

UNIT

5 Toward a Global Civilization

1945–Present

The **P**eriod in Perspective

World War II can be seen as the end of an era of European domination of the world. After the war, Europe quickly divided into hostile camps as the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union forced nations to take sides. In the late 1980s, however, the Soviet Empire began to come apart, and the Cold War quickly ended.

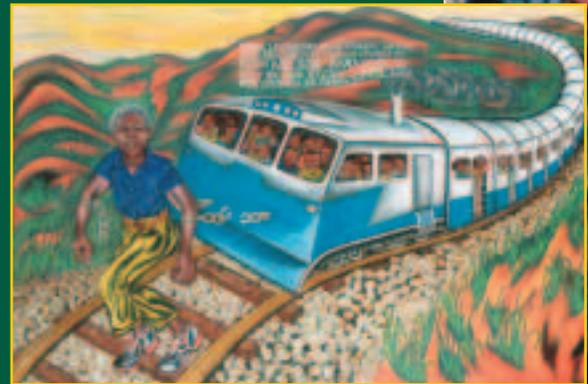
World War II severely undermined the stability of the colonial order in Asia and Africa. By the end of the 1940s, most colonies in Asia had gained their independence. Later, African colonies, too, would become independent nations.

Primary Sources Library

See pages 780–781 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 5.



Use *The World History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM* to find additional primary sources about Global Civilization.



▲ Contemporary African art featuring Nelson Mandela

► African National Congress campaign rally



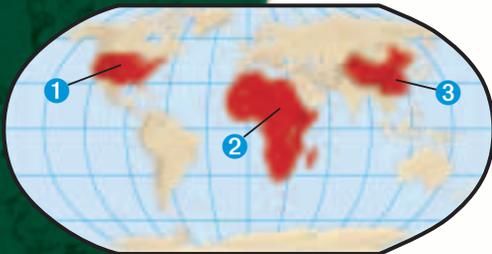


“ . . . there is no easy walk to freedom anywhere . . . ”

—Nelson Mandela

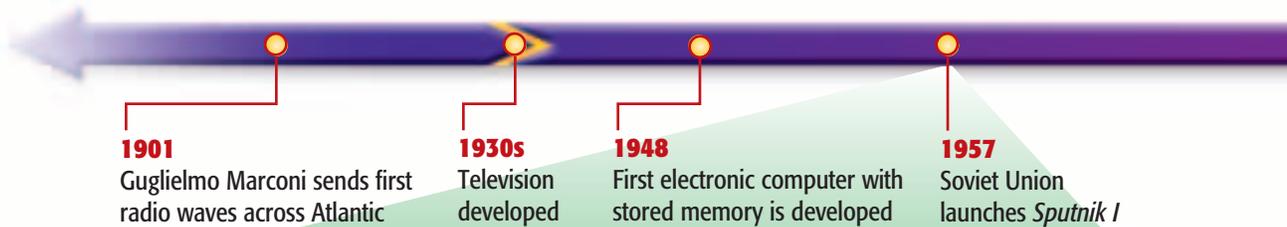


CONTENTS



Communication

The invention of writing and printing reshaped history. Today, electronic technology is moving communications forward at a startling rate. People can now be instantaneously linked around the world by satellites and the Internet.



1 The United States

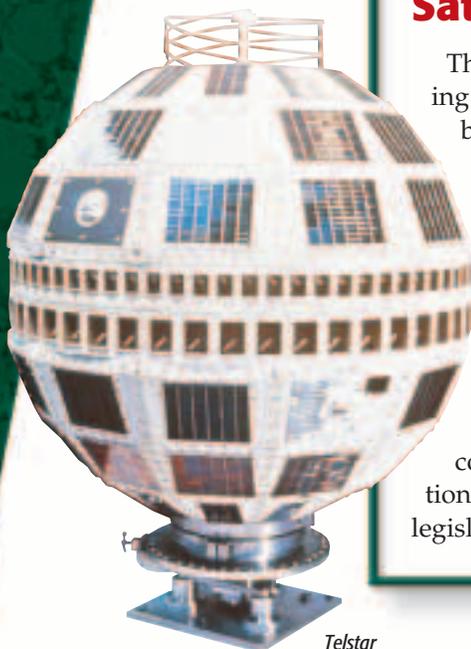
Satellite Communication

The first telephone developed by Alexander Graham Bell in 1876 was nothing more than a wooden stand with a funnel, some wires, and a cup of acid, but the telephone was soon to revolutionize communication worldwide.

Similarly, when the Soviet Union launched a tiny communications satellite named *Sputnik I* in 1957, the device could do little more than transmit radio signal beeps. However, this satellite also represented a major step in communication technology.

Three years later, the United States launched its first satellites, which could relay telephone calls between Europe and the United States. In 1962, the United States satellite *Telstar* was the first to relay live television programs to distant locations.

By the 1980s, people around the world with satellite dish antennas could tune in to hundreds of television programs. The effect was revolutionary. Repressive governments in Eastern Europe and elsewhere could not legislate against free speech beamed down from the skies.



Telstar

to See Ahead

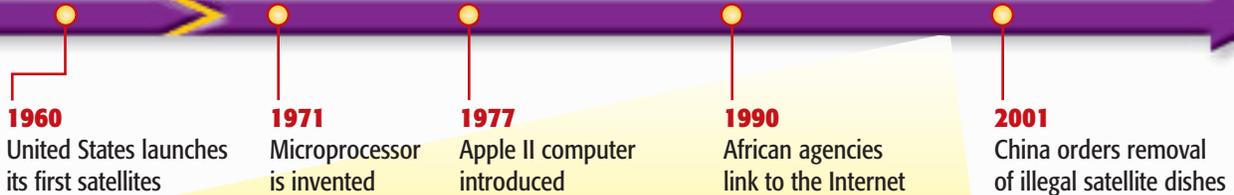


Cybercafe

2 Africa

The Internet

In Africa, UNESCO is helping the Pan-African News Agency and others to link to the Internet. Project leaders see the Internet as one of the keys to unlocking Africa's economic potential. Currently, there is one Internet access site for every 200 Africans, compared to a world average of one site for every 30 people. Internet access will improve, and as it does, African communications, education, business, and government endeavors will be profoundly impacted.



