Chapter

7

Challenges to Liberalism Related to Foreign Policy

KEY SKILLS

Analyzing the impact of physical and human geography on history

KEY CONCEPTS

Analyzing how ideological conflict shaped post–Second World War international relations

Key Terms

Brinkmanship
Cold War
Containment
Détente
Deterrence
Expansionism
Liberation movements
McCarthyism
Nonalignment
Proxy wars

Figure 7-1

The Berlin Wall was a physical manifestation of the iron curtain metaphor used by British prime minister Winston Churchill.

Less than a year after the end of the Second World War, the wartime leader of Britain, Winston Churchill, delivered a speech that popularized the term **iron curtain** to describe the line in Europe between self-governing countries of the West and countries in Eastern Europe under communist Soviet control. The iron curtain became a metaphor for the division between American and Soviet ideologies. Those on either side interpreted the curtain differently: Americans viewed it as a barrier meant to contain those oppressed by communism, a restriction to civil and economic freedoms, and Soviets saw it as a protective measure, a means of protecting themselves from capitalist influences and the potential expansion of fascism.

The following excerpt is from what has become known as the Iron Curtain Speech, which Churchill gave at Westminster College, in Fulton, Missouri, in 1946.

The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American democracy. For with this primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future. As you look around you, you must feel not only the sense of duty done, but also you must feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement. Opportunity is here now, clear and shining, for both our countries. To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the aftertime…

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—toward the peoples of all the Russias and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships.

It is my duty, however, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

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 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.

The safety of the world, ladies and gentlemen, requires a unity in Europe, from which no nation should be permanently outcast. It is from the quarrels of the strong parent races in Europe that the world wars we have witnessed, or which occurred in former times, have sprung.

—Winston Churchill, "Iron Curtain" speech, March 5, 1946. Modern History Sourcebook, Fordham University.
http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/churchill-iron.html

Churchill, speaking right after the Second World War, can be seen as either a messenger who is trying to warn the free world of imminent danger or as an alarmist who is provoking a fight unnecessarily. You will learn more about this historical time period in this chapter. In the meantime, given the context of the quotation above, to what extent do you believe Churchill may have been encouraging conflict with the Soviet Union based on ideology? What information do you already have that might help inform your response?

Pause and Reflect

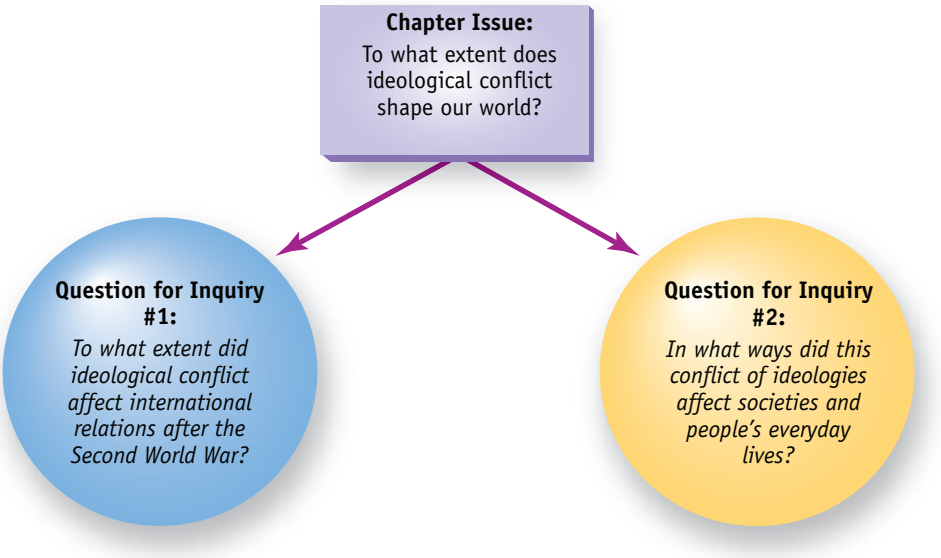
Churchill's metaphor—iron curtain—could have many implications on foreign policy. What meanings and implications might be associated with this term?

Chapter Issue

The Cold War (1945–1991) shaped the second half of the 20th century, and it continues to have significant influence not only on international relations, but also on the citizenship and daily lives of people around the world. In this chapter you will investigate and consider the Cold War and related examples of international conflict to explore the Chapter Issue: ***To what extent does ideological conflict shape our world?***

During the Cold War, most of the world was split in two camps: those nation-states allied with the Soviets and communism and those allied with the Americans and democratic liberalism. This chapter will help you understand the role that ideology played in the division between these two superpowers, and how ideological conflict shaped international relations after the Second World War. As you explore and investigate the Cold War, use what you have learned in previous chapters to consider how liberalism was affected by this ideological conflict, and how citizens and citizenship were impacted by the promotion of communist and liberal democratic ideologies.

Figure 7-2 ▶



International Relations after the Second World War

Question for Inquiry

- **To what extent did ideological conflict affect international relations after the Second World War?**

In 1927, Joseph Stalin predicted the following:

> *…there will emerge two centers of world significance: a socialist center, drawing to itself the countries that incline towards socialism, and a capitalist center, drawing to itself the countries that incline towards capitalism. Battle between these two centers for command of the world economy will decide the fate of capitalism and of communism in the entire world.*

—Josef Stalin, speech to American workers delegation, 1927, quoted in George Kennan, "Excerpts from *Telegraphic Message from Moscow of February 22, 1946*."
http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/history/johnson/longtelegram.htm

The **Cold War**, which followed the Second World War, was an all-out political, economic, and social struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States: they both wanted victory over not only each other, but also over other countries around the world. Understanding the relationship between these two powerful countries will help you answer the question ***To what extent is resistance to liberalism justified?***

In this chapter we will first look at the political relations between countries with conflicting ideologies, focusing on the United States and the Soviet Union. Then, we will look at the impacts of these conflicts among other countries and in the lives of citizens around the world. As you read this chapter, think about Stalin's prediction and ask yourself to what extent it was correct and what other international tensions have arisen because of competing ideologies.

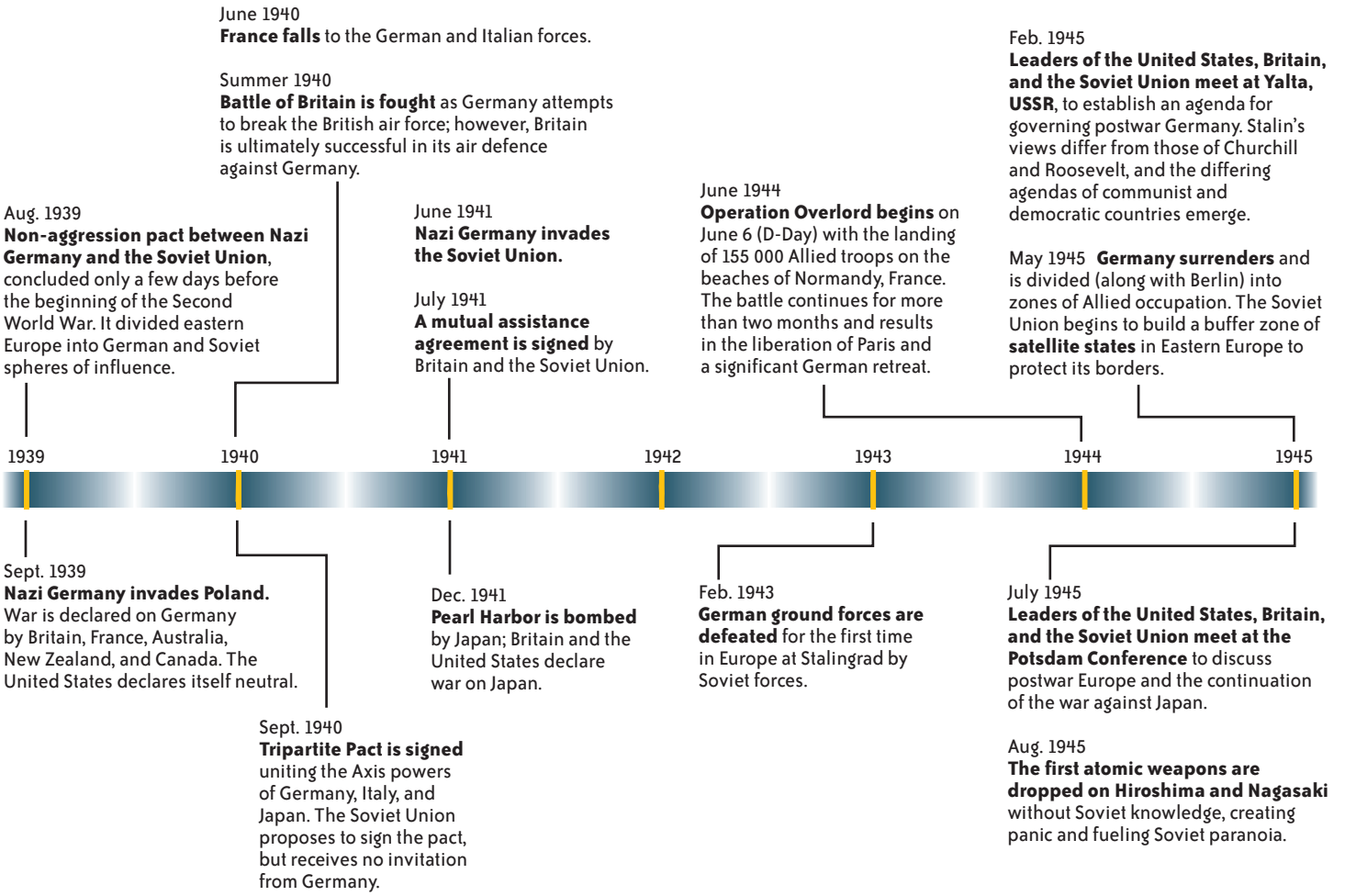


Figure 7-3 ▲

This timeline illustrates some of the key events of the Second World War in Europe. Notice some of the shifting alliances that occur. To What extent are these shifting alliances based on ideology?

Yalta

In February 1945, the Allied forces could see that the Second World War would soon end and the "Big Three" met at Yalta (on the Black Sea) to plan both their remaining wartime actions and the future for postwar Europe. One key task for the leaders meeting at Yalta (Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill) was, essentially, to re-draw the map of Europe. Their decisions would have implications for many years to come.

The Yalta Accords

A key principle agreed to at Yalta was that, after the war, European countries would be able to have free elections and decide their own futures.

The Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States of America have consulted with each other in the common interests of the peoples of their countries and those of liberated Europe. They jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three Governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the people of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter—the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live—the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations.

To foster the conditions in which the liberated peoples may exercise these rights, the three governments will jointly assist the people in any European liberated state or former Axis satellite state in Europe where, in their judgment, conditions require,

(a) to establish conditions of internal peace;

(b) to carry out emergency relief measures for the relief of distressed peoples;

(c) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of Governments responsive to the will of the people; and

(d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

—The Yalta Accords, "Part II: Declaration on Liberated Europe," February 11, 1945, quoted in Richard Sakwa, *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union*, 1917–1991 (New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 280.

1. Based on this declaration, what choices do you think European countries would make through participation in democratic elections? Why?
2. If any one of the Big Three reneged on any part of this agreement, what impact on international relations would you expect?

