Malta in the eastern Mediterranean Sea. The second excerpt, from "At Historic Crossroads: Documents on the December 1989 Malta Summit," relays the public comments of both Bush and Gorbachev at the conclusion of their session.

Events within the Soviet Union unfolded at an ever quicker pace through 1990 and 1991. The Soviet economy continued to deteriorate, and Gorbachev was losing favor with both the communist hard-liners on one side, who thought his reforms went too far, and the Soviet public, who wanted greater freedoms and economic relief. By August 1991, the final downfall of Gorbachev and the Soviet Union had come. Following a brief failed coup by communist hard-liners to topple Gorbachev and reverse his reforms, the Communist Party was banned in various Soviet republics. The seat of power shifted from Gorbachev, president of the Soviet Union, to Boris Yeltsin (1931–), president of the Russian republic and a promoter of much more dramatic democratic and economic reform. The Soviet republics began achieving independence from Soviet rule on August 24, with the three Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania leading the way.

By December 25, 1991, Gorbachev stepped down as president, and the Soviet Union ceased to exist a few days later. The Baltic States and the twelve remaining Soviet republics formed a new type of alliance as independent nations. Shortly after the fall of the Soviet Union, President George Bush chose the annual State of the Union address to Congress and the American people to officially proclaim victory for the United States in the Cold War. The third excerpt is from "End of Cold War: Address Before a Joint Session of

the Congress on the State of the Union, January 28, 1992.”  
The address provides Bush’s proclamation and a first look at  
new directions in a new post–Cold War era.



“We are witnessing the emergence of a new, historic reality: a turning away from the principle of super-armament to the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency.”

# Mikhail Gorbachev

*Excerpt from “Address to the 43rd United Nations General Assembly Session, December 7, 1988”*

**Found in *United Nations General Assembly, Provisional Verbatim Record of the Seventy-Second Meeting***

**O**n December 7, 1988, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–) spoke to the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) at the UN headquarters in New York City. Gorbachev was general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.). In other words, he was head of both the Soviet Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union. The speech would mark another major step toward ending the Cold War, a prolonged conflict for world dominance from 1945 to 1991 between the two superpowers, the democratic, capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union. The occasion of the speech also came several weeks before U.S. president Ronald Reagan (1911–; served 1981–89) ended his term of office and George Bush (1924–; served 1989–93) began his.

Before the entire world, Gorbachev plainly announced the Soviet reforms that he had begun over the previous three years. Describing his reforms as containing “a tremendous potential for peace and international co-opera-



tion,” Gorbachev charted a course never heard expressed by a Soviet leader before. He spoke of “profound social change” and “new nations and States.” People, he claimed, were “longing for independence, democracy and social justice.” He declared this was in large part due to the growing mass media that brought a greater exchange of ideas around the world. Keeping societies closed to the outside world, such as the Soviet society since the 1920s, was no longer practical.

Related to this change was a globalization of trade. No country could economically develop and thrive without taking part in the newly developing worldwide economic system. At this time, Gorbachev still held fast to maintaining communist rule, though with a reformed Communist Party allowing greater personal freedoms and public participation. He spoke of respecting differing viewpoints and tolerance among the nations, of living “side by side with others, while remaining different.” Gorbachev stressed a key step toward greater world stability was disarmament, and he desired to

**Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev addresses the United Nations in December 1988. He announced cuts in the Soviet military budget as well as a withdrawal of fifty thousand troops from Eastern Europe.** *Photograph by Robert Maass. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

build on the INF treaty signed the previous December. He called for “radical economic reform” by lessening government control of industry and business. Gorbachev thanked President Reagan and U.S. secretary of state George Shultz (1920–) for supporting his reforms. In conclusion, he expressed a desire to continue the growing relationship with the United States through newly elected president Bush.

### **Things to remember while reading “Address to the 43rd United Nations General Assembly Session, December 7, 1988”:**

- Mikhail Gorbachev came into the Soviet leadership position in 1985 when the economy was in disarray and the United States, under President Reagan, was pursuing another period of expensive rapid arms buildup. Soviet citizens had lost faith in the communist system and dramatic reform was desperately needed.
- Reagan and Shultz had overcome hard-line anticommunist opposition in the U.S. administration to negotiate arms control agreements and support Gorbachev’s efforts at Soviet reform.
- Gorbachev differed from previous Soviet leaders by being from a later generation, being college-educated, and being quite socially outgoing in public.



### **Excerpt from “Address to the 43rd United Nations General Assembly Session, December 7, 1988”**

*We have come here to show our respect for the United Nations, which increasingly has been **manifesting** its ability to act as a unique international center in the service of peace and security...*

*The role played by the Soviet Union in world affairs is well known, and in view of the revolutionary **perestroika** under way in our country, which contains a tremendous potential for peace and*

**Manifesting:** Demonstrating.

**Perestroika:** Mikhail Gorbachev’s policy of economic and government reforms.



*international co-operation, we are now particularly interested in being properly understood.*

*That is why we have come here to address this most authoritative world body and to share our thoughts with it. We want it to be the first to learn of our new, important decisions....*

*We are witnessing the most profound social change. Whether in the East or the South, the West or the North, hundreds of millions of people, new nations and States, new public movements and **ideologies** have moved to the forefront of history. Broad-based and frequently turbulent popular movements have given expression ... to a longing for independence, democracy and social justice. The idea of **democratizing** the entire world order has become a powerful socio-political force....*