3 China

Satellite Dishes

Satellite dishes made it possible for people across the People's Republic of China to listen to Mandarin-speaking rappers out of Hong Kong, English broadcasts of CNN News, and movies from Japan. The uncensored broadcasts enraged government officials, who tried to ban satellite dishes in 1993. However, even as officials dismantled thousands of large dishes, kits for smaller dishes were being smuggled into the country.

Other countries with repressive policies, such as Iran and Myanmar, tried and failed to ban satellite reception. Even free governments, like India's, were concerned about the "cultural invasion," but satellite television was here to stay.



Satellite dish, Tibet

Why It Matters

While it used to take months to send a letter from the United States to Africa, today it can take only seconds. **How has instantaneous communication made the world smaller? What are the good and bad results of this phenomenon?**

Cold War and Postwar Changes

1945–1970

Key Events

As you read this chapter, look for the key events of the Cold War.

- At the end of World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union competed for political domination of the world.
- The United States fought in Korea and Vietnam to prevent the spread of communism.
- The Soviet Union used armies to maintain Soviet regimes in Eastern Europe.
- The creation of NATO and the European Economic Community helped Western Europe move toward political and economic unity during the Cold War.

The Impact Today

The events that occurred during this time period still impact our lives today.

- NATO continues to flourish. Representatives of its 19 member nations form the North Atlantic Council, which is headquartered in Brussels, Belgium.
- Nuclear weapons remain a threat to the peace and stability of the world.
- The civil rights struggle brought greater equality to African Americans and altered American attitudes toward race, discrimination, and poverty.



World History—Modern Times Video The Chapter 20 video, “The Berlin Airlift,” shows how American and British planes circumvented the Soviet blockade.



Martin Luther King, Jr.



1945
The Cold War begins

1945

1949
NATO formed

1950

1954
Civil rights movement begins

1955

1947
United States announces Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan

1953
Korean War ends

1957
Soviets launch Sputnik I



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

1962
Cuban
missile
crisis
unfolds



Fidel Castro

1960

1965

1970

1961
Berlin Wall
built

1964
More U.S. troops
sent to Vietnam



Berlin Wall

HISTORY Online

Chapter Overview

Visit the *Glencoe World History—Modern Times* Web site at wh.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 20—Chapter Overview** to preview chapter information.

CLICK HERE



A Story That Matters



Cleaning up after the London Blitz

A Sober Victory

The end of World War II in Europe had been met with great joy. One visitor in Moscow reported, “I looked out of the window [at 2 A.M.], almost everywhere there were lights in the windows—people were staying awake. Everyone embraced everyone else, someone sobbed aloud.”

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

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

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

Why It Matters

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

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

SECTION 1

Development of the Cold War

Guide to Reading

Main Ideas

- A period of conflict called the Cold War developed between the United States and the Soviet Union after 1945.
- As the Cold War developed, European nations were forced to support one of the two major powers.

Key Terms

satellite state, policy of containment, arms race, deterrence, domino theory

People to Identify

Dean Acheson, Nikita Khrushchev

Places to Locate

Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany, German Democratic Republic

Preview Questions

1. What were the major turning points in the development of the Cold War?
2. What was the Cuban missile crisis?

Reading Strategy

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

President	Major Event

Preview of Events



Voices from the Past



Winston Churchill

On March 5, 1946, Winston Churchill said in a speech in Fulton, Missouri:

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

—*The Congressional Record*, 79th Congress, 1946

In 1946, Stalin replied: “In substance, Mr. Churchill now stands in the position of a firebrand of war.” The division between Western Europe and Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe marked the beginning of the Cold War.

Confrontation of the Superpowers

Once the Axis Powers were defeated, the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union became clear. Stalin still feared the capitalist West, and U.S. (and other Western) leaders continued to fear communism. Who, then, was responsible for beginning the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union? Both took steps that were unwise and might have been avoided. It should not surprise us that two such different systems would come into conflict.



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

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

A civil war in Greece created another area of conflict between the superpowers. The Communist People's Liberation Army and anticommunist forces supported by Great Britain were fighting each other for control of Greece in 1946. However, Britain had its own economic problems, which caused it to withdraw its aid from Greece.

The Truman Doctrine President Harry S Truman of the United States, alarmed by the British withdrawal and the possibility of Soviet expansion into the eastern

Mediterranean, responded in early 1947 with the **Truman Doctrine**. The Truman Doctrine stated that the United States would provide money to countries (in this case, Greece) threatened by Communist expansion. If the Soviets were not stopped in Greece, the



President Truman asked Congress for money to aid European recovery.

Truman argument ran, then the United States would have to face the spread of communism throughout the free world.

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

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

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

The Marshall Plan was not meant to shut out the Soviet Union or its economically and politically dependent Eastern European **satellite states**. They refused to participate, however. The Soviets saw the Marshall Plan as an attempt to buy the support of countries.

In 1949, the Soviet Union responded to the Marshall Plan by founding the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) for the economic cooperation of the Eastern European states. COMECON largely failed, however, because the Soviet Union was unable to provide much financial aid.

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

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

The foreign ministers of the four occupying powers met repeatedly in an attempt to arrive at a final peace treaty with Germany but had little success. By

February 1948, Great Britain, France, and the United States were making plans to unify the three Western sections of Germany (and Berlin) and create a West German government.

The Soviets opposed the creation of a separate West German state. They attempted to prevent it by mounting a blockade of West Berlin. Soviet forces allowed neither trucks, trains, nor barges to enter the city's three Western zones. Food and supplies could no longer get through to the 2.5 million people in these zones.