After Yalta: The Cold War

Figure 7-4 ▶

This map of Europe illustrates the ideological divisions in Europe following the Second World War. The red-striped countries are Soviet-influenced countries that later aligned themselves militarily with the USSR by signing the Warsaw Pact (1955). How might Soviet occupation of significant areas of eastern Europe in the last months of the Second World War impact the decisions made?

Whether it was ideology or simply the desire for economic and political power that drove the United States and the Soviet Union is open for debate; regardless, the Cold War between the two superpowers caused long-term global tension and disharmony. Numerous events, agreements, and conflicts resulted in the growing tensions among the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies. The following are a few examples:

- The postwar treatment of Germany was a major sticking point. The Soviet Union wanted reparations and a weakened Germany as its neighbour; however, the Allies decided that a renewed Western European economy depended on a healthy German economy and a unified Germany.
- US aid to postwar Europe was offered to all European countries but had "strings attached," such as conditions related to economic policies. The Soviet leadership considered this "dollar imperialism" and refused the aid despite the devastation

the war had caused in the Soviet Union and its satellite countries, including 25 million homeless Soviet citizens.

- Stalinization began in 1945 with the intention of installing communism in all states liberated from Nazi Germany by the Soviet Union (Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania). Ultimately, Stalin aimed for "proletarian internationalism": worldwide communism. Albania, which had declared itself communist at the end of the war, voluntarily allied itself with the Soviet Union.
- Hungary's move toward independence and increased freedoms for its citizens in 1956 followed a denunciation of Stalin by the new Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev. This short-lived anti-communist revolution in one of the Soviet Union's satellite states was brutally crushed by the Soviet army.
- When the Second World War was over, the United States and the Soviet Union no longer had common enemies (Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan) to fight. They entered into a period of ideological conflict with each other.

The devastation of Europe and Asia in 1945 left two states—the United States and the Soviet Union—with inordinate influence on the future course of international affairs. These two countries emerged from the Second World War stronger than they were before they entered it. They had mobilized their vast resources for maximum effect: building more weapons and placing more citizens under arms than ever before in either country's history. They had also expanded their territorial control and influence far beyond previous limits. Because of their great influence around the world and economic and military strengths, the United States and the Soviet Union were considered **superpowers**.

In July 1945, when American president Harry Truman and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin met with British prime minister Winston Churchill and his successor Clement Attlee in Potsdam, Germany, most observers recognized that the decisions of these men would determine the future course of world history. As these leaders agreed on such things as reparations to be made and the restructuring of Germany, the undercurrent of the conference was the political and economic division emerging between communist and democratic countries. The British and American leaders were concerned about the extent and growth of Soviet influence, and the Soviets, resentful of the devastating losses they experienced during the war, were concerned with building their influence to protect their borders. During the conference, the leaders warned Japan to surrender or face the consequences, which Truman knew secretly to be the unleashing of a "powerful new weapon," the atomic bomb. Truman did not share his government's plans for a nuclear

Pause and Reflect

The February 1945 conference was held at Yalta because Stalin insisted that he would go no farther west for the meeting. In your opinion, which countries would have been affected the most by the decisions made at Yalta in 1945? During this time, to what extent did ideology shape the future of these countries?

attack on Japan with the Soviets before bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the week after the conference.

Truman and Stalin sought to avoid another war, but they also recognized each other as rivals for domination over Europe and Asia. Each side feared that the other would convert the resources of the new areas under his control into war-fighting capabilities. Both sides feared a loss of access to traditional markets. Most significantly, both sides feared that the other would win the "war of ideas," convincing the devastated populations of Europe and Asia that liberal capitalism on the one hand, or communism on the other, was the only legitimate system of governance. Ideological conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, long pre-dating 1945, made the Cold War a contest between worldviews that extended beyond weapons, territory, and economics. The two countries could agree on various measures for geopolitical stability, but their ideological clash made a permanent settlement almost inconceivable.

Expansionism and Containment

In 1927, Stalin referred to the centres "drawing" other countries to themselves, but in fact the superpowers of the Cold War tried to reach out, or expand. **Expansionism**—the attempt to enlarge territorial and ideological influence beyond a country's borders and allies—was what both the Soviet Union and the United States would practise until the end of the Cold War.

At the end of the Second World War, the United States and the Soviet Union began to establish their **spheres of influence** in Europe. Spheres of influence are the territories and countries over which a powerful country dominates. The countries that the western Allies had liberated from Nazi Germany fell under the American sphere of influence, and the countries that the Soviet Union had liberated fell under the Soviet sphere of influence. Each of the superpowers responded to its fears with **containment**: the attempt to thwart another country's expansionism through means other than direct warfare.

Stalin saw postwar Soviet expansionism not only as a way to "command the world economy" (as he had predicted in 1927), but also for specific historical and geographical reasons:

- Stalin wanted to keep Germany divided—a strong, unified Germany had gone to war with Russia twice in the first decades of the 20th century. When the United States, Britain, and France pushed to unify the German zones to help the general economic recovery of Europe, Stalin opposed the idea.
- Stalin wanted to maintain or expand Soviet influence to surrounding countries, including Finland, Poland, and Romania, to create a buffer zone for the Soviet Union's safety.

Expansionism

Looking to the events of the Second World War and to its geography, the Soviet Union asserted its own reasons for expanding its sphere of influence. The United States, however, framed its expansionism in terms of providing other countries with the freedom to choose sides, of defending their freedom to choose a governing ideology. These reasons for extending American influence were described in the Truman Doctrine of 1947, in which President Truman called upon the United States to "support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." (Source: Harry S. Truman, address before a joint session of Congress, March 12, 1947, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp.) Soviet and American perspectives on expansionism are depicted in the following three quotations.

As a result of the German invasion, the Soviet Union has irrevocably lost in battles with the Germans, and also during the German occupation and through the expulsion of Soviet citizens to German slave labor camps, about 7 000 000 people. In other words, the Soviet Union has lost in men several times more than Britain and the United States together…One can ask therefore, what can be surprising in the fact that the Soviet Union, in a desire to ensure its security for the future, tries to achieve that these countries should have governments whose relations to the Soviet Union are loyal? How can one, without having lost one's reason, qualify these peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union as "expansionist tendencies" of our Government?

—Joseph Stalin's reply to Churchill, 1946.
Modern History Sourcebook, Fordham University.
http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1946stalin.html

Reflecting the imperialistic tendency of American monopoly capital, US foreign policy has been characterized in the postwar period by a desire for world domination. *This is the real meaning of repeated statements by President Truman and other representatives of American ruling circles that the US has a right to world leadership. All the forces of American diplomacy, the Army, Navy, and Air Force, industry, and science have been placed at the service of this policy. With this objective in mind broad plans for expansion have been developed, to be realized both diplomatically and through the creation of a system of naval and air bases far from the US, an arms race, and the creation of newer and newer weapons...*

—N. Novikov (Soviet Ambassador to the United States), telegram to the Soviet Leadership, September 27, 1946.
Cold War International History Project.
http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=va2.document&identifier=952E8C7F-423B-763D-D5662C42501C9BEA&sort=Collection&item=US-Soviet%20Relations
www.cwihp.org

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 the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled 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 we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic stability and orderly political process.

—Harry S. Truman, address before a joint session of Congress, March 12, 1947.
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp

PAUSE AND REFLECT

How could the competing viewpoints of Stalin, Novikov, and Truman and the superpowers' competing ideologies create tension in international relations? To what extent was ideology influencing their decision making and people's lives?

Truman Doctrine and Containment

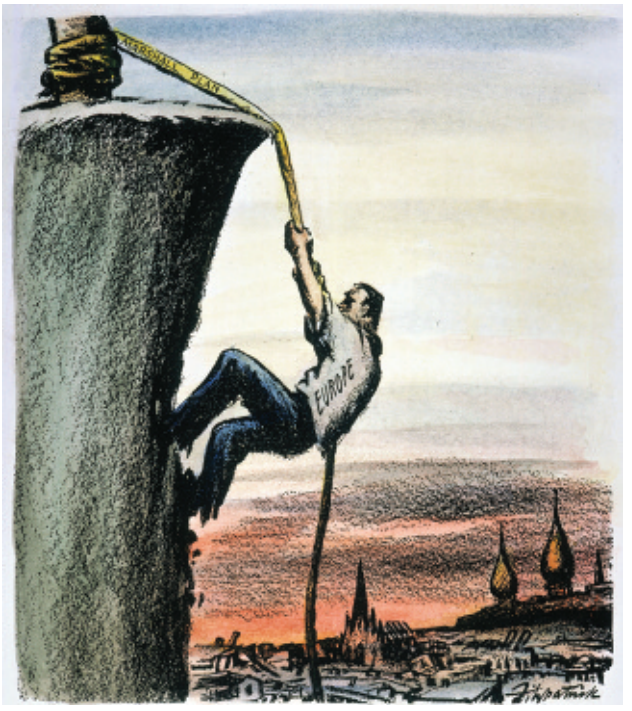


Figure 7-5 ▲
What beliefs and values are represented in this cartoon?

In postwar Europe—and around the world—countries were making exactly the choices that Truman described. Truman wanted to stop Soviet expansionism to contain the communist influence and, rather than resorting to a **hot war** (which includes troops and battles in direct conflict), the United States fought its ideological conflict by creating alliances and giving aid, among other methods. For example, the United States responded with $400 million in aid when the postwar Greek and Turkish governments asked for support in defeating the appeal of communism in their countries. The biggest aid plan, however, was the Marshall Plan, a $13-billion plan to help the recovery of countries ravaged by war in Europe. This offer was for all countries of Europe, communist or democratic. The $13-billion Marshall Plan would be over $100 billion in today's currency.

Over the lifespan of the Marshall Plan (1947–1952), 17 countries in Europe received funds and technical expertise from the United States. Responses from Western Europe included the following:

Churchill's words won the war, Marshall's words won the peace.

—Dirk Stikker, Foreign Minister, The Netherlands, 1948–1952

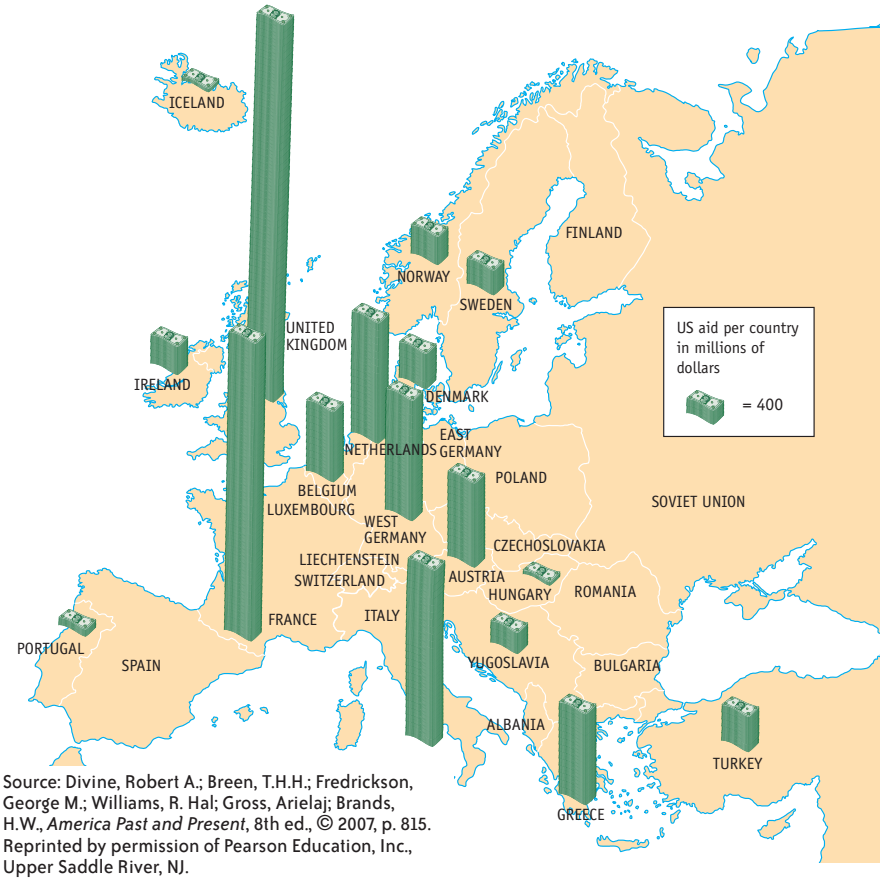
The Marshall speech…was greeted as a great act of statesmanship and as an expression of what we felt was genuine idealism on the part of the United States.