*Thanks to the advances in mass media and means of transportation the world seems to have become more visible and **tangible**. International communication has become easier than ever before. Today, the preservation of any kind of closed society is hardly possible. This calls for a radical review of approaches to the totality of the problems of international co-operation as a major element of universal security. The world economy is becoming a single organism, and no State, whatever its social system or economic status, can develop normally outside it....*

*However, concurrently with wars, **animosities** and divisions among peoples and countries, another trend, with equally objective causes, was gaining momentum: the process of the emergence of a mutually interrelated and integral world. Today, further world progress is possible only through a search for universal human consensus as we move forward to a new world order....*

*The international community must learn how it can shape and guide developments in such a way as to preserve our civilization and to make it safe for all and more conducive to normal life....*

*In the past differences were often a factor causing mutual rejection. Now, they have a chance of becoming a factor for mutual enrichment and mutual attraction.*

*Behind differences in social systems, in ways of life and in preferences for certain values, stand different interests. There is no escaping that fact....*

*This objective fact calls for respect for the views and positions of others, tolerance, a willingness to perceive something different as*

**Ideologies:** Body of beliefs.

**Democratizing:** Changing foreign governments into democracies, in which they have multiple political parties and free public elections.

**Tangible:** Real; valuable.

**Animosities:** Resentment toward each other, possibly leading to armed conflict.

*not necessarily bad or hostile, and an ability to learn to live side by side with others, while remaining different and not always agreeing with each other....*

*These are our reflections on the patterns of world development on the threshold of the twenty-first century....*

*Forces have already emerged in the world that in one way or another stimulate the arrival of a period of peace....*

*Those politicians whose activities used to be geared to the Cold War and sometimes linked with its most critical phases are now drawing appropriate conclusions. Of all people, they find it particularly hard to abandon old **stereotypes** and past practices, and, if even they are changing course, it is clear that, when new generations take over, opportunities will increase in number.*

*In short, the understanding of the need for a period of peace is gaining ground and beginning to prevail. This has made it possible to take the first real steps towards creating a healthier international environment and towards disarmament....*

*The whole world welcomes the efforts of this Organization [United Nations]....*

*Under the sign of democratization, perestroika has now spread to politics, the economy, intellectual life and ideology.*

*We have initiated a radical economic reform. We have gained experience. At the start of next year, the entire national economy will be directed to new forms and methods of operation....*

*Let me now turn to the main issue without which none of the problems of the coming century can be solved: disarmament.*

*International development and communications have been distorted by the arms race and the militarization of thinking. As the Assembly will know, on 15 January 1986 the Soviet Union put forward a programme for building a nuclear-weapon-free world. Translated into actual negotiating positions, it has already produced material results. Tomorrow marks the first anniversary of the signing of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the elimination of their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles—the INF Treaty. I am therefore particularly pleased to note that the implementation of the Treaty—the elimination of missiles—is proceeding normally in an atmosphere of trust and businesslike work. **A large breach** has thus been made in a seemingly unbreakable wall of suspicion and animosity. We are*

**Stereotypes:** Common, oversimplified opinions of a group of people.

**A large breach:** Much progress.

witnessing the emergence of a new, historic reality: a turning away from the principle of super-armament to the principle of reasonable defense sufficiency...

Finally, since I am here on American soil, and also for other obvious reasons, I have to turn to the subject of our relations with this great country. I had a chance to appreciate the full measure of its hospitality during my memorable visit to Washington exactly a year ago. Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America have a history of five and a half decades. As the world has changed, so have the nature, role and place of those relations in world politics. For too long they developed along the lines of confrontation and sometimes animosity, either **overt** or **covert**. But in the last few years the entire world has been able to breathe a sigh of relief, thanks to the changes for the better in the substance and the atmosphere of the relationship between Moscow and Washington.

No one intends to underestimate the seriousness of our differences and the toughness of our outstanding problems. We have, however, already graduated from the primary school of learning to understand each other and seek solutions in both our own and the common interest.

The USSR and the United States have built the largest nuclear and missile **arsenals**; but it is those two countries that, having become specifically aware of their responsibility, have been the first to conclude a treaty on the reduction and physical elimination of a portion of their armaments which posed a threat to both of them and to all other countries. Both countries possess the greatest and most sophisticated military secrets; but it is those two countries that have laid a basis for and are further developing a system of mutual verification both of the elimination of armaments and of the reduction and prohibition of their production. It is those two countries that are accumulating experience for future **bilateral** and **multilateral** agreements.

We value this. We acknowledge and appreciate the contributions made by President Ronald Reagan and by the members of his Administration, particularly Mr. George Shultz.

All this is our joint investment in a venture of historic importance. We must not lose that investment, or leave it idle.

The next United States administration, headed by President-elect George Bush, will find in us a partner who is ready—without long pauses or backtracking—to continue the dialogue in a spirit of realism, openness and goodwill, with a willingness to achieve con-

**Overt:** Open.

**Covert:** Secret.

**Arsenals:** Collection of weapons.

**Bilateral:** Interaction between two countries.

**Multilateral:** Interaction between more than two countries.

crete results working on the agenda which covers the main issues of Soviet/United States relations and world politics....