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

In September 1949, the **Federal Republic of Germany**, or West Germany, was formally created. Its capital was Bonn. Less than a month later, a separate East German state, the **German Democratic Republic**, was set up by the Soviets. East Berlin became its capital. Berlin was now divided into two parts, a reminder of the division of West and East.

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

The Spread of the Cold War

TURNING POINT As you will learn, the spread of the Cold War led to the creation of military alliances that influenced the development of the postwar world.

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

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

New Military Alliances The search for security during the Cold War led to the formation of new military alliances. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (**NATO**) was formed in April 1949 when Belgium, Luxembourg, France, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Italy, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, and



Geography Skills

During the Berlin Air Lift, Western planes delivered food and supplies to the people of West Berlin.

- Interpreting Maps** Approximately how much German land was occupied by the Allies? How much was occupied by the Soviets?
- Applying Geography Skills** Why could the Allies not deliver food to West Berlin by land?





Geography Skills

After World War II, the spread of the Cold War created new military alliances.

- 1. Interpreting Maps** Are there any geographic factors that could have determined whether a country became a member of NATO or of the Warsaw Pact?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** Use the map to create a chart listing all of the countries in NATO and all the members of the Warsaw Pact. Which European countries did not join either alliance?

Iceland signed a treaty with the United States and Canada. All the powers agreed to provide mutual help if any one of them was attacked. A few years later, West Germany, Turkey, and Greece also joined.

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

New military alliances spread to the rest of the world after the United States became involved in the Korean War (discussed in Chapter 24). The war began in 1950 as an attempt by the Communist government of North Korea, which was allied with the Soviet Union, to take over South Korea. The Korean War confirmed American fears of Communist expansion. More determined than ever to contain Soviet power, the United States extended its military alliances around the world.

To stem Soviet aggression in the East, the United States, Great Britain, France, Pakistan, Thailand, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand formed the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (**SEATO**). The Central Treaty Organization (**CENTO**), which included Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Great Britain, and the United States, was meant to prevent the Soviet Union from expanding to the south. By the mid-1950s, the United States found itself allied militarily with 42 states around the world.



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

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

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

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

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



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

The Cuban Missile Crisis

During the administration of John F. Kennedy, the Cold War confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union reached frightening levels. In 1959, a left-wing revolutionary named Fidel Castro overthrew the Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista and set up a

Soviet-supported totalitarian regime in Cuba (see Chapter 22). President Kennedy approved a secret plan for Cuban exiles to invade Cuba in the hope of causing a revolt against Castro. The invasion was a disaster. Many of the exiles were killed or captured when they attempted a landing at the Bay of Pigs.

After the Bay of Pigs, the Soviet Union sent arms and military advisers to Cuba. Then, in 1962, Khrushchev began to place nuclear missiles in Cuba. The missiles were meant to counteract U.S. nuclear weapons placed in Turkey within easy range of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev was quick to point out, “Your rockets are in Turkey. You are worried by Cuba . . . because it is 90 miles from the American coast. But Turkey is next to us.”

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

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

Reading Check Explaining How was the Cuban missile crisis resolved?

Vietnam and the Domino Theory

By that time, the United States had been drawn into a new struggle that had an important impact on the Cold War—the Vietnam War (see Chapter 24). In 1964, under President Lyndon B. Johnson, increasing numbers of U.S. troops were sent to Vietnam. Their purpose was to keep the Communist regime of North Vietnam from gaining control of South Vietnam.

U.S. policy makers saw the conflict in terms of a **domino theory**. If the Communists succeeded





Picturing History

Many young Americans were proud to serve their country in Vietnam, but increasingly the mood on college campuses was anti-war. **Why?**

in South Vietnam, the argument went, other countries in Asia would also fall (like dominoes) to communism.

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

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

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

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

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

 **Reading Check** **Examining** What did the Vietnam War prove about the state of global communism?

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- 1. Define** satellite state, policy of containment, arms race, deterrence, domino theory.
- 2. Identify** Truman Doctrine, Dean Acheson, Marshall Plan, NATO, Warsaw Pact, SEATO, CENTO, Nikita Khrushchev.
- 3. Locate** Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany, German Democratic Republic.
- 4. Explain** why the Berlin Wall was built.
- 5. List** the four powers that divided and occupied Germany.

Critical Thinking

- 6. Evaluate** In your opinion, why did the United States assume global responsibility for containing communism?
- 7. Organizing Information** Use a table like the one below to list the military alliances formed during the Cold War. In the next column list the countries belonging to the alliance.

Alliance	Countries

Analyzing Visuals

- 8. Examine** the photo of a campus sit-in shown on this page. Students often used sit-ins to protest government policy in the 1960s and 1970s. What methods of protest do people use today?

Writing About History

- 9. Informative Writing** Imagine that you are a resident of Berlin in 1948. Write a letter to a friend living in another part of Germany explaining what is happening in Berlin and your reaction to the actions of the foreign governments involved.

SECTION 2

The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

Guide to Reading

Main Ideas

- As Soviet leader, Khrushchev initiated policies of de-Stalinization.
- The Soviet Union faced revolts and protests in its attempt to gain and maintain control over Eastern Europe.

Key Terms

heavy industry, de-Stalinization

People to Identify

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Tito, Imre Nagy, Alexander Dubček

Places to Locate

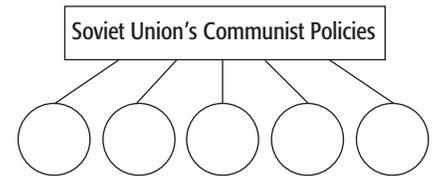
Soviet Union, Albania, Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia

Preview Questions

1. What were Khrushchev's policies of de-Stalinization?
2. How did the Soviet Union exert its power over Eastern Europe?

Reading Strategy

Categorizing Information Use a diagram like the one below to identify how the Soviet Union carried out Communist policies.