—Halvard Lange, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway, 1946–1965
Source: Both quotations from "The Marshall Plan: Rebuilding Europe." US Department of State International Information Programs.
http://usinfo.state.gov/products/pubs/marshallplan/marshall.htm

The Soviet satellite states rejected Marshall Plan aid due to the diplomatic and political pressure applied by the United States. The Americans required that all recipients of the aid submit to a thorough economic assessment and participate in a unified European economy, conditions that were incompatible with Soviet ideology. Regardless, the offer of aid to the Soviet Union may have been a hollow gesture by the Americans, as it was questionable that the American Congress would approve large sums of aid for countries under the influence of a communist power. As an alternative, the Soviets proposed their own aid package, the Molotov Plan, for Eastern European countries under its influence. The Molotov Plan involved bilateral trade agreements that helped to consolidate the economies of socialist countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania, and to solidify the Soviet presence in Europe.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Using the ideas and quotations presented in this section, determine which perspectives and which rationale would lead the United States to offer aid to all countries, including communist countries.



Source: Divine, Robert A.; Breen, T.H.H.; Fredrickson, George M.; Williams, R. Hal; Gross, Arielaj; Brands, H.W., *America Past and Present*, 8th ed., © 2007, p. 815. Reprinted by permission of Pearson Education, Inc., Upper Saddle River, NJ.

Figure 7-6

Over 50 years after the Marshall Plan was initiated, the US National Center for Policy Analysis offered the following comments:

Although there is no doubt about the political success of the Marshall Plan, recent economic analyses are more skeptical about its economic impact. Economists today place far more weight on the economic reforms initiated by the Marshall Plan, and much less on the actual aid itself…It is important to remember that Marshall Plan aid was very conditional. Recipients had to agree to balance their budgets, stop inflation and stabilize their exchange rates at realistic levels. They were also encouraged to decontrol prices, eliminate trade restrictions and resist nationalization of industry. In short, the Marshall Plan imposed free market policies on Western Europe in return for aid. This is the reason why the Soviet Union rejected the Marshall Plan for itself and its allies in Eastern Europe.

—National Center for Policy Analysis Idea House, "Marshall Plan: Freer Markets Restored Europe," June 2, 1997. http://www.ncpa.org/pd/pdint140.html

Berlin 1945–1949

When postwar Germany was divided in 1945 into four zones of occupation, the capital was also divided. Berlin consisted of American, English, French, and Soviet sectors but fell 176 kilometres within the Soviet zone of Germany. The Soviets wanted a weaker Germany and a buffer zone between the capitalist West and the communist East. Of the Western Allies, the Americans and British particularly wanted a strong German economy in a revitalized European economy. The Soviets would not allow their zone and sector of occupation to be reunified with the rest of Berlin, thus the result was Bizonia (West Germany, combining the American, English, and French zones) and East Germany, and within communist East Germany, the pocket of Western influence and capitalism, West Berlin.

The Americans' Marshall Plan was eagerly accepted in the western zones of occupation but was rejected by German authorities in the Soviet zone of occupation. In 1948, a new currency called the Deutsche Mark was introduced in Bizonia to replace the occupation currency. Deutsche Marks were also taken into West Berlin where they quickly became the preferred currency. Stalin saw this revitalized West Germany as a threat to the Soviet Union and West Berlin as an unwelcome, capitalist influence in the midst of Eastern communism.

On June 24, 1948, Stalin blocked all road, rail, and canal transportation to West Berlin. The 2.1 million West Berliners were then cut off from all supplies. American General Lucius D. Clay summarized the American attitude toward the city of Berlin: "We are convinced that our remaining in Berlin is essential to our prestige in Germany and in Europe. Whether for good or bad, it has become a symbol of the American intent." Years later, US Secretary of State Warren Christopher stated the following:

> *In the spring of 1948, Stalin began his campaign to force the Allied powers from Berlin. Hoping to bring the city under communist control, he tried to break the spirit of its people. On June 24, 1948, he imposed a blockade on Berlin. What Stalin failed to judge, however, was the will of the Berliners to defy intimidation, and the resolve of the Allied forces to see them through.*
>
> **—Warren Christopher, "A tribute to the Berlin airlift," US Department of State Dispatch, September 12, 1994.**

The Western response was to fly in supplies to the West Berliners. (Agreements made in 1945 did not include ground access to Berlin but did include air access.) Clay spoke with Berlin mayor Ernst Reuter, who assured Clay that Berliners were willing to sacrifice and co-operate with the Allied forces to make the airlift work. The Americans and the British assessed their resources (airplanes, carrying capacity, crews, airports, and so on) and other logistical details at the same time they

evaluated the supplies that would be needed. They thought the airlift would last for days or weeks and thus calculated what supplies were needed to meet a set caloric intake per West Berliner per day (including meat, fish, cheese, grains, evaporated milk and whole milk, dehydrated potatoes and other vegetables, coffee, sugar, yeast for baking, and salt).

After the first few weeks of the airlift, the East Berlin newspapers described the Berlin airlift as "the futile attempts of the Americans to save face and to maintain their untenable position in Berlin." (Source: C.V. Glines, "Fifty years ago, a massive airlift into Berlin showed the Soviets that a post-WWII blockade would not work." Indiana Military Organization, http://www.indianamilitary.org/ATTERBURYAAF/History/BerlinAirlift.html.) However, the airlift continued. With the approach of winter, coal and gasoline had to be added to the list of supplies, landing strips were improved, and a new strip was built. The United States and Britain led the effort, with France initially opting out of what it considered a lost cause but eventually joining as well. When it joined, France could offer only its oldest cargo planes as other French military resources were being used in French colonial Indochina (Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam).

At the height of the Berlin airlift, flights were landing in West Berlin at the rate of one every three minutes. Increasing efficiency was an ongoing concern, and refinements were made to the operations, the American "Operation Vittles" and the British "Operation Plainfare." For example, the flight crews were not allowed to leave their planes in Berlin and crews of local Berliners unloaded the planes as quickly as possible. In September, communists blocked the city elections and Mayor Ernst Reuter spoke before a crowd of Berlin protesters to plead for support: "You peoples of the world. You people of America, of England, of France, look on this city, and recognize that this city, this people must not be abandoned—cannot be abandoned!" (Source: Ernst Reuter, quoted in *The American Experience*, "The Berlin Airlift," PBS, first broadcast January 29, 2007: transcript at http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/airlift/filmmore/pt.html.)

Over a period of 11 months, the American, British, and French forces flew all food and all coal and gasoline needed by the 2.1 million Berliners in a total of 277 804 flights. During the airlift, 17 US and 8 British planes crashed. The official number of casualties was 101. On May 12, 1949, Stalin finally lifted the blockade.

Figure 7-7 ▼

A 1960s East German poster about the Berlin airlift. Translation: "Air Bridge to West Berlin—a peace-threatening provocation of the Western imperialist powers."

Borders: Physical Boundaries between Ideologies

The physical borders that separated Soviet communist-bloc countries and democratic capitalist countries became increasingly important to

Figure 7-8 ▲

This photo shows Berliners watching an American C-54 land at Templehof Airport in 1948. During the airlift, US pilot Gail Halvorsen started an effort that became known as Operation Little Vittles. After talking with a crowd of children at a Berlin airport, he gave them two sticks of gum and offered to drop some more. He did so by attaching handkerchief parachutes to candy packages. Other pilots joined in, the "operation" became public, candy companies joined in, and American children sent their own candy to help out. Overall, it was considered a major, although initially unplanned, propaganda success.

both Americans and their allies and the Soviet Union. These borders served to divide people by ideological differences, as well as political and economic differences. In a now-divided Germany, where many countries shared an influence, the importance of the borders increased as tensions grew between the superpowers. But what if those who lived on one side or the other of the iron curtain decided to change their ideological points of view? Due to a history of invasion, the Soviets had long been sensitive to the security of their borders, and this increased exponentially with the events of the Second World War. Countries that shared a border with the Soviet Union were under particular pressure to maintain strong political and economic ties with the Soviets, and the Soviets were not receptive to any encroachment of capitalism or democracy.

Fortifying the Border: The Berlin Wall

Because the divided city of Berlin was located in the middle of East German territory, as tensions mounted between the Americans and the Soviets, the city became a hotbed of Cold War tension. At midnight on August 12, 1961, East German troops locked down the border between East Germany and West Berlin, essentially surrounding the city. They tore up the streets and installed barbed wire and fences. From the perspective of the Western powers, the main purpose of this border closure was to stop the flow of East Germans from the Soviet-dominated East Germany into West Berlin where they had access to NATO protection and economic opportunity. The East German government, however, claimed that the wall was meant to protect East Germany from Western aggression. A second fence was later built further inside East German territory, parallel to the original, creating a no man's land between the two walls known as the death strip. The original outer wire

Figure 7-9 ▶

This map shows the division of Berlin and the wall that was constructed to separate the Soviet sector from the Western sectors of the city.

fence was replaced with a concrete wall with watchtowers, bunkers, and trenches. West Berlin became an island of Western values and beliefs within a sea of Soviet-dominated communism.

Breaking Free of the Iron Curtain

Hungary: Revolution of 1956

In fall of 1956, the Hungarian people revolted against their Stalinist government, forming militias and battling the state police and Soviet troops. In less than two weeks, a new Hungarian government was formed, the state police were disbanded, and the first steps were taken toward creating a democratic state. In early November, however, Soviet forces invaded Hungary with a massive show of force, defeated the newly independent country, reversed the changes that came from the revolution and restored a pro-Soviet government. Soviet power in Central Europe was strengthened, and a clear message of the irreversibility of communism in the sphere of Soviet influence was sent around the world.

Czechoslovak Socialist Republic: Prague, Spring 1968

On January 5, 1968, reformist Alexander Dubcek came to power in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CSSR). By April he had granted additional rights and freedoms to its citizens, loosening restrictions on the media, speech, and travel, and limited the powers of the secret police. Dubcek's plan for reformation included a 10-year transition toward democratic elections, emphasized the importance of maintaining good relations with Western countries, and allowed for the possibility of a multiple-party government. Reaction to these reforms by the communist-bloc countries grew increasingly critical, and the Soviets launched talks with the Czechoslovakian government to reach an understanding about the scope and nature of the country's reforms. Ultimately, these talks failed due to division among members of the Czechoslovakian government, and on the night of August 20, 1968, Eastern Bloc armies from four Warsaw Pact countries—the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Poland, and Hungary—invaded and occupied the CSSR. Within a year, Dubcek's reforms had been reversed.