*We are not inclined to simplify the situation in the world.*

*Yes, the trend towards disarmament has been given a powerful impetus, and the process is gaining a momentum of its own. But it has not yet become irreversible.*

*Yes, the willingness to give up confrontation in favor of dialogue and co-operation is being felt strongly. But it is still far from becoming a permanent feature in the practice of international relations.*

*Yes, movement towards a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world is capable of radically transforming the political and intellectual identity of our planet. But only the first steps have been taken, and even they have been met with mistrust in certain influential quarters and face resistance.*

*The legacy and the **inertia** of the past continue to be felt....*

*We are meeting at the end of a year which has meant so much for the United Nations and on the eve of a year from which we all expect so much.*

*I should like to believe that our hopes will be matched by our joint efforts to put an end to an era of wars, confrontation and regional conflicts, to aggressions against nature, to the terror of hunger and poverty as well as to political terrorism.*

*That is our common goal and we can only reach it together....*



## What happened next ...

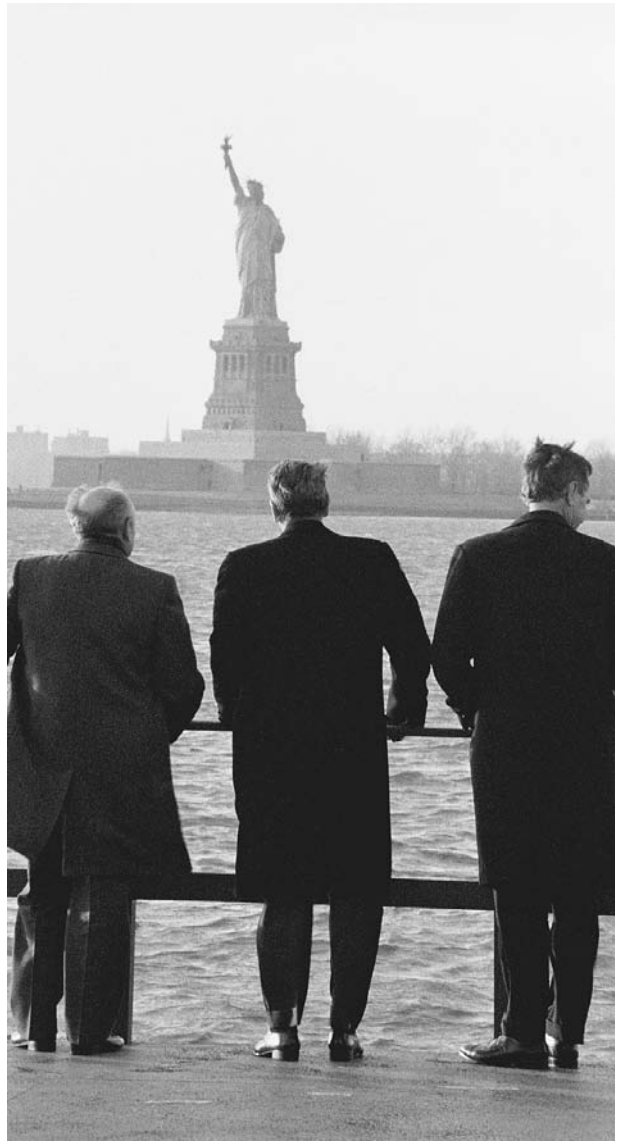
Not long after the UN speech, Gorbachev introduced major political reforms within the Soviet Union. A revised Soviet constitution created a new parliament known as the Congress of People's Deputies. To fill seats in the new parliament, elections were held in the various fifteen Soviet republics in March. Gorbachev was surprised how badly hard-line communist candidates had lost. One new reform-minded communist who won was Boris Yeltsin (1931–) in the highly important Moscow district of Russia. Gorbachev had not expected

**Inertia:** Something moving at its own pace until affected by something else.

such a shift in political power away from the Communist Party. On the international scene, President Bush's new secretary of state, James Baker (1930–), and Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze (1928–) met several times through the early months of 1989, forming a close working relationship.

### Did you know ...

- During his visit to the UN headquarters in New York City, Gorbachev posed with President Ronald Reagan and President-elect George Bush in front of the Statue of Liberty. It later proved a powerful image representing the fall of communism and the end of the Cold War.
- President George Bush's secretary of defense Richard Cheney (1941–) warned Bush against aiding Gorbachev, predicting the reforms would fail and hard-line communists would regain control. Other advisors would warn that Gorbachev's reforms were a trick to weaken the United States by agreeing to disarmament measures. This was old-line, long-adhered-to U.S. philosophy concerning the Soviet Union. Letting go of this line of thinking was difficult for many old-line U.S. diplomats.
- A major feature of Gorbachev's UN speech was his renouncing longtime communist assumptions that conflict between capitalism and communism was inevitable.
- In the speech, Gorbachev shocked other nations by announcing a withdrawal of a half million Soviet troops



**Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev (left), U.S. president Ronald Reagan, and Vice President George Bush look at the Statue of Liberty in December 1988.**

*Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

and thousands of heavy conventional weapons from Eastern Europe.

### Consider the following ...

- Gorbachev claimed that mass media made it almost impossible for a government to maintain a strict control over a society closed to outside influences. What kinds of influences do you think young Soviets may have been exposed to in the 1970s and 1980s?
- Why do you suppose Gorbachev did not intend to end communism, but basically reform it?
- What did Gorbachev mean when he asserted that U.S.-Soviet relations through the Cold War were “distorted by the arms race and the militarization of thinking” and that “the first steps” of disarmament “have been met with mistrust in certain influential quarters”?

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# George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev

*Excerpt from "At Historic Crossroads: Documents on the December 1989 Malta Summit"*

**Published in *Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, Issue 12/13, Fall/Winter 2001**

Following the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and increasing unrest within the Soviet Union, it was clearer to President George Bush (1924–; served 1989–93) and his secretary of state, James A. Baker (1930–), that change was real in the former Soviet empire and a prospect of substantial political instability loomed large. Bush had at first been cool to showing support for Gorbachev. He was coming to decide that it would be best for the United States if Gorbachev's reforms were successful and if some degree of social order was maintained without the hard-line communists taking control once again.