Preview of Events

◆ 1950

◆ 1955

◆ 1960

◆ 1965

◆ 1970

1953

Khrushchev named general secretary

1962

Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* is published

1964

Khrushchev is voted out of office

1968

The Soviet Army invades Czechoslovakia

Voices from the Past



Soviet tanks in Hungary

In 1956, Hungary revolted against Soviet control. The Soviet Union sent in troops and announced:

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

—*Department of State Bulletin, November 12, 1956*

After World War II, Stalin and the Soviet forces kept a tight hold on Eastern Europe—a hold that many countries struggled against.

The Reign of Stalin

World War II devastated the **Soviet Union**. To create a new industrial base, Stalin returned to the method that he had used in the 1930s. Soviet workers were expected to produce goods for export with little in return for themselves. The incoming capital from abroad could then be used to buy machinery and Western technology.

Economic recovery in the Soviet Union was spectacular in some respects. By 1950, Russian industrial production had surpassed prewar levels by 40 percent. New power plants, canals, and giant factories were built. **Heavy industry** (the manufacture of machines and equipment for factories and mines) increased, chiefly for the benefit of the military. The testing of hydrogen bombs in 1953 and the first space satellite, *Sputnik I*, in 1957 enhanced the Soviet state's reputation as a world power abroad.

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

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

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

Reading Check Summarizing What costs did Stalin's economic policy impose on the Russian people?

The Khrushchev Era

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

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

Khrushchev loosened government controls on literary works. In 1962, for example, he allowed the publication of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, a grim portrayal of life in a Siberian forced-labor camp written by **Alexander Solzhenitsyn** (SOHL•zhuh•NEET•suhn). Each day, as Solzhenitsyn related, prisoners were marched from the prison camp to a work project through subzero temperatures: "There were escort guards all over the place, . . . their machine guns sticking out and pointed right at your face. And there were guards with gray dogs." Many Soviets identified with Ivan as a symbol of the suffering they had endured under Stalin.

Khrushchev tried to place more emphasis on producing consumer goods. He also attempted to increase agricultural output by growing corn and cultivating vast lands east of the Ural Mountains. The attempt to increase agricultural output was not successful and damaged his reputation within the party. This failure, combined with increased military spending, hurt the Soviet economy. The industrial



Picturing History

A Soviet scientist is shown working on *Sputnik I*. The launch of *Sputnik I*, which orbited the earth for 57 days, stunned the United States and enhanced the prestige of the Soviet Union. **Today, many space endeavors are international efforts. Why?**

Nikita Khrushchev

1894–1971—Soviet leader

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

Khrushchev alienated other Soviet leaders by his policy in Cuba. He had other problems with the higher Soviet officials as well. They frowned on his tendency to crack jokes and play the clown. They also were displeased when he tried to curb their privileges.



growth rate, which had soared in the early 1950s, now declined dramatically from 13 percent in 1953 to 7.5 percent in 1964.

Foreign policy failures also damaged Khrushchev's reputation among his colleagues. His rash plan to place missiles in Cuba was the final straw. While he was away on vacation in 1964, a special meeting of the Soviet leaders voted him out of office (because of "deteriorating health") and forced him into retirement.

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

Eastern Europe: Behind the Iron Curtain

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

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

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

In **Yugoslavia**, Josip Broz, known as **Tito**, had been the leader of the Communist resistance movement. After the war, he moved toward the creation of an independent Communist state in Yugoslavia. Stalin hoped to take control of Yugoslavia, just as he had done in other Eastern European countries. Tito, however, refused to give in to Stalin's demands. He gained the support of the people by portraying the struggle as one of Yugoslav national freedom. Tito ruled Yugoslavia until his death in 1980. Although Yugoslavia had a Communist government, it was not a Soviet satellite state.

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

Revolts Against Communism Communism did not develop deep roots among the peoples of Eastern Europe. Moreover, the Soviets exploited Eastern Europe economically for their own benefit and made living conditions harsh for most people.

After Stalin's death, many Eastern European states began to pursue a new course. In the late 1950s and 1960s, however, the Soviet Union made it clear—especially in **Poland**, **Hungary**, and **Czechoslovakia**—that it would not allow its Eastern European satellites to become independent of Soviet control.



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



The Soviet army invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968.

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

Khrushchev was in no position at home to allow a member of the Communist group of nations to leave, however. Three days after Nagy's declaration, the Soviet Army attacked Budapest. The Soviets reestablished control over the country. Nagy was seized by the Soviet military and executed two years later.

The situation in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s was different. There, the "Little Stalin," Antonin Novotny,

had been placed in power in 1953 by Stalin himself and remained firmly in control. By the late 1960s, however, Novotny had alienated many members of his own party. He was especially disliked by Czechoslovakia's writers. A writers' rebellion, which encouraged the people to take control of their own lives, led to Novotny's resignation in 1968.

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

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

Reading Check **Evaluating** What caused the battles between the Eastern European states and the Soviet Union?

CLICK HERE

HISTORY
Online

Web Activity Visit the *Glencoe World History—Modern Times* Web site at wh.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 20—Student Web Activity** to learn more about the Cold War.

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define** heavy industry, de-Stalinization.
- Identify** Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Tito, Imre Nagy, Alexander Dubček.
- Locate** Soviet Union, Albania, Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia.
- Explain** Khrushchev's relationship to Stalinism.
- List** two countries in Eastern Europe that resisted Soviet dominance.

Critical Thinking

- Explain** Why did Yugoslavia and Albania not come under the direct control of the Soviet Union?
- Organizing Information** Use a table like the one below to identify the policies of Stalin and the policies of Khrushchev.

Stalin	Khrushchev

Analyzing Visuals

- Compare** the photograph on page 638 with the one shown above. How does each photograph symbolize a different aspect of the Cold War?