Yugoslavia: Tito's Defiance

After the Second World War, Yugoslavia elected a communist government and quickly aligned itself with the Soviet Union. However, despite being a member of the communist party, Yugoslavian leader Josip Tito soon began to distance his country from the Soviet Union. Tito ultimately became the first (and only) socialist leader to defy Stalin and reject Soviet demands for absolute loyalty to the Soviet Union. In April 1955, Yugoslavia, under Tito's leadership, became a founding

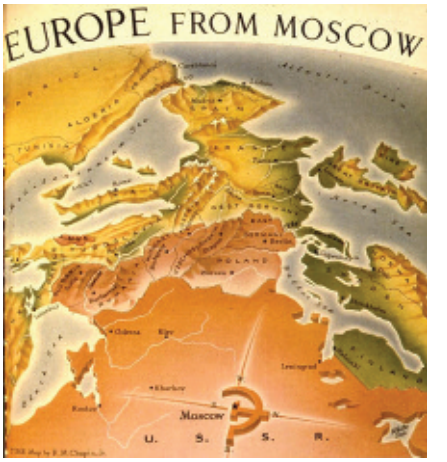


Figure 7-10 ▲

This map appeared in *Time* magazine on March 10, 1952. How do you think the Soviet Union viewed the strategic importance of those countries with which it shared a border?

member of the Non-Aligned Movement, an international organization of states who consider themselves not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc. Over the years, Tito adopted a more liberal government and fostered relationships with Western countries, creating a political, economic, and ideological division between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. This was possible for Yugoslavia and not for other Warsaw Pact countries such as Hungary or the CSSR in part because of its geography: it did not share a border with the Soviet Union.

SKILL PATH

Examining the Interrelationship of Geography and Ideology

A state's political power and actions must be considered within the context of its geopolitical realities: geographic location and features (including resources within and outside of its borders), human geography and interactions, ideological beliefs and values, the political interpretation of those ideologies, and foreign policy.

Your Task: Use the examples from the section "Borders: Physical Boundaries between Ideologies" on pages 245–246 to create a visual representation of how the relationship between geography and ideology can influence international relations. For example, create a map, photo essay, or mixed-media product to illustrate how factors such as geographic location, access to resources, and diversity of people can impact the foreign policy of a nation-state.

As you examine the relationship between geography and ideology in a particular country or region, consider the following:

- geographic features
- natural resources
- population and demographics
- beliefs and values
- neighbouring countries

Afterwards, use the Questions to Guide You to guide an independent or group reflection on the relationship between geography and ideology.

Questions to Guide You

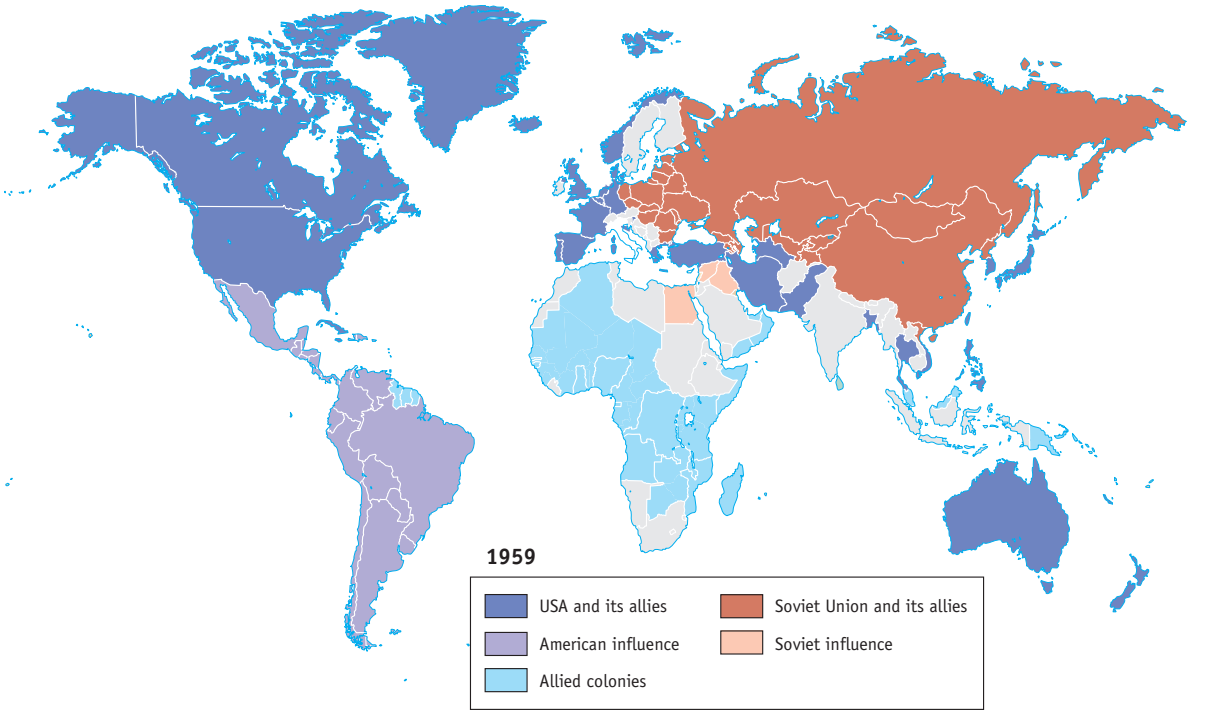
1. With reference to the maps and information provided in the chapter, why was the geographic location of the countries and cities noted important to both the Soviet Union and the United States?
2. Based on the maps provided in the section "Borders: Physical Boundaries between Ideologies" on pages 245–246, what impact do geography, ideology, and a country's history have on a country's foreign policy? Based on the information provided in this exercise, and that regarding the Soviet Union in "Borders: Physical Boundaries between Ideologies" what evidence is there that citizens are affected?
3. How did the location of these countries and their cities affect the respective foreign policies of the Soviet Union and the United States? To what extent is the location of a nation-state an important aspect of its political or economic decision making?

Alignment

In the interests of security, some countries aligned themselves with one superpower or the other. For example, Canada and Great Britain were aligned with the United States, although they did differ on some issues.

Figure 7-11 ▼

Compare these maps. What evidence do you see of expansionism and alignment?



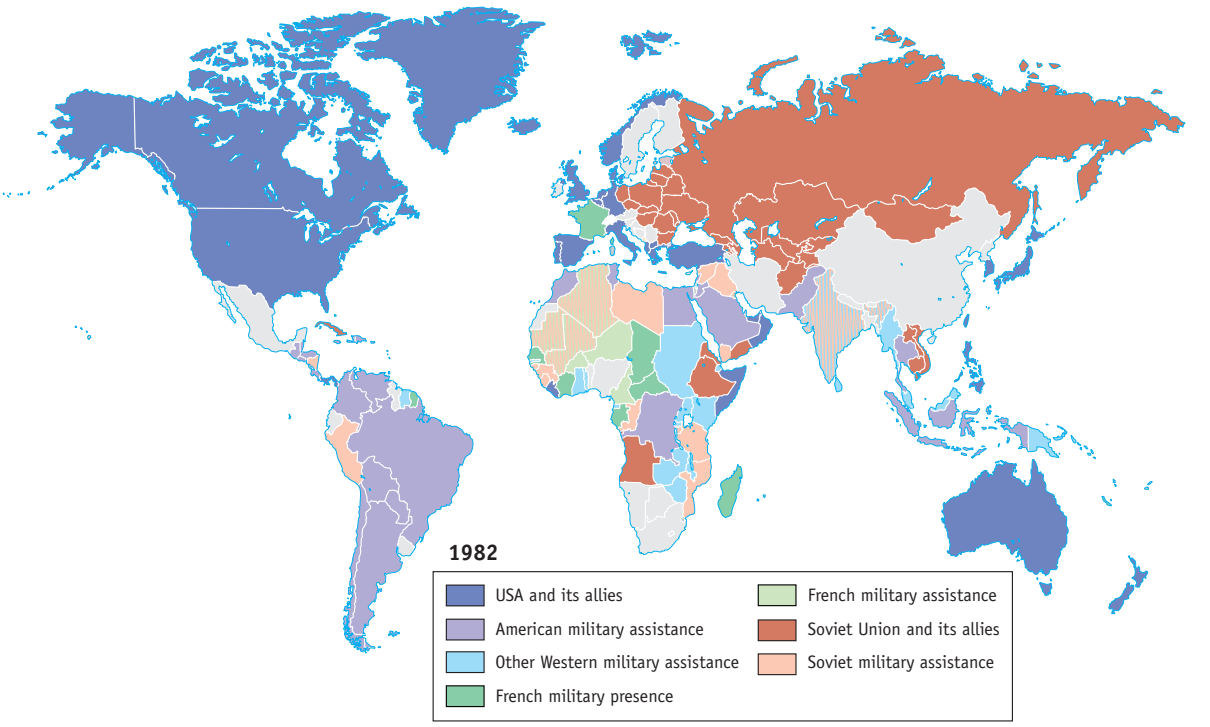


Figure 7-12 ▲

US president John F. Kennedy, Indonesian president Sukarno, and US vice-president Lyndon B. Johnson. Sukarno tried to protect Indonesia's economy from foreign businesses and to redistribute wealth, working as a nationalist but closely with communist party members. In 1965, the country's General Suharto began to seize power with the support of the US CIA. After Suharto's troops hunted down leftists on their shooting lists, the new Suharto government opened the country for substantial foreign investment.

In other cases, the superpowers influenced or forced countries to choose one ideological side or the other. For example, after the Second World War, the first major covert operation of the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was to influence the Italian election so that a communist-socialist coalition would not win. In countries such as Turkey and Greece, economic aid tipped the balance of support toward the United States. Postwar Czechoslovakia was interested in accepting Marshall Plan aid but the Soviet Union did not allow it to do so. The economic, political, and security benefits of **alignment** encouraged many to choose a side.

Non-Alignment and the Bandung Conference

Rather than following the ideologies of Soviet communism or American capitalism, some countries chose, or tried to choose, their own entirely different ideologies. As the Cold War continued into the 1950s, many countries that had had a long history of European imperialism wanted to step away from the superpower spheres of influence and determine their own futures. In a sense, the Bandung Conference, held in Java, Indonesia, in April 1955, was a direct result of the ideological conflict between the superpowers. At this conference, representatives from 29 African and Asian countries met to promote economic and cultural co-operation and oppose the colonial and imperialist intentions of the superpowers.

At the conference, India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru declared the following:

> *If we have to stand alone, we will stand by ourselves, whatever happens (and India has stood alone without any aid against a mighty Empire, the British Empire) and we propose to face all consequences…We do not agree with the communist teachings, we do not agree with the anti-communist teachings, because they are both based on wrong principles.*
>
> **—Jawaharlal Nehru, quoted in G.M. Kahin, *The Asian-African Conference* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1956), pp. 64–72.**

In a similar vein, Indonesian President Sukarno said the following:

> *All of us, I am certain, are united by more important things than those which superficially divide us. We are united, for instance, by a common detestation of colonialism in whatever form it appears. We are united by a common detestation of racialism. And we are united by a common determination to preserve and stabilize peace in the world…Make the "Live and let live" principle and the "Unity in Diversity" motto [be] the unifying force which brings us all together—to seek in friendly, uninhibited discussion, ways and means by which each of us can live his own life,*

and let others live their own lives, in their own way, in harmony, and in peace.