Immediately following the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, Bush met with Gorbachev on a ship off the island nation of Malta in the Mediterranean Sea. The historic talks began as a major storm was raging, tossing the ship to and fro in the bay where it was anchored. In the Soviet Union, ethnic tensions were rising in some Soviet republics pressing for independence. Potential political chaos was looming. The two leaders ended their session by making a joint public statement.



"We have managed to avoid a large-scale war for 45 years. This single fact alone says that not everything was so bad in the past. Nevertheless, one conclusion is obvious—reliance on force, on military superiority, and the associated arms race have not been justified. Our two countries obviously understand this better than others."

—Mikhail Gorbachev



**U.S. president George Bush greets Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at the December 1989 Malta Summit.**

*Photograph by Wally McNamee. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

First, Bush spoke on his increased desire to see Soviet reforms succeed. Bush offered steps to provide improved trade and financial assistance, but he stressed that the United States was not offering aid to “save” the Soviet Union but rather a cooperative venture in helping the Soviets see their reforms through. This also included letting the Soviets become more participatory in world economic markets. Bush also addressed the reduction of chemical weapons, strategic nuclear weapons, and major reductions in conventional forces in Europe.

Gorbachev responded with great pleasure that Bush was willing to increase U.S. assistance to his reform efforts. He again denounced the Cold War’s arms race and confrontations over differing philosophies. He warned that military leaders on both sides were locked into a Cold War mentality of military aggressiveness. Gorbachev spoke of “a united, integrated European economy” and greater involvement of China as well—“a regrouping of forces in the world.”

A first step, according to Gorbachev, was a promise “that the Soviet Union will not start a war under any circumstances.” He added that the Soviets no longer considered the United

States as an enemy. It was urgent to end the arms race and reduce weapons as soon as possible and become military cooperators rather than confronters. Turning to domestic issues, Gorbachev asserted that a “main principle” of the “new thinking is the right of each country to ... choose without outside interference ... a certain social and economic system.” Unknown at this time was the fact that the Soviet Union would exist for only one more year.



## Things to remember while reading the excerpt from “At Historic Crossroads: Documents on the December 1989 Malta Summit”:

- President Bush was very hesitant to support Gorbachev’s reforms. This excerpt clearly shows Gorbachev’s expression of urgency and Bush’s more reserved but growing support.
- Bush had previously held various government positions involved in Cold War politics, such as U.S. representative to the United Nations, director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and U.S. representative to communist China.
- Communist governments in Eastern Europe had just fallen during the past several months. The Soviet empire was dramatically shrinking to its own borders, with social unrest growing within.



### ***Excerpt from “At Historic Crossroads: Documents on the December 1989 Malta Summit”***

*G. Bush: We have already had productive discussions. I would like for you to allow me to describe some ideas of the American side in summary form....*

*About our attitude to **perestroika** ... that the world would be better off for perestroika’s success....*

*But you can be confident that you are dealing with a U.S. administration and also with a Congress that wants your reforms to be successful.*

*I would now like to describe a number of positive steps which, in our opinion, could define in general terms the direction of our joint work to prepare for an official summit meeting in the U.S.*

*Some comments about economic questions. I want to inform you that my administration intends to take steps directed at preventing the Jackson-Vanik amendment which prohibits granting the Soviet Union most-favored nation status, from going into force....*

**Perestroika:** Mikhail Gorbachev’s policy of economic and government reforms.



**Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev meets with U.S. president George Bush at the Malta Summit in December 1989.** *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

*I would also like to report that the administration has adopted a policy of repealing the Stevenson and Byrd amendments which restrict the possibility of granting credits to the Soviet side.*

*These measures, which the administration is proposing right now in the area of Soviet-American relations, are restrained ... in the appropriate spirit: they are not at all directed at demonstrating American superiority. And in this sense, as we understand it, they correspond with your attitude. We in the U.S., of course, are deeply confident of the advantages of our way of economic management. But that is not the issue right now. We have been striving to draw up our proposals so as not to create the impression that America "is saving" the Soviet Union. We are not talking about an aid program, but a cooperative program.*

*After the Jackson-Vanik amendment is repealed, favorable conditions will arise to remove the restrictions on granting credits. The American administration is not thinking about granting aid but about creating conditions for the development of effective coopera-*

tion on economic issues. We have in mind sending the Soviet side our proposals on this matter in the form of a document. It concerns a number of serious projects in the areas of finance, statistics, market operations, etc....

I would like to say a few words to explain our position regarding the Soviet side's desire to gain observer status at **GATT** ... We are [now] in favor of the Soviet side being granted observer status at GATT. In doing so, we are proceeding from the belief that Soviet participation in GATT would help it familiarize itself with the conditions, the functioning, and the development of the world market....

You know that my administration is in favor of ridding mankind of chemical weapons....

On the practical level this means that even in the near future both sides could reach agreement about a considerable reduction of chemical weapon stockpiles, bringing this amount to 20% of the amount of CW [chemical warfare] agents the U.S. presently has in its arsenal....

About conventional weapons. Although serious efforts will be needed for this.... It appears in this regard that we could put forward such a goal: to orient ourselves toward signing agreements about radical reductions of conventional forces in Europe in 1990....

Concerning the issue of a future agreement about reducing strategic offensive weapons....