Writing About History

- Informative Writing** You are a Western journalist in Hungary in 1956. Write an article for an American newspaper that describes the events leading to the Soviet attack on Budapest and what effect the attack will have on the Cold War.

SOCIAL STUDIES SKILLBUILDER

Understanding World Time Zones

Why Learn This Skill?

Imagine that you work in Boston and call a client in London at 2:00 P.M. No one answers because, when it is 2:00 P.M. in Boston, it is already 7:00 P.M. in London.

Learning the Skill

In 1884, an international conference divided the world into 24 time zones.

The Prime Meridian (0° longitude), which runs through Greenwich, England, became the reference point. Traveling east from Greenwich, the time is one hour later in each time zone. Traveling west from Greenwich, the time is one hour earlier per zone.

The International Date Line is at 180° longitude. When crossing this line from west to east, you lose one day; when crossing in the opposite direction, you gain a day.

Using the map on this page:

- Locate Los Angeles and note its time.
- Locate Mumbai, India.
- Determine whether Mumbai lies east or west of Los Angeles.
- Count the number of time zones between the two cities. Each time zone is an hour difference.
- Add or subtract the number of hours difference between Mumbai and Los Angeles.
- Is the International Date Line between the two points? If so, add or subtract a day.
- Check the time above Mumbai to see if you are correct.



Practicing the Skill

Use the map to calculate these times.

- 1 If it is 3:00 P.M. in Greenwich, what time is it in Moscow?
- 2 If it is 9:00 A.M. in Cape Town, what time is it in Washington, D.C.?
- 3 It is 5:00 P.M. on Tuesday in Beijing. What day and time is it in Honolulu?

Applying the Skill

Create four time zone problems. Be sure at least one problem involves the International Date Line. Exchange problems with a classmate and check the accuracy of each other's computation.



Glencoe's **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook, Level 2**, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

Western Europe and North America

Guide to Reading

Main Ideas

- Postwar Western societies rebuilt their economies and communities.
- Shifting social structures in the West led to upheaval and change.

Key Terms

welfare state, bloc, real wages

People to Identify

Charles de Gaulle, John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., Simone de Beauvoir

Places to Locate

France, West Germany

Preview Questions

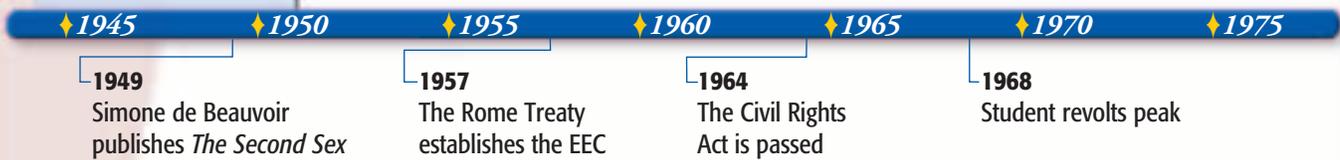
1. How did the EEC benefit the member nations?
2. What were the major social changes in Western society after 1945?

Reading Strategy

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

Great Britain	United States	Canada

Preview of Events



Voices from the Past



Student protester in Paris

In 1968, student protestors scribbled the following on the walls of the University of Paris:

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

— *The Western Tradition from the Renaissance to the Present*, Eugen Weber, 1972

Student revolts in the United States and Europe were a part of larger problems that faced Western society after 1945.

Western Europe: Recovery

With the economic aid of the Marshall Plan, the countries of Western Europe recovered relatively rapidly from the devastation of World War II. Between 1947 and 1950, European countries received \$9.4 billion for new equipment and raw materials. By 1950, industrial output in Europe was 30 percent above prewar levels.



This economic recovery continued well into the 1950s and 1960s. The decades of the 1950s and 1960s were periods of dramatic economic growth and prosperity in Western Europe. Indeed, Western Europe had virtually full employment during these decades.

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

Unhappy with the Fourth Republic, de Gaulle withdrew from politics. Then, in 1958, he returned. Leaders of the Fourth Republic, frightened by bitter divisions caused by a crisis in the French colony of Algeria (discussed in Chapter 23), asked de Gaulle to form a new government and revise the constitution.

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

People In History

Charles de Gaulle 1890–1970—French president

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

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



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

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

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

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



Konrad Adenauer

Under Adenauer, West Germany experienced an "economic miracle." This revival of the West German economy was largely guided by the minister of finance, Ludwig Erhard. Unemployment fell from 8 percent in 1950 to 0.4 percent in 1965. To maintain its economic expansion, West Germany even brought in hundreds of thousands of "guest" workers on visas from Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia.

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

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

The Decline of Great Britain The end of World War II left Great Britain with massive economic





CONNECTIONS Around The World

Economic Miracles: Germany and Japan

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

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

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

◀ German bridge



Today, Germany and Japan share many similarities in economic structure. Both rely on imports of raw materials for their industries. Both depend for their prosperity on exports of manufactured goods, including machinery, automobiles, steel, textiles, electrical and electronic equipment, and ships. Both nations must import food to feed their populations.



▲ Japanese railroad station

Comparing Cultures

The United States has never experienced the kind of destruction experienced by Germany and Japan during World War II. How might your life be different if the United States was in the process of rebuilding after a war? What cultural, political, and economic factors might influence the process of rebuilding in the United States?

problems. In elections held immediately after the war, the Labour Party overwhelmingly defeated Churchill's Conservative Party.

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

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

The cost of building a welfare state at home forced Britain to reduce expenses abroad. This meant the dismantling of the British Empire. Economic necessity forced Britain to give in to the demands of its

many colonies for national independence. Britain was no longer able to play the role of a world power.

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

✓ **Reading Check** **Explaining** Why did de Gaulle invest heavily in nuclear arms?