—Sukarno, quoted in *Africa-Asia Speaks from Bandung*, (Djakarta: Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1955), pp. 19–29. Modern History Sourcebook, Fordham University.
http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1955sukarno-bandong.html

Pause and Reflect

Based on the two speech excerpts, what were some of the beliefs and values explored and expressed at the conference? How might these be in conflict with those of the superpowers?

The Bandung Conference was the beginning of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), a movement that gained influence during the Cold War. From the Bandung Conference emerged the concept of the "Third World": countries that had gained independence from colonialism after the Second World War, which were in the process of industrializing and were committed to choosing their international involvements for themselves. (Note: It is no longer appropriate to refer to these countries as the "Third World." The accepted term is "developing world.") These countries wanted to follow a policy of **non-alignment** with the United States and its allies (the "First World") and the Soviet Union and its allies (the "Second World").

In 1961 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, leaders from Ghana, Egypt, India, Indonesia, and Yugoslavia officially began the NAM. Despite the NAM's aims for neutrality, Third World countries were pursued by the Soviet Union and the United States, who wanted to include as many countries under their ideological umbrellas as possible. Countries involved with the NAM sought unsuccessfully to use their membership in the United Nations to challenge the hegemony of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Deterrence

Deterrence is a method of cold war, rather than a method of hot war. It involves the building up of one's capacity to fight such that neither opponent will fight because of the expected outcomes. After the 1945 bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the development of nuclear weapons by the Soviets in 1949, the governments of the world knew that a hot war between the superpowers would mean a nuclear war, one that would kill not only the opponents but also the population of the entire planet. The term for this situation of an unwinnable, nuclear war is **mutually assured destruction (MAD)**. MAD deters each side from entering into direct conflict; hence the concept of "deterrence". Weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) have been key issues in more recent international conflicts, such as those between the United States and North Korea, the United States and Iraq, and the United States and Iran.

In this 1967 speech, Robert McNamara, the US Secretary of Defense, describes mutual deterrence:

…No sane citizen, political leader or nation wants thermonuclear war. But merely not wanting it is not enough. We must understand the differences among actions which increase its risks, those which reduce them and those which, while costly, have little influence one way or another…

One must begin with precise definitions. The cornerstone of our strategic policy continues to be to deter nuclear attack upon the United States or its allies. We do this by maintaining a highly reliable ability to inflict unacceptable damage upon any single aggressor or combination of aggressors at any time during the course of a strategic nuclear exchange, even after absorbing a surprise first strike. This can be defined as our assured-destruction capability.

It is important to understand that mutually assured destruction is the very essence of the whole deterrence concept. We must possess an actual assured-destruction capability, and that capability also must be credible. The point is that a potential aggressor must believe that our assured-destruction capability is in fact actual, and that our will to use it in retaliation to an attack is in fact unwavering. The conclusion, then, is clear: if the United States is to deter a nuclear attack in itself or its allies, it must possess an actual and a credible assured-destruction capability…

Now what about the Soviet Union? Does it today possess a powerful nuclear arsenal? The answer is that it does. Does it possess a first-strike capability against the United States? The answer is that it does not. Can the Soviet Union in the foreseeable future acquire such a first-strike capability against the United States? The answer is that it cannot. It cannot because we are determined to remain fully alert and we will never permit our own assured-destruction capability to drop to a point at which a Soviet first-strike capability is even remotely feasible.

Is the Soviet Union seriously attempting to acquire a first-strike capability against the United States? Although this is a question we cannot answer with absolute certainty, we believe the answer is no. In any event, the question itself is—in a sense—irrelevant: for the United States will maintain and, where necessary strengthen its retaliatory forces so that, whatever the Soviet Union's intentions or actions, we will continue to have an assured-destruction capability vis a vis their society.

—Robert McNamara, September 18, 1967, quoted in "Cold War," CNN Perspectives Series.
http://edition.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/12/documents/mcnamara.deterrence/

Canada in the Cold War

Because of Canada's historical ties to Great Britain, and its shared border with the United States, there was never any doubt as to Canada playing a role in the Cold War. In 1949, Canada was a founding member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a military alliance designed to defend member countries against attack from the Soviet Union and its allies. Canada also contributed military forces to the defence of South Korea from 1950 to 1953, helping to push back the invading communist forces of North Korea. It was instrumental in implementing a United Nations military force for the purposes of peacekeeping. In fact, peacekeeping was a Canadian idea, first proposed by Prime Minister Mackenzie King in 1945. The idea was not implemented, however, until 1956, during the Suez Crisis—a tense showdown over control of the Suez Canal, with Britain, France, and Israel facing off against Egypt (supported by the Soviet Union). Finally, Canada and the United States cooperated in building a united air defence system along Canada's northern shores. The North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD) consisted of the Distant Early Warning Line (the DEW Line), which would give an early warning to the United States of incoming missiles from the Soviet Union. Missile bases and nuclear-armed missiles were also part of the plan, but this has always been a matter of some tension in Canada.

France's Dissuasion *Policy*

Prior to the Second World War, France was one of the world's leaders in nuclear technology research, influenced first by the breakthrough research of Pierre and Marie Curie and later by the research of their daughter and son-in-law, Irène Joliot-Curie and Frédéric Joliot-Curie, who won the 1935 Nobel Prize for Chemistry.

After the Second World War, France began developing nuclear weapons independently of the United States and Britain, which it used as a deterrent to any countries who might consider mounting an attack on French soil. This policy was called ***dissuasion***, the French word for *deterrence*. It differed, however, from the Cold War deterrence policy of the United States and the Soviet Union; France was not developing weapons based on the intimidation of a specific adversary—the policy was designed as a defence from the possibility of attack by any other country.

During the late 1940s, France was excluded from many of the nuclear activities of the United States, Britain, and Canada, due in part to the fact that its High Commissioner for Atomic Energy, Frédéric Joliot-Curie, was an outspoken communist. In addition, France sought to exercise some degree of sovereignty from what it saw as a US-dominated North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Indeed, France withdrew its military participation from NATO in 1966.

Pause and Reflect

Why do you think France thought it was necessary to develop nuclear weapons as part of its foreign policy?

During the early 1950s, deposits of uranium were discovered in France, providing the country with large quantities of the essential material needed for nuclear weapons and thus allowing France to develop and expand its nuclear program. Through the 1960s and into the 1990s, France conducted numerous nuclear tests. In the 1990s, nuclear arms were still a key component of France's national defence strategy. The French White Paper on National Defence and Security of 1994 says the following:

> *Nuclear deterrence remains an essential concept of national security. It is the ultimate guarantee of the security and independence of France. The sole purpose of the nuclear deterrent is to prevent any State-originating aggression against the vital interests of the nation wherever it may come from and in whatever shape or form.*
>
> **—Source: Présidence de la République, French White Paper on Defense and National Security (Paris, 2008), p. 2, quoted in US Departments of Energy and Defense, *National Security and Nuclear Weapons in the 21st Century*, September 2008, p. 9.**
> http://www.defenselink.mil/news/nuclearweaponspolicy.pdf

In the 2000s, France refocused its policy to concentrate on using the threat of nuclear strikes to deter terrorist attacks.

Brinkmanship

Expansionism, containment, and deterrence all came to a head in the Cuban Missile Crisis—a classic example of brinkmanship. **Brinkmanship** is the attempt to push a dangerous situation as far as possible without conceding anything to your opponent.

Fulgencio Batista, who had strong ties to Mafia groups in the United States, was a US-supported dictator who had taken control of the Cuban government by staging a military coup. Batista was a corrupt, pro-capitalist military ruler whose goal was to turn Cuba into the "Latin Las Vegas"—a playground for the wealthy. The Cuban poor, however, had long been ignored and social unrest grew during Batista's regime. From late 1956 to 1959, Cuban lawyer and nationalist Fidel Castro led a socialist revolution, eventually resulting in the overthrow of Batista's government. To address Cuba's long history of wealthy agricultural landowners and poor, often mistreated workers, Castro signed the First Agrarian Reform soon after gaining power. This reform broke up large landholdings, restricted foreign land ownership, and redistributed land to those who worked it, co-operatives, and the state.

The United States grew wary of Castro's socialist ideas and developing relationship with the Soviet Union, and when Cuba agreed to buy oil from the Soviets, American refineries in Cuba refused to process it. In response, Castro expropriated the American refineries,

and diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba were soon broken. In 1960, President Dwight Eisenhower reduced the quota of sugar imported from Cuba by the United States. Cuba responded by nationalizing $850 million worth of American-owned land and businesses. Although the Cuban government offered compensation for the property taken, the American businesses rejected its offer.

In the years after the revolution, the United States received over one million Cuban exiles and encouraged and orchestrated an attempt by a group of these exiles to re-take the island during the disastrous Bay of Pigs Invasion. The Bay of Pigs Invasion was an attack on Cuban soil perpetrated by Cuban exiles trained and supported by the US military. On April 17, 1961, 1511 members of the Cuban Expeditionary Force landed on the southern coast of Cuba, followed by 177 paratroopers. The fighting, which included air strikes, lasted two days before the invaders were forced to retreat. The invasion failed due in part to poor planning, inadequate support from the US military, and the false assumption that rebels in Cuba would be motivated by the attack to rise against Castro. The failed invasion served to increase the popularity of Castro, to generate greater suspicion and mistrust of the United States, and to solidify Cuba's military, political, and economic relationships with the Soviet Union.

The American government became unwilling to trade with Cuba under Castro and, in 1962, imposed an economic, commercial, and financial embargo. In contrast, the Soviets offered Cuba large amounts of financial aid, developed a strong trade relationship, and helped it modernize and strengthen its military. American president John F. Kennedy, aware that Soviet-supported missile bases were being built in Cuba, and that ships carrying missiles that could be armed with atomic warheads were heading across the Atlantic to Cuba, ordered a naval blockade of Cuba. The world watched as the two superpowers came closer and closer to the brink of war. The threat of nuclear war escalated until a diplomatic breakthrough on October 27, 1962. Kennedy agreed not to invade Cuba and to withdraw American missiles from Turkey. In exchange, the Soviet Union would remove its missiles from Cuba. After Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev ordered his ships to turn around, US Secretary of State Dean Rusk said, "We were eyeball to eyeball, and the other fellow just blinked." (Source: Dean Rusk, quoted in Stewart Alsop and Charles Bartlett, "In Time of Crisis," *Saturday Evening Post* [December 8, 1962].) Ironically, the Cuban Missile Crisis led to a period of relatively peaceful relations between the Soviets and the Americans, as both superpowers realized how close they had come to mutually assured destruction.

Pause and Reflect

As you look at the map below, consider why was Cuba perceived as a threat by the United States. Use the Skill Path to think like a geographer about the Cuban Missile Crisis and the positions (geographic and ideological) of Cuba, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

Figure 7-13 ▲

This map was created by the CIA to show the range of missiles being installed in Cuba in 1962.

Figure 7-14 ▶

In September 1959, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev visited the United States at the invitation of President Dwight Eisenhower, marking the first time a Soviet leader had set foot on US soil. Seen here (L to R) are US vice-president Richard Nixon and president Dwight Eisenhower, and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev.

Figure 7-15 ▼

This timeline highlights some events from the Cold War. Which of these events would lead to increased or decreased tensions? Rank these events in the order of which most lead to an increase or decrease in tensions during this time period.

Détente and Treaties

Because the Cuban Missile Crisis brought the two superpowers to the brink of war, some steps were taken to reduce the tension between the two countries. The cost of the escalating tensions was too great, and the reasons to ease tensions were compelling:

- The Soviet Union was spending billions on the arms race, and the Soviet leadership felt that this was unsustainable.