The resolution of the issue of preventing the **proliferation** of missiles and missile technology is gaining ever greater significance at the present time....

M. S. Gorbachev: Thank you for your interesting ideas. It's possible that this is the best evidence that the administration of President Bush has shaped its policy in the Soviet-American direction. I intend to touch on several specific issues later.

But right now I would like to make a number of comments of a philosophical nature. It seems to me that it is very important for us to talk with you about what conclusions can be drawn from past experience, from the Cold War. What has happened remains in history. Such, if you will, is the privilege of the historical process. However, to try to analyze the course of previous events—this is our direct responsibility. Why is this necessary? Certainly we can say that we have all ended up at historical crossroads. Completely new problems have arisen before humanity which people had not previously antic-

**GATT:** General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; established in 1948 to promote world trade.

**Proliferation:** Increase in numbers.

ipated. And what about it—will we decide them using old approaches? Simply nothing would come out of this.

By no means should everything that has happened be considered in a negative light. We have managed to avoid a large-scale war for 45 years. This single fact alone says that not everything was so bad in the past. Nevertheless, one conclusion is obvious—reliance on force, on military superiority, and the associated arms race have not been justified. Our two countries obviously understand this better than others.

And confrontation arising from ideological convictions has not justified itself either; as a result of this we ended up swearing at one another. We reached a dangerous brink and it is good that we managed to stop. It is good that now mutual trust between our countries has emerged....

Cold War methods, methods of confrontation, have suffered defeat in strategic terms. We have recognized this. And ordinary people have possibly understood this even better. I do not want to preach here. People simply **meddle** in policymaking. Ecological problems, problems of preserving natural resources, and problems connected with the negative consequences of technological progress have arisen. All of this is completely understandable since we are essentially talking about the issue of survival. And this kind of public sentiment is strongly affecting us, the politicians.

Therefore we together—the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.—can do a lot at this stage to radically change our old approaches. We had felt this even in our contacts with the Reagan administration. And this process continues right now. Look how we have confided in one another.

We lag behind the mood of the people at the political level. And this is understandable since various forces influence leaders. It is good that [Chief of the General Staff] Marshall Akhromeyev and your [National Security] Adviser, [Brent] Scowcroft, understand the problems which arise in the military field. But there are people in both countries—and there are many of them—who simply scare us. Many people working in the defense sector are used to their profession and for whom it is not easy to change their way of thinking. And all the same, this process has begun.

Why have I begun with this? The thesis is consistently advanced in American political circles that the Soviet Union “has begun its perestroika and is changing policy under the influence of the Cold War policy.” They say that everything is collapsing in Eastern Europe

**Meddle:** Interfere.

and [that] this also “confirms the correctness of those who relied on Cold War methods.” And if this is so, then nothing needs to be changed in this policy. We need to increase strong arm pressure and prepare more baskets in order to catch more fruit. Mr. President, this is a dangerous delusion.

I have noticed that you see all this. I know that you have to listen to representatives of different circles. However, your public statements, as well as specific proposals directed at the development of cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and U.S. which you spoke of today, mean that President Bush has formed a certain idea about the world, and it corresponds to the challenges of the time....

Initially, I was even thinking of expressing something of a **reproach**. To say that the President of the United States has not once expressed his support for perestroika, wished it success, and noted that the Soviet Union itself should deal with its own reforms. What we were expecting from the President of the United States was not only statements, but specific steps in accordance with these statements.

Now there are both statements and these steps. I am drawing this conclusion having heard what you have just said. Despite the fact that these are only plans for steps. But this is very important.

Second consideration. A great regrouping of forces is underway in the world. It is clear that we are going from a **bipolar** to a **multipolar** world. Whether we like it or not, we will have to deal with a united, integrated European economy. We could discuss the issue of Western Europe separately. Whether we want it or not, Japan is one more center of world politics. At one time you and I were talking about China. This is one more huge reality which neither we nor you should play against the other. And it is necessary to think about what to do, so that China does not feel excluded from all the processes which are taking place in the world....

All these, I repeat, are huge events typical of a regrouping of forces in the world.

And what is waiting ahead for us with regard to the economy, the environment, and other problems? We need to think together about this, too.

We in the Soviet leadership have been reflecting about this for a long time and have come to the conclusion that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. are simply “doomed” to dialogue, coordination, and cooperation. There is no other choice.

**Reproach:** Disapproval.

**Bipolar:** Two equally opposed forces, such as the two superpowers.

**Multipolar:** More than two centers of power.

*But to do this we need to get rid of the view of one another as enemies. Much of this stays in our brains. And we need to keep in mind that it is impossible to view our relations only at the military level.*

*All this means that we are proposing a Soviet-American **condominium**.... We have only entered into the process of mutual understanding.*

*Mr. President, yesterday I reacted very briefly to the ideas you expressed about military-political issues. Today it is our turn....*

*First of all, a new U.S. President should know that the Soviet Union will not start a war under any circumstances. This is so important that I would like to personally repeat this declaration to you. Moreover, the U.S.S.R. is prepared to no longer consider the U.S. as its enemy and openly say so. We are open to cooperation with America, including cooperation in the military sphere. That is the first thing.*

*Second point. We are in favor of ensuring mutual security through joint efforts. The Soviet leadership is devoted to a continuation of the process of disarmament in all directions. We consider it necessary and urgent to get past the arms race and prevent the creation of exotic new kinds of weapons....*