Western Europe: The Move toward Unity

As we have seen, the divisions created by the Cold War led the nations of Western Europe to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949. The destructiveness of two world wars caused many thoughtful Europeans to consider the need for some additional form of European unity. National feeling was still too powerful, however, for European



nations to give up their political sovereignty. As a result, the desire for unity focused chiefly on the economic arena, not the political one.

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

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

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

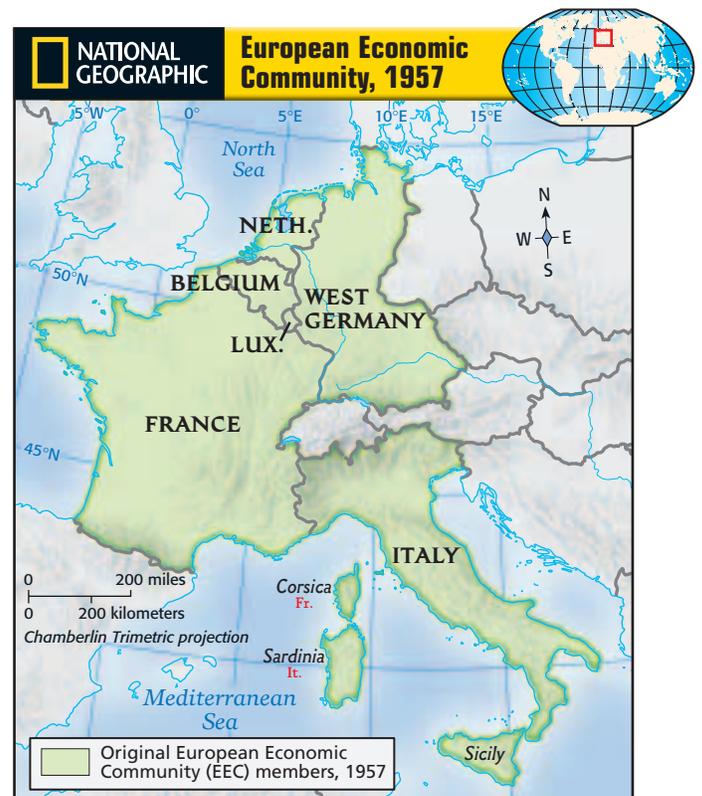
 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** Why did European unity come in the form of an economic alliance?

The United States in the 1950s

Between 1945 and 1970, the ideals of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal largely determined the patterns of American domestic politics. The New Deal had brought basic changes to American society. They included a dramatic increase in the role and power of the federal government, the rise of organized labor as a significant force in the economy and politics, the beginning of a welfare state, and a realization of the need to deal fairly with the concerns of minorities, especially African Americans.

The New Deal tradition in American politics was reinforced by the election of Democratic presidents—Harry S Truman in 1948, John F. Kennedy in 1960, and Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964. Even the election of a Republican president, Dwight D. Eisenhower, in 1952 and 1956 did not change the basic direction of the New Deal. Eisenhower said, "Should any political party attempt to abolish Social Security and eliminate labor laws, you would not hear of that party again in our political history."

An economic boom followed World War II. A shortage of consumer goods during the war had left Americans with both extra income and the desire to buy goods after the war. In addition, the growth of labor unions brought higher wages and gave more workers the ability to buy consumer goods. Between



 **Geography Skills**

The signing of the Rome Treaty in 1957 established the European Economic Community (EEC).

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

1945 and 1973, **real wages** (the actual purchasing power of income) grew an average of 3 percent a year, the most prolonged advance in American history.

Prosperity was not the only characteristic of the early 1950s, however. Cold War struggles abroad led to the widespread fear that Communists had infiltrated the United States. President Truman's attorney general warned that Communists were "everywhere—in factories, offices, butcher stores, on street corners, in private businesses." For many Americans, proof of this threat became more evident when thousands of American soldiers were sent to Korea to fight and die in a war against Communist aggression.

This climate of fear produced a dangerous political agitator, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. His charges that hundreds of supposed communists were in high government positions helped create a massive "Red Scare"—fear of



communist subversion. Under McCarthy, several individuals, including intellectuals and movie stars, were questioned about Communist activities. When McCarthy attacked alleged “Communist conspirators” in the U.S. Army, he was condemned by the Senate in 1954. Very quickly, his anticommunist crusade came to an end.

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

The United States in the 1960s

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

The Johnson Administration President Johnson used his stunning victory to pursue the growth of the welfare state, begun in the New Deal. Johnson’s programs included health care for the elderly, vari-



Lyndon B. Johnson taking the oath of office

ous measures to combat poverty, and federal assistance for education.

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

THE WAY IT WAS

FOCUS ON EVERYDAY LIFE

Youth Protest in the 1960s

The decade of the 1960s witnessed a dramatic change in traditional manners and morals. The new standards were evident in the breakdown of the traditional family as divorce rates increased dramatically. Movies, plays, and books broke new ground in the treatment of once-hidden subjects.

A new youth movement also emerged in the 1960s. New attitudes toward sex and the use of drugs were two of its features. Young people also questioned authority and rebelled against the older generation. Spurred on by the Vietnam War, the youth rebellion in the United States had become

a youth protest movement by the second half of the 1960s. Active participants in the movement were often called “hippies.”

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

“The Times They Are A-Changin’”

Come gather round people
Wherever you roam
And admit that the waters

are inherently unequal.” African Americans also boycotted segregated buses and other public places.

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

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

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

Social Upheaval In the North and West, blacks had had voting rights for many years. However, local patterns of segregation led to higher unemployment rates for blacks than for whites. In the summer of

1965, race riots broke out in the Watts district of Los Angeles. Thirty-four people died, and over a thousand buildings were destroyed. In 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated. Riots hit over a hundred cities, including Washington, D.C. The riots led to a “white backlash” (whites became less sympathetic to the cause of racial equality) and continued the racial division of the United States.