1963
Hotline
A telephone hotline between the White House and the Kremlin was created to be used in times of emergency. The hotline connected the American president directly to the Soviet premier.

1963
Partial Test Ban Treaty
Signed first by the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union, this treaty banned the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, on land, under water, and in outer space. Testing was limited to the underground due to environmental concerns about the effects of the release of nuclear fallout into the atmosphere. These limitations on testing served to slow down the arms race.

1969
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)
These talks took place from November to May between the United States and the Soviet Union and resulted in a 1972 agreement to limit the number of missiles acquired, armed, and aimed by the two countries.

1979
Soviet War in Afghanistan Begins
This event resulted in the US government refusing to ratify terms agreed to during the second round of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II), and in many liberal democracies of the West boycotting the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympic Games.

1960 — 1970 — 1980

1968
Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
This treaty was first proposed by Ireland and ultimately was signed by 189 countries. It covers three key topics:
(1) non-proliferation (a stop to the production, trade, and acquisition of new nuclear weapons),
(2) moving toward disarmament (reducing the number of weapons already acquired), and
(3) the right to peacefully use nuclear technology (for example, nuclear power).

1975
Helsinki Accords
The Helsinki Accords declaration was signed by 35 countries, including the United States and the Soviet Union. It covered topics such as the following:
- respect for the sovereignty of other countries
- refraining from the threat or use of force
- the territorial integrity of states
- the peaceful settlement of disputes
- non-intervention in internal affairs of other countries
- respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms
- equal rights and the right to self-determination

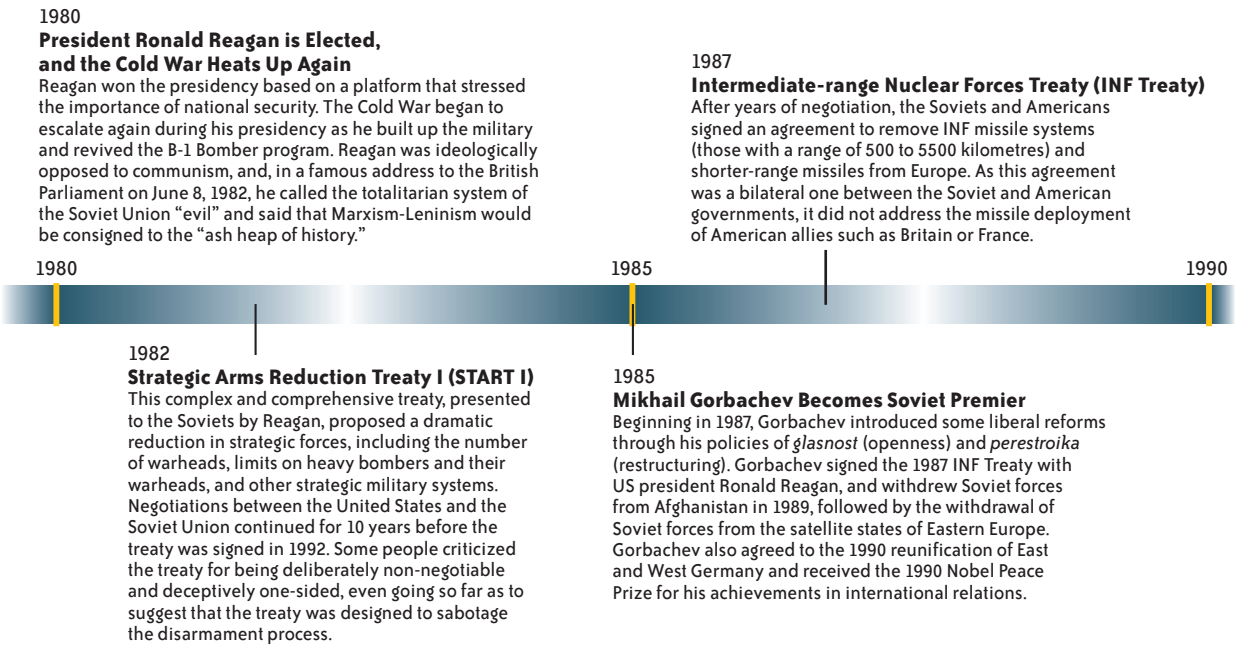
The Soviets were pleased to have their territorial boundaries recognized and respected, and other countries were happy to see the Soviets promise to attend to the human rights issues apparent in communist-bloc countries. The signing of this declaration helped to highlight the values and beliefs that were similar between the ideologies of communist and liberal democratic countries.

Better relations with the United States might open up more trade with Western Europe.

- The American government wanted to spend more money on social programs, and the Vietnam War, in which the United States backed South Vietnam against the Soviet-supported North Vietnam, was becoming a severe strain on the American economy.

The period of reduced tensions, from the mid-1960s to 1979 (when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan), was called **détente**. During that time, leaders of the superpowers met at various summits, signed many treaties, and took other measures to reduce tensions. Some of the key diplomatic events of the period of détente are described in the timeline below.

The détente between the United States and the Soviet Union showed how countries with different ideologies can work toward settling their differences through diplomacy. The détente lasted only about 15 years, but the efforts to co-operate rather than compete offered a hopeful example for the future of international relations. During the Reagan years, the Cold War was reignited and billions of dollars were spent on military operations around the world. At this time the efforts of the two superpowers to agree to terms of disarmament were awkward and slow, and were encouraged mostly by the huge economic cost of continuing the Cold War.



Proxy Wars and Liberation Movements

The United States and the Soviet Union never did descend into a direct hot war but they did have what are called proxy wars. **Proxy wars** are conflicts in which one superpower might fight in another country or provide support to a group which opposes the rival superpower. Aligned countries and countries that remained non-aligned, or unstable countries, for example, in the post–Second World War recovery years, provided opportunities for the superpowers to advance their interests in regions around the world. Each superpower was willing to provide economic or military support to a side that was sympathetic to its ideology.

Liberation movements occur when a country rebels against the country that colonized it or otherwise oppressed it. The group at the centre of a liberation movement fights, militarily and politically, against its perceived oppressor and campaigns for its country's independence, often with a goal of becoming its own sovereign state. Many liberation movements occurred in Latin America, Central America, Africa, and the Middle East from the 1950s through the 1980s. These movements were often funded and supported by one superpower or the other.

Korea and Vietnam

Korea in 1945 and Vietnam in 1954 were both in similar situations: by agreement among world powers, they were each divided into two zones and free elections were to take place. However, the timely elections that were to reunite these countries did not take place as expected. In both cases, the countries became ideological battlegrounds for hot wars between the United States and the Soviet Union. Both Korea and Vietnam sustained high numbers of civilian and military casualties during these hot wars, as well as long-term political and economic setbacks.

Chile

Salvador Allende served as a politician in Chile for almost 40 years and was elected president on a socialist platform in 1970, much to the dismay of the United States. The CIA had interfered substantially in the Chilean elections of 1964, preventing the socialist leader from winning in favour of a pro-Christian democratic candidate. During Allende's presidency, Chile nationalized many industries, started health care reform, renewed diplomatic relations with communist Cuba and the Soviet government, and started to redistribute land wealth. Shortly after Allende came to power, President Nixon authorized millions of dollars in funding for the CIA to create political instability in Chile and ultimately unseat Allende. On September 11, 1973, Allende died

during a military coup led by General Augusto Pinochet, who ruled the country as a dictator, implementing free market capitalist economic policies, until 1990. The American government claims it had no direct involvement in the coup; however, it admits to being involved in creating the conditions that led to it.

Afghanistan

The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 to support a pro-Soviet regime, and thus gain a friendly neighbour. In response, the CIA equipped Afghan resistance fighters with rifles from the First World War and other arms in a covert operation that would cost the United States about $5 million a year. Later, Texas congressman Charlie Wilson and CIA agent Gust Avrokotos became convinced that enough money and planning could actually defeat the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Over time, the operation's annual budget rose to $750 million. When the Soviet soldiers retreated from Afghanistan in 1989, they left behind their allies, the Afghan Army, to fight a strong, well-armed insurgent force (the Mujahedeen), including some commanders who later supported the Taliban regime, Osama bin Laden, and al Qaeda.

The Iran-Contra Affair

During the 1980s, America under President Ronald Reagan was determined to eliminate any socialist (or communist) influence in South and Central America. The United States saw the Americas as being in its sphere of influence. No enemy state could therefore be tolerated within this sphere. Nicaragua's government was considered communist by the Reagan administration, so various US government security agencies funnelled weapons and money to a group of Nicaraguan rebels called the Contras. Congress, however, in 1983, passed legislation making it illegal for the CIA or any other government agency to provide military aid to the Contras. The Reagan administration got around these restrictions by using an agency not named in the legislation, the National Security Council. The NSC secretly obtained funds by selling weapons to moderates in the Iranian government who, it was hoped, would help to get American hostages held in Lebanon released. These dealings with Iran were also illegal. Nevertheless, Oliver North, an operative of the NSC, oversaw the sale of weapons to Iran, the proceeds of which were then funnelled to the Contras in Nicaragua. This new plan was implemented with the approval of NSA Admiral John Poindexter, allegedly without the consent or knowledge of the president.

When news of the American-Iranian-Contra arrangement was made public in an article in a Lebanese magazine, Reagan and other members

Pause and Reflect

What would have been the ideological motivations behind Oliver North's plan?

of the American government were confronted and an international scandal ensued. Poindexter resigned, and North was fired. A commission was formed to investigate, and several of the participants were found guilty of charges such as conspiracy and obstruction of justice; however, all convictions were overturned or later pardoned by President George H.W. Bush.

Explore the Issues

Concept Review

1. a) Identify and describe five policies of Cold War strategy.
   b) For each policy, provide an example of its implementation.
   c) Identify three countries in which proxy wars were waged by the superpowers.

Concept Application

2. In a group, choose and research a key event in American–Soviet relations during the Cold War. Use a variety of sources, and consider multiple perspectives when answering the following questions:
   a) What were the key issues faced by the two superpowers that led to the event?
   b) How important is this event regarding the extent to which it increased or decreased tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union?
   c) What were the choices available to the superpowers during the course of the event?
   d) What were the decisions made during the course of the event?
   e) What were the reasons for the decisions made during the event?
   f) What were the consequences of the event? What does this event reveal about how ideological conflict affected international relations after the Second World War?

3. During tensions in postwar Berlin, Vyacheslav M. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, noted, "What happens to Berlin, happens to Germany; what happens to Germany, happens to Europe." (Source: Vyacheslav M. Molotov, quoted in D.M. Giangreco and Robert E. Griffin, "Eye of the Storm," *Airbridge to Berlin: The Berlin Crisis of 1948, Its Origins and Aftermath.* Harry S. Truman Library & Museum, http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/BERLIN_A/PAGE_1.HTM.)

   To what extent do you agree with Molotov's comments?

Global, Social, and Personal Implications of International Conflict

Question for Inquiry

- **In what ways did this conflict of ideologies affect societies and people's everyday lives?**

Stalin had predicted that all countries would align with either the Soviet state or the American state. Truman believed that every country would need to choose between two alternative ways of life. The ideological, political, and military conflicts of the Cold War had a tremendous impact, not only on governments around the world but also on the beliefs and values of society and on individuals' daily lives.