*The two of us have recognized that, as a result of the arms race, absolutely inconceivable military power was created on both sides. We have come to the common conclusion that such a situation was fraught with catastrophic [dangers]. We have started to act in the right direction and have displayed political will....*

*Summarizing what I have said, I would like to stress again with all my strength that we favor peaceful relations with the U.S. And proceeding from this very precondition we propose to transform the present military confrontation. This is the main thing....*

*It is necessary to proceed from an understanding of the enormous importance of the current changes. It is necessary to avoid possible mistakes and use the historic opportunities which are opening up to bring East and West together....*

*I stress that a special responsibility rests on the Soviet Union and the United States at this historic moment....*

*The main principle which we have adopted and which we follow in our new thinking is the right of each country to free choice, including the right to reexamine and change their original choice. This is very painful, but it is a fundamental right. The right to choose without*

**Condominium:** Political sharing of power.

*outside interference. The U.S. is devoted to a certain social and economic system which the American people have chosen. Let other people decide themselves, figuratively speaking, what God to pray to...*

*G. Bush: I understand you and agree.... We welcome the changes which are occurring with all our hearts.*

*M. S. Gorbachev: This is very important since, as I have said, the main thing is that the changes lead to greater openness in our relations with one another. We are beginning to be organically integrated and liberated from everything which divided us. What will this be called in the final account? I think—a new level of relations.*



## **What happened next ...**

By February 1990, public demonstrations were erupting against the Communist Party in various Soviet republics. In Moscow, hundreds of thousands of protesters turned out. To distance himself from the Communist Party after being its leader for five years, Gorbachev created a new governmental leadership position, the Soviet presidency. Gorbachev assumed the new position, for the first time separating Communist Party leadership from Soviet government leadership. In addition, other political parties besides the Communist Party were allowed for the first time since the communist takeover in 1917.

Through 1990, the Soviet economy continued its steep downward slide. Gorbachev's popularity on the home front was similarly declining. The Soviet Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were scrambling for independence from Soviet rule. During the previous year, Gorbachev stood by while communist rule ended in country after country in Eastern Europe. However, under pressure from party hard-liners, he responded with force when the Soviet republics tried to break away. When the Soviet republic of Lithuania attempted to gain independence, Gorbachev sent Soviet troops to the country and established an economic blockade. In reaction, Bush placed trade restrictions on the Soviets, causing Gorbachev to quickly back off.



A crowd watches as a crane lifts a large section out of the Berlin Wall. *Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*



In May 1990, Gorbachev traveled to Washington, D.C., for another meeting with Bush to discuss the reunification of Germany. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, Gorbachev feared a new, strong, reunited Germany. He sought guarantees from Bush that Germany would not soon become a threat once again to Soviet security. Agreement was soon reached over a reunified Germany. East and West Germany merged on October 3, 1990. A new Europe was formed the next month as thirty-five nations signed the Charter of Paris. The charter declared support for democracy, human rights, social justice, and economic liberty. By February 1991, the Warsaw Pact, a military alliance of Eastern European countries formerly under Soviet control, disbanded. The Soviet Union itself would collapse over the next ten months. On December 25, 1991, Gorbachev announced his resignation as president of the Soviet Union, and the nation ceased to exist a few days later.

### Did you know ...

- After the Malta summit, President Bush had a clearer understanding of Gorbachev's situation. If Gorbachev pressed reforms too hard, the hard-line communists would attack his policies. But if he did not press hard enough, the Soviet economic system would collapse.
- In 1990, Soviet president Gorbachev was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his Soviet reform efforts and named *Time* magazine's "Man of the Year."
- The first post-Cold War major conflict would be the Persian Gulf War (1990-91). In early 1991, President Bush led a broad coalition of nations under a UN resolution in liberating Kuwait from Iraqi invasion and occupation. Because of Soviet military and hard-line communist opposition to directly joining the coalition against Iraq, Gorbachev could only provide support through the UN.
- President Bush would travel to the Soviet republic of the Ukraine in August 1991 to publicly support Gorbachev's reforms. He warned Ukrainians against pushing for change too quickly and causing violent confrontations with the Soviets.
- The most important outcome of the Malta summit was a secret exchange of assurances. Gorbachev would avoid

violence as much as possible as the Baltic States sought their independence, and Bush would not publicly criticize Gorbachev on this issue.

### Consider the following ...

- Bush was concerned about moving too fast in agreements with Gorbachev, particularly on arms control. What were his concerns? What kinds of cooperation did Bush offer at Malta?
- Was Gorbachev able to achieve the reform goals he was seeking? If not, why?
- How would you react if you lived in a communist country that greatly controlled your everyday life, and neighboring communist countries were suddenly gaining considerably more freedoms?

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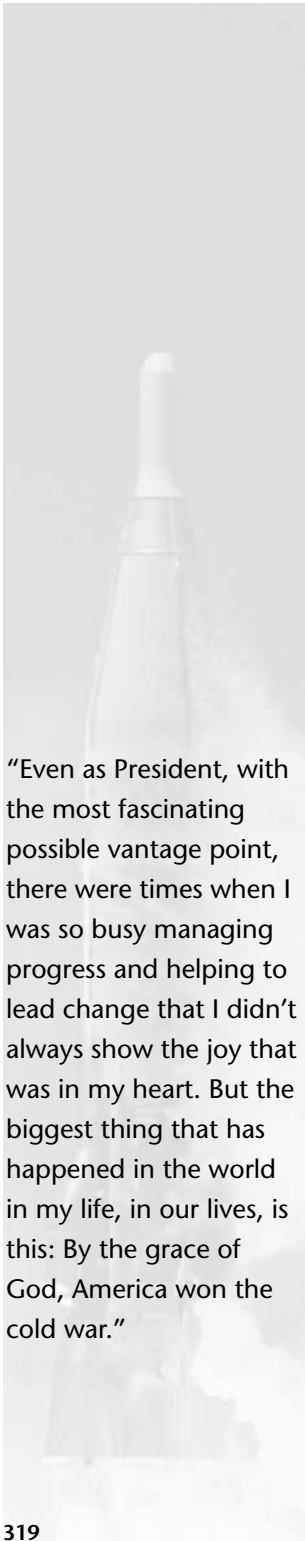
## George Bush