Antiwar protests also divided the American people after President Johnson sent American troops to war in Vietnam (see Chapter 24). As the war progressed through the second half of the 1960s, the protests grew. Then, in 1970, four students at Kent State University were killed and nine others were wounded by the Ohio National Guard during a student demonstration. The tragedy startled the nation. By this time Americans were less willing to continue the war.

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

 **Reading Check** **Identifying** Name President Johnson’s two most important domestic policy goals.

Around you have grown
And accept it that soon
You’ll be drenched to the bone
If your time to you
Is worth savin’
Then you better start swimmin’
Or you’ll sink like a stone
For the times they are a-changin’ . . .
Come mothers and fathers
Throughout the land
And don’t criticize
What you can’t understand
Your sons and your daughters
Are beyond your command
Your old road
Is rapidly agin’
Please get out of the new one
If you can’t lend your hand
For the times they are a-changin’



Young people expressed their rebellion through clothing, music, and government protests.

CONNECTING TO THE PAST

- 1. Identifying** What does Bob Dylan say is the consequence of not changing?
- 2. Comparing** Are there songs or artists today who have the same cultural outlook as Bob Dylan?
- 3. Writing about History** What social or political issues are being expressed in music, literature, television, or movies today? Write a brief essay highlighting one or two cultural examples, including lyrics or other relevant materials.



Picturing History

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

The Development of Canada

For 25 years after World War II, a prosperous Canada set out on a new path of industrial development. Canada had always had a strong export economy based on its abundant natural resources. Now it developed electronic, aircraft, nuclear, and chemical engineering industries on a large scale. Much of the Canadian growth, however, was financed by capital from the United States, which led to U.S. ownership of Canadian businesses. Some Canadians feared American economic domination of Canada.

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

The Liberal Party dominated Canadian politics throughout most of this period. Under Lester Pear-

son, the Liberal government created Canada’s welfare state by enacting a national social security system (the Canada Pension Plan) and a national health insurance program.

✓ Reading Check Explaining Why did some Canadians fear U.S. economic domination of Canada?

The Emergence of a New Society

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

A Changing Social Structure Postwar Western society was marked by a changing social structure.

Especially noticeable were changes in the middle class. Traditional middle-class groups were made up of businesspeople, lawyers, doctors, and teachers. A new group of managers and technicians, hired by large companies and government agencies, now joined the ranks of the middle class.

Changes also occurred among the lower classes. The shift of people from rural to urban areas continued. The number of people in farming declined drastically. By the 1950s, the number of farmers in most parts of

▼ *Early 1950s television*



▼ *1959 De Soto*



Europe had dropped by 50 percent. The number of industrial workers also began to decline as the amount of white-collar workers increased.

At the same time, a noticeable increase in the real wages of workers made it possible for them to imitate the buying patterns of the middle class. This led to what some observers have called the **consumer society**—a society preoccupied with buying goods.

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

Women in the Postwar World Women's participation in the world wars had resulted in several gains. They had achieved one of the major aims of the nineteenth-century feminist movement—the right to vote. After World War I, many governments had expressed thanks to women by granting them voting rights. Sweden, Great Britain, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Austria, and Czechoslovakia did so in 1918, followed by the United States in 1920. French women only gained the vote in 1944, while Italian women did so in 1945.

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

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

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

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

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

Of great importance to the emergence of the postwar women's liberation movement was the work of **Simone de Beauvoir** (duh•boh•VWAHR). In 1949, she published her highly influential work, *The Second Sex*. As a result of male-dominated societies, she argued, women had been defined by their differences from men and consequently received second-class status. De Beauvoir's book influenced both the American and European women's movements.

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

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

There were problems, however. Many European university classrooms were overcrowded, and many professors paid little attention to their students.

People In History

Simone de Beauvoir 1908–1986—French author



A prominent French intellectual, Simone de Beauvoir became a major voice in the European feminist movement. Born into a Catholic middle-class family and educated at the Sorbonne in Paris, she supported herself as a teacher and later as a novelist and writer.

De Beauvoir believed that she lived a "liberated" life for a twentieth-century European woman. Despite all her freedom, she still came to perceive that, as a woman, she faced limits that men did not: "What particularly signalizes the situation of woman is that she—a free autonomous being like all human creatures—nevertheless finds herself in a world where men compel her to assume the status of the Other."



Picturing History

Students threw cobblestones and the police retaliated with tear gas during the 1968 Paris demonstrations. Later, the streets were repaved with asphalt and concrete. **After this incident, why do you think the authorities wanted paved streets rather than streets of cobblestone?**

Growing discontent led to an outburst of student revolts in the late 1960s.

This student radicalism had several causes. Many of these protests were an extension of the revolts in U.S. universities, which were often sparked by student opposition to the Vietnam War. Some students, particularly in Europe, wished to reform the university system. They did not believe that universities responded to their needs or to the realities of the modern world. Others expressed concerns about becoming small cogs in the large and impersonal bureaucratic wheels of the modern world. Student protest movements in both Europe and the United

States reached a high point in 1968. By the early 1970s, the movements had largely disappeared.

The student protests of the late 1960s caused many people to rethink some of their basic assumptions. Looking back, however, we can see that the student upheavals were not a turning point in the history of postwar Europe, as some people thought at the time. In the 1970s and 1980s, student rebels would become middle-class professionals. The vision of revolutionary politics would remain mostly a memory.

✓ Reading Check Identifying What was the women's liberation movement trying to accomplish?

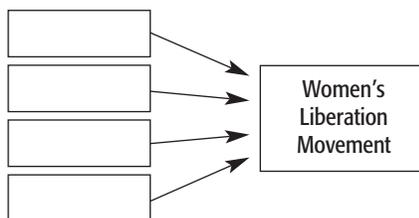
SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- 1. Define** welfare state, bloc, real wages.
- 2. Identify** Charles de Gaulle, Christian Democratic Union, European Economic Community, John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., consumer society, women's liberation movement, Simone de Beauvoir.
- 3. Locate** France, West Germany.
- 4. Explain** why many British colonies gained their independence after World War II.
- 5. List** the original members of the Common Market.