Ideological conflict played out in political and personal lives. For example, East Germany's Stasi police had 90 000 agents and over 173 000 registered informers. East German citizen Vera Wollenberger joined the peace movement in 1981; due to Stasi harassment, she lost her teaching job and was jailed. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, she was elected as a member of the German Parliament in 1990. She voted in favour of a law giving citizens the right to look at their Stasi files and, on reading her own file, discovered that her husband had been the main informer against her.

Between 1993 and 2008, 1.7 million people requested to see their Stasi files, and the German government is spending millions restoring documents that have been torn to pieces. The German word used to describe the viewing of one's Stasi file is *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, meaning coming to terms with the past.

Cold War Hysteria

Throughout the Cold War, people around the world experienced the psychological effects of the tensions between the superpowers. Fueled by government-produced propaganda, misinformation, and the threat of a Third World War, mania and paranoia grew among civilians during the late 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, especially among those living in the United States. For the Soviet people, although equally susceptible to government propaganda, this hysteria was less pronounced due to their recent and historical experiences with war on the home front: they understood what it meant to be attacked or invaded by enemy forces. Americans, however, were facing an unknown. What would happen if they were attacked? How would they deal with an invasion?

In particular, people around the world were afraid of nuclear war, which could produce devastation on a global scale. A preview of this

Figure 7-16 ▲

During the Cold War, especially in the United States, schoolchildren were taught to "duck and cover" in case of a nuclear attack, as in this photo taken around 1955. Some families built fallout shelters in their backyards, and governments built underground bunkers and researched alternative communication systems.

devastation was seen after the atomic bombing of Japan during the Second World War. When the Soviets acquired the atomic bomb shortly after the war and their relationship with the American government deteriorated, Americans grew increasingly worried.

Fallout shelters were built around the world and extensively in the United States. These shelters were meant to protect people from exposure to radiation from a nuclear blast. Fear of a Soviet attack was not limited to the American public. In the 1960s, a large fallout bunker was built just outside of Ottawa to protect Canadian political leaders in the case of an attack. The Diefenbunker, named after Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, is now a Canadian Cold War museum.

The notion of civil defence as a means of patriotism was issued from the top. "Civil defence can serve a deterrent purpose by demonstrating to a potential aggressor that Canada is determined to survive even a nuclear war and carry on as an organized society and united nation in the face of the utmost perils and hardships," said Diefenbaker in 1959. (Source: John Diefenbaker, address to the House of Commons, 1959, shown in *CBC Newsmagazine*, "Calgary Evacuates: Operation Lifesaver," October 9, 1959.)

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Examples of the impact of the American-Soviet ideological conflict span the world. How is this impact depicted in Patria Rivera's poem?

Cold War, 1957

Manila, Philippines by Patria Rivera

Before we knew how to spell "desk,"
Teacher taught us to duck under one.
Better yet, at the sound of three bell rings,
to line up and down the staircase,
out onto the schoolyard
*to hug the ground under the banaba trees.**
We waited for the H-bomb,
the egg from the sky,
the parachutes
from mainland China.
We waited for the invasion,
Red soldiers in their
full regalia.

As we lay there on the grassy mound,
red ants crept up our shins,
leaving prickly bites.
After so many drills
we came to love the smell of moist earth
and freshly cut grass
on our sweaty shirts.
Sometimes,
we turned over and watched
a congregation of butterflies
sob into the branches,
then spring free from the banaba trees.

(*Note: Banaba trees are indigenous tree to the Philippines. Their leaves are used to make a tea.)

Patria Rivera, "Cold War 1957 Manila Philippines" in *Puti/White* (Calgary: Frontenac House, 2005).

The Threat of Nuclear War

One consequence of the American-Soviet struggle was the threat of nuclear war. The following quotations illustrate a variety of perspectives from American, Canadian, French, Japanese, and Russian sources regarding this threat.

A full scale nuclear exchange, lasting less than 60 minutes …. could wipe out more than 300 million Americans, Europeans, and Russians, as well as untold numbers elsewhere. And the survivors—as Chairman Khrushchev warned the Communist Chinese, "the survivors would envy the dead." For they would inherit a world so devastated by explosions and poison and fire that today we cannot conceive of its horrors.

—John F. Kennedy, speech at the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, July 26, 1963. John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum.
http://www.jfklibrary.org/Historical+Resources/Archives/Reference+Desk/Speeches/JFK/Nuclear+Test+Ban+Treaty+Speech.htm

Political leaders will decide whether or not a nuclear war actually takes place, yet politicians act as if peace is too complicated for them.

—Pierre Elliott Trudeau (former Canadian prime minister), 1984 Albert Einstein Peace Prize acceptance speech. CBC Digital Archives.
http://archives.cbc.ca/war_conflict/peacekeeping/clips/659-3734/

The Americans and the Russians could destroy the earth 1000 times over. [France] could only do it once—but that is enough.

—Pierre Lacoste (French military strategy advisor, 1966–1972), quoted in "France's Nuclear Weapons Program." Atomic Forum.
http://atomicforum.org/france/france.html

No country without an atom bomb could properly consider itself independent.

—Charles De Gaulle (French president), 1968, quoted in "France's Nuclear Weapons Program." Atomic Forum.
http://atomicforum.org/france/france.html

Humankind continues to face the threat of nuclear annihilation. Today's hesitation leads to tomorrow's destruction…The fates of all of us are bound together here on earth. There can be no survival for any without peaceful coexistence for all.

—Takeshi Araki (mayor of Hiroshima), "Peace Declaration," August 6, 1985. City of Hiroshima, 2001.
http://www.city.hiroshima.jp/shimin/heiwa/pd1985e.html

Pause and Reflect

Preceding the election of 1964, American president Lyndon B. Johnson's campaign included one of the most controversial television commercials ever made. In the spot, a young girl counts the petals of a daisy as she plucks them. A military countdown takes over and the scene changes to footage of a nuclear explosion. Johnson can then be heard saying, "These are the stakes—to make a world in which all of God's children can live or to go into the dark. We must either love each other, or we must die." (Source: "Peace, Little Girl," first aired September 7, 1964. Conelrad, http://www.conelrad.com/daisy/video.php.) Why might this advertisement be seen as controversial?

In so far as the fear of nuclear war's concerned, I think that probably Russians were less afraid of it than Americans. Maybe it had to do with the fact that Russians knew what war actually was, they'd gone through hell in 1941, '45. Second, there was never the kind of emphasis put on a nuclear attack as imminent. Children in this country were not taught to hide under desks for so-called nuclear drills. There was not this hysteria. There was a very strong feeling that we should never allow war to happen again. We know what war is, we're all against war, our government is against war. We are for disarmament, we will do everything, so that there not be a war. But there never was hysteria, as differing from the United States, and that's a very interesting difference.

—Vladimir Pozner (Russian television commentator), interview for background material for *Red Files*, "Soviet Propaganda Machine," Abamedia and PBS, first broadcast in September 1999. Red Files, 1999.
http://www.pbs.org/redfiles/prop/deep/prop_deep_inter_frm.htm

1 Taken together, what do these quotations reveal about how the threat of nuclear war was perceived by people around the world? What effects might this perception have on people's beliefs and values?

Espionage

Espionage was a key tool of the Cold War and helped both superpowers in their policies of expansionism and containment. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, for example, espionage was used to strengthen the American position when a spy plane photograph alerted the Americans to the Soviet missiles being installed on Cuban soil. When espionage was discovered and made public, it served to fuel feelings of paranoia and mistrust; however, according to Oleg Kalugin, a retired KGB (Soviet Intelligence) major general, "Intelligence played a tremendous role in keeping the world from the brink, from turning the Cold War into a hot war." (Source: Oleg Kalugin, quoted in CNN Interactive, "Inside the KGB: An interview with retired KGB Maj. Gen. Oleg Kalugin," http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/experience/spies/interviews/kalugin/).

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg

In 1951, Jewish-Americans Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were tried and convicted of espionage against the American government for delivering secret information to the Soviets about American military weaponry, possibly including the atomic bomb. As an electrical engineer working for the Army Signal Corps, Julius Rosenberg had access to technical information and to people working on military projects. Active communist sympathizers, the Rosenbergs were recruited to work for the KGB and allegedly recruited other spies, including Ethel's brother, David Greenglass. Despite the protests of many American citizens and public figures from around the world, including Pope Pius XII, the

Pause and Reflect

"We are the first victims of American fascism."
—Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in a letter released by their attorney on the day they were electrocuted for espionage

"Fascism is not defined by the number of its victims but by its way of killing them."
—Jean-Paul Sartre (French philosopher and author), quoted from "Mad Beasts," *Selected Prose: The Writings of Jean-Paul Sartre* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1974), 207-11:
http://snjr.net/snjr/sartre.htm

What role do you think ideology played in the execution of the Rosenbergs?

Figure 7-17

In 1946, Soviet schoolchildren presented a carved wooden version of the Great Seal of the United States to the US Ambassador to the USSR, which he then hung in his Moscow study. Six years later, it was discovered that a listening device had been planted in the gift. In the above photo, US Ambassador to the United Nations Henry Cabot Lodge complained to the UN Security Council in 1960 about the incident.

In 1945, Canada experienced its own espionage scandal when Igor Gouzenko, a cipher clerk from the Soviet embassy in Canada, stole documents that revealed a spy ring operating in Canada and presented them to the media.

couple became the first American citizens executed for espionage in the United States. Their highly publicized trial and execution served to fuel investigations into "anti-American" activities by American citizens, including those led by Senator Joseph McCarthy, which are discussed later in this chapter.

1960 U-2 Incident

In the late 1950s, with the permission of the Pakistani government, the American government set up an intelligence installation in Pakistan from which surveillance missions were flown over Soviet territory. On May 1, 1960, an American U-2 spy plane flew over the Soviet Union, taking photographs and measuring the output of uranium-producing plants. The Soviets, however, were aware of the American surveillance, and when the spy plane was spotted, they ordered it to be shot down. His plane severely damaged, American pilot Gary Powers bailed out, parachuted to safety, and was captured. Initially, the American government reported that a weather research aircraft had gone off course and was missing. When the Soviet government reported several days later that an American spy had been captured, and his plane was recovered virtually intact, the Americans were publicly caught in a lie. The East-West summit scheduled for that month was cancelled, leaving American and Soviet relations worse than ever.

The Post–Second World War Red Scare and McCarthyism

Due in part to the devastating effects of the Great Depression of the 1930s, many Americans were drawn to communism as a political and economic ideology, especially those in academic and labour fields.

Figure 7-18 ▲

This 1947 comic book portrays the purported threat of communism to America during the Cold War. What does it reveal about American ideology and feelings toward Soviet ideology at that time?

During and after the Second World War, however, American society experienced a **red scare**, during which an intense fear of communism overcame the majority of the American population, influencing everything from movies and television to national security. This fear was fueled by such things as Soviet espionage and infiltration, the rise of communism in China, the acquisition of the atomic bomb by the Soviet Union, and the development of the Soviet iron curtain that divided Europe.

With the red scare came a strong backlash toward American communists and anyone perceived as being sympathetic toward communism or the Soviets. A movement against all things communist was led by an ex-marine and Republican senator from Wisconsin named Joseph McCarthy. In 1950, McCarthy charged that a number of communist supporters were among those working for the State Department. McCarthy's accusations prompted a hearing to investigate the matter, which ultimately reported that McCarthy's charges were unfounded. Regardless, McCarthy continued to assert that communism had infiltrated the Democratic government and used his accusations to support Republican candidates during the 1950 senate election. McCarthy gained a strong following among many anti-communist Americans and, as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Government Operations, he continued to accuse government officials and military leaders of being pro-communist.