*Excerpt from “End of Cold War: Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union, January 28, 1992”*

**Published in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George Bush, 1992–93, Book 1, January 1 to July 31, 1992, published in 1993***

**B**y the fall of 1991, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–) was finding that political changes in the Soviet Union’s republics were increasingly out of his control. On December 31, 1991, the Soviet flag came down over the Kremlin in Moscow for the last time. Only days earlier, Gorbachev had resigned as president of the Soviet Union and turned over control of the Soviet nuclear arsenal to Boris Yeltsin (1931–), president of Russia. All the remaining republics declared independence and were soon admitted to the UN as new nations. Less than a month later, U.S. president George Bush (1924–; served 1989–93) was scheduled to give the annual State of the Union Address to a joint session of Congress and the world.

It was ideal timing for declaring the end of the Cold War (1945–91). Bush began by announcing, “I mean to speak tonight of big things, of big changes.” In referring to the collapse of the Soviet Union over the past several months, Bush pronounced “communism died this year.” Then in a bold statement, Bush proclaimed, “By the grace of God, America won the cold war.” He then listed what changes this would



“Even as President, with the most fascinating possible vantage point, there were times when I was so busy managing progress and helping to lead change that I didn’t always show the joy that was in my heart. But the biggest thing that has happened in the world in my life, in our lives, is this: By the grace of God, America won the cold war.”

mean to the United States, such as decreased need for military readiness and greater attention to domestic issues. As he stated, the “world ... now recognizes one sole and prominent power, the United States of America.” But that world trusts the United States “to do what’s right.”

Bush announced he was stopping B-2 bomber production and canceling a number of missile programs. Bush announced he would be meeting with Russian president Yeltsin to negotiate a new nuclear arms control treaty. He proclaimed the reductions would save some \$50 billion over the next five years: “By 1997, we will have cut defenses by 30 percent.” However, he did ask Congress for funding of a scaled-down Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) to protect the United States from “limited nuclear attack ... because too many people in too many countries have access to nuclear arms.”

Bush concluded by stating the new role of the United States in the post-Cold War era: “to lead in the support of freedom everywhere.”

### **Things to remember while reading the excerpt from “End of Cold War”:**

- The beginning of the end of Gorbachev’s role as Soviet leader came on August 19, 1991. On that day, Soviet Communist Party hard-liners opposing Gorbachev’s reforms attempted a coup to overthrow the president. After only three days, the coup fell apart due to strong public opposition. Ironically, the ill-fated coup brought about the final demise of the Soviet Communist Party, the opposite result of what was intended. Although Gorbachev managed to regain his leadership position within days, his power and that of the Communist Party was lost. Boris Yeltsin, president of Russia, was the new holder of power. Soviet communism had essentially ended.
- The world had dramatically changed in an unbelievably short time—in just three years, from 1989 to 1991.
- The first Soviet republics to gain independence as separate nations were Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania on August 24, 1991.



## **Excerpt from “End of Cold War”**

*Mr. Speaker and Mr. President, distinguished Members of Congress, honored guests, and fellow citizens:*

*I mean to speak tonight of big things, of big changes and the promises they hold, and of some big problems and how, together, we can solve them and move our country forward as the undisputed leader of the age.*

*We gather tonight at a dramatic and deeply promising time in our history and in the history of man on Earth. For in the past 12 months, the world has known changes of almost biblical proportions. And even now, months after the failed coup that doomed a failed system, I’m not sure we’ve absorbed the full impact, the full import of what happened. But communism died this year.*

*Even as President, with the most fascinating possible vantage point, there were times when I was so busy managing progress and helping to lead change that I didn’t always show the joy that was in my heart. But the biggest thing that has happened in the world in my life, in our lives, is this: By the grace of God, America won the cold war.*

*I mean to speak this evening of the changes that can take place in our country, now that we can stop making the sacrifices we had to make when we had an avowed enemy that was a superpower. Now we can look homeward even more and move to set right what needs to be set right....*

*So now, for the first time in 35 years, our strategic bombers stand down. No longer are they on ‘round-the-clock alert. Tomorrow our children will go to school and study history and how plants grow. And they won’t have, as my children did, air raid drills in which they crawl under their desks and cover their heads in case of nuclear war. My grandchildren don’t have to do that and won’t have the bad dreams children had once, in decades past. There are still threats. But the long, drawn-out dread is over....*

*Much good can come from the prudent use of power. And much good can come of this: A world once divided into two armed camps now recognizes one sole and prominent power, the United States of America. And they regard this with no dread. For the world trusts us with power, and the world is right. They trust us to be fair and re-*



**U.S. president George Bush delivers his State of the Union Address in January 1992. Vice President Dan Quayle is behind him.**

*Photograph by Martin Jeong. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

*strained. They trust us to be on the side of decency. They trust us to do what's right....*