Critical Thinking

- 6. Analyze** Do you think the student revolts of this period contributed positively or negatively to society? Why?
- 7. Cause and Effect** Use a diagram like the one below to identify factors leading to the emergence of the postwar women's liberation movement.



Analyzing Visuals

- 8. Compare** the Kent State photo on page 648 with the photo above. What do these two scenes have in common? In your opinion, were the costs of these protests justified? What causes today could motivate this type of passion and sacrifice?

Writing About History

- 9. Persuasive Writing** Demonstrations, marches, and riots were used in the 1960s and 1970s to communicate popular opinion. Write an essay that argues for or against the effectiveness of these methods for changing public opinion and policy.

“I Have a Dream”

ON AUGUST 28, 1963, MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., led a civil rights march on Washington, D.C., and gave an inspired speech that energized the movement.

“I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation . . .

I say to you today, my friends, so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed, ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.’ I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. . . . I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character . . .

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day. And this will be the day. This will be the day when all of God’s children will be able to sing with new meaning, ‘My country ‘tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my father died, land of the pilgrims’ pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring.’ And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true . . .

And when this happens, and when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every



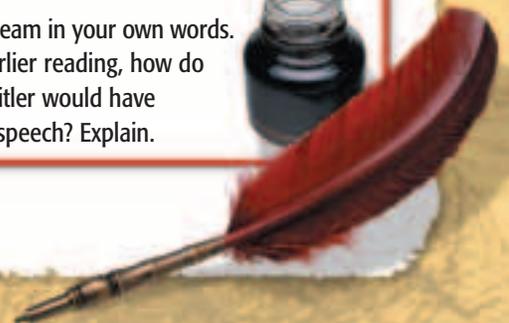
Martin Luther King, Jr., was an inspiring speaker.

city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God’s children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: ‘Free at last, Free at last. Thank God Almighty, we are free at last.’”

—**Martin Luther King, Jr., Speech Delivered August 28, 1963, in Washington, D.C.**

Analyzing Primary Sources

1. Why do you think this speech has become so famous? Has King’s dream been realized? Why or why not?
2. Describe King’s dream in your own words.
3. Based on your earlier reading, how do you think Adolf Hitler would have reacted to King’s speech? Explain.



Using Key Terms

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

Reviewing Key Facts

10. **Economics** What was COMECON and why was it formed?
11. **Economics** What changes were made in the British government's role in its economic system after World War II?
12. **History** What caused the Soviet Union to invade Hungary in 1956?
13. **History** Describe what happened when satellite states tried to become independent of the Soviet Union.
14. **Culture** What book influenced the women's movement in America and Europe? What was its significance to the movement?
15. **Science and Technology** Name some inventions that altered the pace and nature of life in postwar Western society.
16. **History** What happened during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962?
17. **Culture** Name the social movements that altered American society after World War II.
18. **Government** What prevented even greater repression and terror from taking place in the Soviet Union during the early 1950s?
19. **History** What were some of the political and economic "weapons" of the Cold War?

Chapter Summary

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

	Conflict/Crisis	Significant Event(s)	Result(s)
Greece (1944–1949)	Civil war erupts.	Great Britain aids government forces against communism.	United States creates Truman Doctrine.
Berlin (1949)	Soviets and Western powers divide Germany.	Western powers airlift supplies to Soviet-blockaded West Berlin.	Blockade is lifted.
Korea (1950–1953)	Civil war begins when North Korea invades South Korea.	United Nations forces fight to save South Korea from communism.	United States extends military alliances around the world.
Berlin (1961)	Refugees escape from East to West Berlin.	Soviets build Berlin Wall.	Berlin Wall becomes symbol of divided Germany.
Cuba (1962)	Soviets support Castro's totalitarian regime in Cuba.	United States invades Bay of Pigs; Soviets place nuclear missiles in Cuba; United States blockades Cuba.	Soviets withdraw missiles; hotline is established between Moscow and Washington, D.C.
Vietnam (1964–1973)	Civil war erupts between North and South Vietnam.	United States intervenes to prevent North Vietnam from taking over South Vietnam.	United States withdraws from Vietnam; Vietnam is reunited by Communists.

CLICK HERE



Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *Glencoe World History—Modern Times* Web site at wh.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 20—Self-Check Quiz** to prepare for the Chapter Test.

Critical Thinking

- 20. **Analyzing** How did de-Stalinization help Khrushchev gain control of the Soviet government?
- 21. **Explaining** Is containment an important or pressing issue in American foreign policy today? Explain your reasoning.

Writing About History

- 22. **Expository Writing** In an essay, identify and explain possible reasons for the comparatively slow growth of social benefits provided to Americans, compared to the rapid growth of these programs in Europe, after World War II.

Analyzing Sources

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

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

- 23. Why might Soviets identify with this story?
- 24. Why did Khrushchev allow this book to be published?

Applying Technology Skills

- 25. **Using the Internet** Search the Internet for information about technological inventions since World War II that have greatly affected our lives. Use a search engine to focus your search. Create a time line including pictures and illustrations of the inventions you researched.

Making Decisions

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

Analyzing Maps and Charts

Using the map above, answer the following questions.

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



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

Standardized Test Practice

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

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

— *The Second Sex*, Simone de Beauvoir

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

- A helped women gain the right to vote.
- B contributed to a women’s movement in the 1950s and 1960s.
- C greatly increased the number of married women in the labor force.
- D influenced and shaped the student protest movement.

Test-Taking Tip: A date can be an important clue. When a question contains a date, think about major events that occurred during or around that time. Then eliminate answer choices that do not reflect that history.