On December 2, 1954, the Senate voted to formally reprimand McCarthy due to his zealous and often unfounded accusations. He died three years later, yet the term **McCarthyism** continued to be used to describe the movement to uncover and persecute those with perceived ties to communism, a movement that divided Americans along ideological and political lines. In 2003, when the records of the 1953 Subcommittee on Government Operations led by McCarthy were made public, senators Susan Collins and Carl Levin wrote the following in the preface to the documents:

> *Senator McCarthy's zeal to uncover subversion and espionage led to disturbing excesses. His browbeating tactics destroyed careers of people who were not involved in the infiltration of our government. His freewheeling style caused both the Senate and the Subcommittee to revise the rules governing future investigations, and prompted the courts to act to protect the Constitutional rights of witnesses at Congressional hearings.*
>
> **—Source: Susan Collins and Carl Levin, "Preface," Executive Sessions of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, 2003, p. xi. United States Senate.**
> http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/Volume1.pdf

One of Senator McCarthy's most vocal critics at the time was journalist Edward R. Murrow, who said the following during a 30-minute television news report:

> *We will not walk in fear, one of another. We will not be driven by fear into an age of unreason if we dig deep in our history and doctrine and remember that we are not descended from fearful men, not from men who feared to write, to speak, to associate and to defend causes which were, for the moment, unpopular. We can deny our heritage and our history, but we cannot escape responsibility for the result. There is no way for a citizen of the Republic to abdicate his responsibility.*
>
> **—Edward R. Murrow, *See It Now*, "A Report on Senator Joseph McCarthy," CBS, March 9, 1954.**

Pause and Reflect

What effects might McCarthyism have had on liberalism in the United States?

House Un-American Activities Committee

During the Second World War, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was formed by the US House of Representatives. HUAC delved into suspected threats of subversion or propaganda that attacked "the form of government guaranteed by our Constitution." (Source: HUAC, quoted in "McCarthyism during the Cold War." The War Within, University of California, Irvine Libraries, http://www.lib.uci.edu/libraries/exhibits/warwithin/index.php?page=section_2, 2008.) In 1947, the committee held hearings to investigate communist subversion in Hollywood and the American film industry, after which they "blacklisted" many people who were uncooperative or unwilling to testify. Those blacklisted could no longer work in the entertainment industry; over 300 actors, directors, film screenwriters, and radio scriptwriters were boycotted by the studios. The "Hollywood Ten" famously refused to answer some questions posed by HUAC (citing their First Amendment right to freedom of speech and assembly), and members were found guilty of contempt. Industry members were asked if they were members of the American communist party or sympathetic to it, and furthermore, they were asked to name others who were or might be—including co-workers, friends, and, in one case, even a spouse. Those who were blacklisted had few options: find work in other countries or in theatre, write under pseudonyms or the names of willing friends, or leave the business all together.

Pause and Reflect

The Internet has its roots in the Cold War. The United States wanted a communication system that could withstand a nuclear attack. ARPANET (Advanced Research Projects Agency Network), created in 1969, enabled packets of information to travel within a decentralized communications network. What other legacies of ideological conflict and the Cold War do you know of?

INVESTIGATION

Cold War Legacies

Something to Think About: Long after economic or military aid ended in regions affected by the Cold War, armaments, military expertise, personal loss, and conflict continued to influence policy and lives.

An Example: The legacy of the Cold War in African countries is described in the following article from Enough Sishi, a researcher at the South African Institute for Security Studies and a contributing writer to *Peace Magazine*.

Read the article and research one country or region mentioned in Sishi's article. Use the Skill Path on pages 248–249 to think like a geographer and respond to the Questions for Reflection on page 269. Assess to what extent the legacy of conflicting ideologies has impacted geopolitical realities in post–Cold War Africa.

Southern Africa is awash with small and light weapons. Most of these weapons are the material legacy of the Cold War. During 1970s, '80s and '90s the superpowers pumped massive amounts of guns and ammunition into this region. Many of these now are controlled by bandits in Mozambique or unemployed demobilized soldiers and black market syndicates in Angola.

These weapons were issued as government grants during the Cold War. The Soviets supported Marxist movements and regimes, while the U.S. supplied pro-capitalists with weapons. The intelligence organizations of the superpowers [KGB and CIA] facilitated this.

Angola

Since Angola got independence in 1975 from Portugal a bloody civil war has dragged on. Throughout this conflict the U.S. pumped millions worth of weapons to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and its military component, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) through its military assistance program. U.S. military aid increased from $15 million in 1986 to $300 million in 1992, the year aid was suspended. China was another military supplier of the FNLA. South Africa's capability of supplying weapons to UNITA was boosted by its internal industry, pumping more than $80 million of military aid to UNITA throughout the war until the early '90s.

Russia is said to have supplied most of the military aid through KGB routes to Angola's Marxist-aligned government, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Available figures state about $2 billion of weapons annually was received from the Soviets, while Cuba supplied $200 million of Soviet arms.

Open military government grants were complemented by covert deliveries, for which statistics were never opened to public scrutiny. It is known that

between 1975–76 the CIA secretly supplied anti-Communist insurgents in Angola with mortars, anti-tank rockets, rifles, ammunition and communication equipment. On top of this supply the MPLA and UNITA spent huge amounts on other weapons, with MPLA running a debt of $4 billion.

Mozambique

The superpowers waged the Cold War through proxies, and one such conflict was the Mozambican civil war that broke out in 1975. The Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) controlled the government and received military support from [the] USSR, while the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) rallied support from anti-communist states. Throughout the 16-year war the FRELIMO government supplied an estimated 1.5 million assault rifles to civilians who supported their cause.

The war ended in 1992, followed by United Nations-sponsored demobilization and disarmament. Unfortunately, the United Nations operation did not destroy the weapons after demobilization. These arsenals were open to corruption and mismanagement after the U.N. had left and some 6 million AK47s are still at large. Up until 1998 South African and Mozambique police continued to recover abandoned arms caches on the borders and inside Mozambique…

The Black Market

The end of the Cold War has dramatically reduced military support in the region, but the weapons themselves have remained and have led to the growth of the black market. In Mozambique, for instance, stockpiles of weapons that were seized during the U.N. disarmament were never destroyed. When the U.N. mission left, corrupt officials sold these arsenals.

In Angola, despite the U.N. instituted arms embargo, UNITA has been able to acquire weapons, allowing the international arms dealers to cash in. Angolans themselves, who are poor and hungry because of decades of war, have been accused by Zambians of illegally crossing the border to Zambia and exchanging their weapons for food. An alliance has emerged between criminal organizations, insurgent groups and ex-soldiers who still retain their weapons of war and who are allegedly engaged in multi-million rand robberies in South Africa. These groups sell guns to each other and exchange other favors. In most Southern African countries wars have brought the economy to its knees. The demobilized soldiers lack job opportunities, so weapons have become their only means of survival. Non-state actors, including criminals, engaging in acts of violence without access to legal arms, create a big demand for light weapons…

—Source: Enough Sishi, "Small Arms in South Africa,"
***Peace Magazine* March–April 1998, p. 16.**
http://archive.peacemagazine.org/v14n2p16.htm

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

Using the maps found in Figure 7-11 on page 249, and a current map of Africa from your research, locate the countries mentioned in the article to answer the following questions.

1. Compare the maps from 1959 to 1982. What factors might account for these changing alliances between Angola and Mozambique?
2. In what ways were liberation movements in these African countries impacted by ideological conflicts the Cold War? How and why did the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, and the United States support different liberation movements in Angola and in Mozambique? What were their key motives for supporting these liberation movements?
3. Research these countries in Africa today. To what extent does liberalism impact the political ideology of their current governments?

Explore the Issues

Concept Review

1. Identify five examples of the effects of the Cold War conflict on the everyday lives of citizens in the United States, the Soviet Union, and other countries during the time period of the Cold War.

Concept Application

2. How do differences in ideologies affect citizens' everyday lives, and how can a society deal with such differences? What happens when ideological differences cause conflicts between countries? Using the Skill Path, examine Yugoslavia in 1946–1947, Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and another movement for independence during the Cold War. Use a table such as the one below to present your findings.

3. During the Cold War, for example at the time of McCarthyism, some principles of liberalism were abandoned by the United States. This had a profound effect on the lives of many American citizens and left a lasting impression on American society. Create a cause-and-effect chart that shows how the United States came to lose touch locally with the fundamental principles it was trying to defend globally. Discuss the following question in groups: *Do you think that liberal principles have been abandoned in other situations where American democracy has come under stress?* Summarize and present your position to the rest of the class.

Country	Ideological Conflict	Result	Reason for the Result
Yugoslavia (1946–1947)			
Hungary (1956)			
Czechoslovakia (1968)			
Other: _____			

Reflect and Analyze

In this chapter we have been exploring responses to the question: ***To what extent does ideological conflict shape our world?*** You explored how ideological differences, for example those between the United States and the Soviet Union, can cause conflict on a global scale, affecting the lives of people around the world. You have seen how American values such as personal freedom and the importance of the individual were at odds with Soviet values such as egalitarianism and the importance of the working class, causing tensions wherever these two powers met. This conflict led each side to expand its sphere of influence and territory (expansionism) and to attempt to contain the expansion efforts of the other (containment). During the 1950s, the atomic bomb and its destructive power became a strong deterrent for both sides against open warfare and led to a period of détente. The Cold War and its legacy have imprinted the globe, as can be seen in the cultural products, physical borders, and political conflicts that exist today.

As it is likely that people from different countries will continue to have different beliefs and values, what lessons can be learned from the Cold War? On a personal level, what lessons can you take away for dealing with situations in which your own ideologies bring you into conflict with others? What have you learned that can help you address the Key Issue: ***To what extent should we embrace an ideology?***

Respond to Issues

1. On February 10, 2007, Russian Federation President Vladimir Putin threatened to pull out of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty due to a proposed US missile defence system to be deployed in Poland and the Czech Republic. Is this evidence that the Cold War is not over? In groups, develop and present an argument that supports or refutes the idea that the Cold War still exists today, and decide to what extent an ideological conflict continues to exist between the United States and Russia.

2. Canadians were directly affected by the Cold War. The following are all examples of how Canadians were affected: the spy episode with Igor Gouzenko, membership in NATO, the history of the Avro Arrow fighter jet, UN operations in Korea, the construction of the DEW Line, events in Cuba, actions in the Vietnam War, and family histories. Choose one example of how the Cold War had an impact on Canada and Canadians, and examine it to answer the following questions:
   a) What were some specific implications for Canadian citizens and their governments?
   b) Given Canada's location relative to the two Cold War superpowers, what strategic role could Canada play in the Cold War? How might the peoples of Canada's North be affected?
   c) What role did Canada play internationally?
   d) How do these involvements illustrate how resistance to liberalism can or cannot be justified?

Recognize Relationships among Concepts, Issues, and Citizenship

3. Examine how the ideological conflict of the Cold War was portrayed in popular media such as contemporary music and film. In a presentation on the topic, answer the following questions:
   a) How do these portrayals reveal how such conflict influenced the culture of the superpowers and/or other countries?
   b) How do you think such portrayals influenced Canadian citizens during the Cold War? What examples would you describe as propaganda?
   c) How do contemporary music and film reflect the dominant or alternative ideologies in our society today?
   d) On what crises, events, or subjects do the examples comment?
   e) What popular culture expressions best reflect your own beliefs and values?