*Two years ago, I began planning cuts in military spending that reflected the changes of the new era. But now, this year, with imperial communism gone, that process can be accelerated. Tonight I can tell you of dramatic changes in our strategic nuclear force. These are actions we are taking on our own because they are the right thing to do. After completing 20 planes for which we have begun procurement, we will shut down further production of the B-2 bombers. We will cancel the small ICBM program. We will cease production of new warheads for our sea-based ballistic missiles. We will stop all new production of the peacekeeper missile. And we will not purchase any more advanced cruise missiles.*

*This weekend I will meet at Camp David with Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation. I've informed president Yeltsin that if the Commonwealth, the former Soviet Union, will eliminate all land-based multiple-warhead ballistic missiles, I will do the following: We will eliminate all Peacekeeper missiles. We will reduce the number of warheads on Minuteman missiles to one and reduce the number of warheads on our sea-based missiles by about one-third. And we will convert a substantial portion of our strategic bombers to primarily conventional use. President Yeltsin's early response has been very positive, and I expect our talks at Camp David to be fruitful.*

*I want you to know that for half a century American Presidents have longed to make such decisions and say such words. But even in the midst of celebration, we must keep caution as a friend. For the world is still a dangerous place. Only the dead have seen the end of conflict. And though yesterday's challenges are behind us, tomorrow's are being born....*

*But do not misunderstand me. The reductions I have approved will save us an additional \$50 billion over the next 5 years. By 1997, we will have cut defense by 30 percent since I took office. These cuts are deep, and you must know my resolve: This deep, and no deeper. To do less would be insensible to progress, but to do more would be ignorant of history. We must not go back to the days of "the hollow army." We cannot repeat the mistakes made twice in this century when **armistice** was followed by recklessness and defense was purged as if the world were permanently safe.*

*I remind you this evening that I have asked for your support in funding a program to protect our country from limited nuclear missile attack. We must have this protection because too many people in too many countries have access to nuclear arms. And I urge you again to pass the Strategic Defense Initiative, SDI.*

*There are those who say that now we can turn away from the world, that we have no special role, no special place. But we are the United States of America, the leader of the West that has become the leader of the world. And as long as I am President, I will continue to lead in support of freedom everywhere, not out of arrogance, not out of **altruism**, but for the safety and security of our children. This is a fact: Strength in the pursuit of peace is no vice; **isolationism** in the pursuit of security is no virtue.*



## What happened next ...

Bush and Yeltsin negotiated new arms-reduction deals agreeing to eliminate all missiles that carried multiple warheads (MIRVs) and reducing the numbers of strategic nuclear warheads by several thousand. Bush would continue to deny significant economic aid to Yeltsin as he had with Gorbachev earlier.

Ironically, the change from the Cold War stalemate between two superpowers to that of one superpower led to greater instability in the world. With the end of communist domination over the diverse ethnic populations in its republics, bloody conflicts erupted. For example, war broke out between ethnic groups in the former Yugoslavia through the 1990s. Chechnya

**Armistice:** Military truce.

**Altruism:** An unselfish concern for the welfare of others.

**Isolationism:** A policy of avoiding official agreements with other nations in order to remain neutral.



**Broken statues of such former Soviet leaders as Joseph Stalin (shown here) were common following the breakup of the Soviet Union.** *Photograph by Chris Lisle. Reproduced by permission of the Corbis Corporation.*

attempted to establish independence from the Russian Federation, leading to Russian troops being dispatched in 1994. Fighting continued there into the twenty-first century. International terrorism also became a key concern, fueled by the September 11, 2001, attacks by Muslim extremists against the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Virginia.

While Americans enjoyed unprecedented economic prosperity through the 1990s under the administration of President Bill Clinton (1946–; served 1993–2001), widespread economic hardships persisted in Russia and other former Soviet republics. Russian businesses were too inefficient to compete effectively on the open world market. Despite these severe problems, Boris Yeltsin managed to maintain leadership, even creating a new Russian constitution giving himself greater power. Finally, on December 31, 1999, he resigned under pressure owing to declining popularity.

### **Did you know ...**

- The costs of the forty-five-year-old Cold War were steep for the United States. Tens of thousands of American troops were killed, primarily in the Korean War (1950–53) and Vietnam War (1954–75). A national debt of almost \$4 trillion grew from the arms race and providing aid to friendly nations.
- President George Bush rode an incredibly high approval rating following defeat of Iraq in the Persian Gulf War and his proclamation of U.S. victory in the Cold War. Domestic economic problems, however, led to a nose-dive in his ratings and eventual defeat to his Democratic



opponent, Arkansas governor Bill Clinton, in the 1992 presidential election.

- President Bill Clinton inherited far different international problems than his numerous predecessors. The collapse of Soviet communist control led to many bloody ethnic confrontations, including those in Yugoslavia between Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia.
- Following his resignation as president of the Soviet Union, Gorbachev retired to a villa in Finland in addition to his main Moscow residence. Into the twenty-first century, he continued to lecture extensively abroad.
- With the United States the lone superpower in the world, focus would shift to a war on international terrorism, especially following the events of September 11, 2001.

### Consider the following ...

- Would the downfall of one of the world's two superpowers lead to a period of peace and prosperity?
- Some, like Bush, claimed the United States defeated the Soviet Union in the Cold War. Others asserted that the Soviet Union simply collapsed from its own economic and social limitations in a changing world, a path of self-destruction. Which do you think happened and why?
- The Soviet Union was replaced with a new federation of republics. What was it and how did it differ from the previous organization?

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