




>> The United States and Great Britain supplied goods to West Berlin by plane during the Berlin Airlift.

 **Interactive Flipped Video**

### >> Objectives

**Trace** the reasons that the wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union unraveled.

**Explain** how President Truman responded to Soviet aggression in Eastern Europe.

**Describe** the causes and results of Stalin's blockade of Berlin.

### >> Key Terms

satellite state  
Cold War  
Truman Doctrine  
George F. Kennan  
containment  
Marshall Plan  
Berlin airlift  
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)  
Warsaw Pact  
iron curtain

of isolationism and appeasement did nothing to stop the rise of dictatorships and the outbreak of global war. After World War II, U.S. leaders viewed these past policies as mistakes. They sought new ways to keep the United States safe as well as to protect its interests around the world.

# The Beginning of the Cold War

## Background of the Cold War

When Franklin Roosevelt died in April 1945, the nation was at a critical point. The United States was still at war. In addition, relations with the Soviet Union—one of the most important wartime allies—were beginning to break down.

**Soviet Aggression Against Its Citizens** The United States and the Soviet Union had been united only in their opposition to Nazi Germany. Beyond that, they had little in common. The United States was a capitalist democracy. Its citizens believed in free elections, economic and religious freedom, private property, and respect for individual differences. The Soviet Union was a dictatorship.

Under Joseph Stalin, the Communist Party made all key economic, political, and military decisions. The Soviet people could not worship as they pleased, own private property, or express their views freely. Those who opposed or questioned Stalin risked imprisonment and death.

**Soviets Control Eastern Europe** By the time Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill met at Yalta in February 1945, it was clear that the

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...was unclear how Germany and the nations of Eastern Europe would be governed after the war. Soviet troops already occupied much of Eastern Europe and parts of Germany.

Stalin wanted to keep Germany weak and divided. He also wanted Eastern Europe to remain under the control of the Soviet Union. The United States and Great Britain sought a stronger, united Germany and independent nations in Eastern Europe. At the conference, Stalin agreed to establish "broadly representative" governments and free elections in Eastern Europe and to divide Germany only temporarily into zones of occupation.

Despite Stalin's promises, nearly all of the lands occupied by the Soviet Red Army in the spring of 1945 remained under Soviet control after the war. The Eastern European countries of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria, as well as the eastern portion of Germany, became **satellite states** controlled by the Soviet Union.

**Wartime Alliance Unravels** By the time Soviet, British, and U.S. leaders met at Potsdam in the summer of 1945, Harry Truman had succeeded Roosevelt as President. Truman and Clement Attlee, the new British prime minister, hoped that Stalin would confirm the decisions made at Yalta. However, Stalin refused to make a commitment to allow free elections in Eastern Europe.

Truman left Potsdam believing that the Soviet Union was "planning world conquest" and that the alliance with the Soviet Union was falling apart. With the Soviet Red Army at his command, Stalin seemed to present a real threat. Thus, the stage was set for a worldwide rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. The 46-year struggle became known as the **Cold War** because the two superpowers never faced each other directly in a "hot" military conflict.

**CONTRAST** How did the goals of U.S. and Soviet foreign policy differ after World War II?

## Responding to the Soviet Challenge

President Truman was not the only world leader who believed that Stalin had aspirations toward world domination. Winston Churchill also spoke out forcefully against the Soviet Union. On March 5, 1946, he gave an important speech at Fulton College in Missouri, Truman's home state. Referring to a map of Europe, Churchill noted that "an **iron curtain** has descended across the Continent."



>> Russian soldier raising the Soviet flag over Berlin, Germany, in April, 1945.



>> Winston Churchill delivers his "Iron Curtain" speech. This descriptive phrase became a lasting symbol of the brutal division that communism had created in Western Europe.

 **Interactive Timeline**



East of that iron curtain, the Soviet Union was gaining more control by installing communist governments and police states and by crushing political and religious dissent. In addition, Churchill feared, the Soviets were attempting to spread communism to Western Europe and East Asia. The only solution, Churchill said, was for the United States and other democratic countries to stand firm.

**Truman Faces Soviet Aggression in Eastern Europe** Truman shared Churchill's beliefs. Born in a small town in Missouri, Truman had been too poor to attend college. He was the only president in the twentieth century with no college education. Instead, he worked the family farm, fought in France during World War I, and eventually began a political career. His life was a testament to honesty, integrity, hard work, and a willingness to make difficult decisions. "The buck stops here," was his motto as President. It meant that the person sitting in the Oval Office had the obligation to face problems head on and make hard decisions.

In 1947, no issue was more weighty than the growing crisis between the United States and the Soviet Union. After the war, a number of European and Asian countries were struggling against communist



>> Greek soldiers bring in possible guerrilla operatives for questioning. The anticommunist struggle in Greece and Turkey led President Truman to formulate the Truman Doctrine.

the governments of Greece and Turkey were being... communist forces seeking to gain control. Greece... Turkey needed aid, and in 1947 the United States... the only country with the resources to help them.

### The Truman Doctrine Opposes Soviet Aggression

On March 12, 1947, President Truman addressed the houses of Congress. With emotion in his voice, Truman described the plight of the Greek and Turkish peoples. The fight they were waging, he said, was the fight that all free people had to confront. Truman requested money from Congress "to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation [conquest] by armed minorities or by outside pressures." If the United States retreated into isolationism, he warned, the peace of the world and the welfare of the nation would be in danger. The fall of a nation to communism, Truman argued, could lead its neighbors into communism as well.

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 and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

—President Harry S. Truman, Address Before a Joint Session of Congress, March 12, 1947

Congress responded by voting to give \$400 million in aid for Greece and Turkey. President Truman's promise to aid nations struggling against communist movements became known as the **Truman Doctrine** and it set a new course for American foreign policy.

**? IDENTIFY CAUSE AND EFFECT** What events caused President Truman to propose what became known as the Truman Doctrine?



## The United States Contains Soviet Expansion

In the July 1947 issue of the magazine *Foreign Affairs*, a writer who called himself "X" published an article titled "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." The author was really **George F. Kennan**, an American diplomat and a leading authority on the Soviet Union. His article presented a blueprint for the American policy that became known as **containment** because its goal was to keep communism contained within its existing borders.

**Kennan Urges a Policy of Containment** Kennan contended that while Stalin was determined to expand the Soviet empire, he would not risk the security of the Soviet Union for expansion. In Kennan's view, the Soviet Union would only expand when it could do so without serious risks. Stalin would certainly not chance war with the United States—a war that might destroy his power in the Soviet Union—just to spread communism.

Kennan cautioned his readers that there would be no quick, easy solution to the Soviet threat. Containment would require a full commitment of American economic, political, and military power:

We are going to continue for a long time to find the Russians difficult to deal with. It does not mean that they should be considered as embarked upon a do-or-die program to overthrow our society by a given date. . . . In these circumstances, it is clear that the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.

—George Kennan, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct"

**United States Responds with Marshall Plan** The containment policy's first great success was in Western Europe. After World War II, people there confronted severe shortages of food, fuel, and medical supplies, as well as brutally cold winters.

In this environment of desperate need, Secretary of State George C. Marshall unveiled a recovery plan for Europe. In a speech at Harvard University, he warned



>> George Kennan, an expert on Russian history and culture, was the driving force behind American policy toward the Soviet Union in the early years of the Cold War.



>> German workers reconstruct a Berlin concert hall. The Marshall Plan helped Germany rebuild all aspects of its society, improving Germans' quality of life in the difficult postwar years.



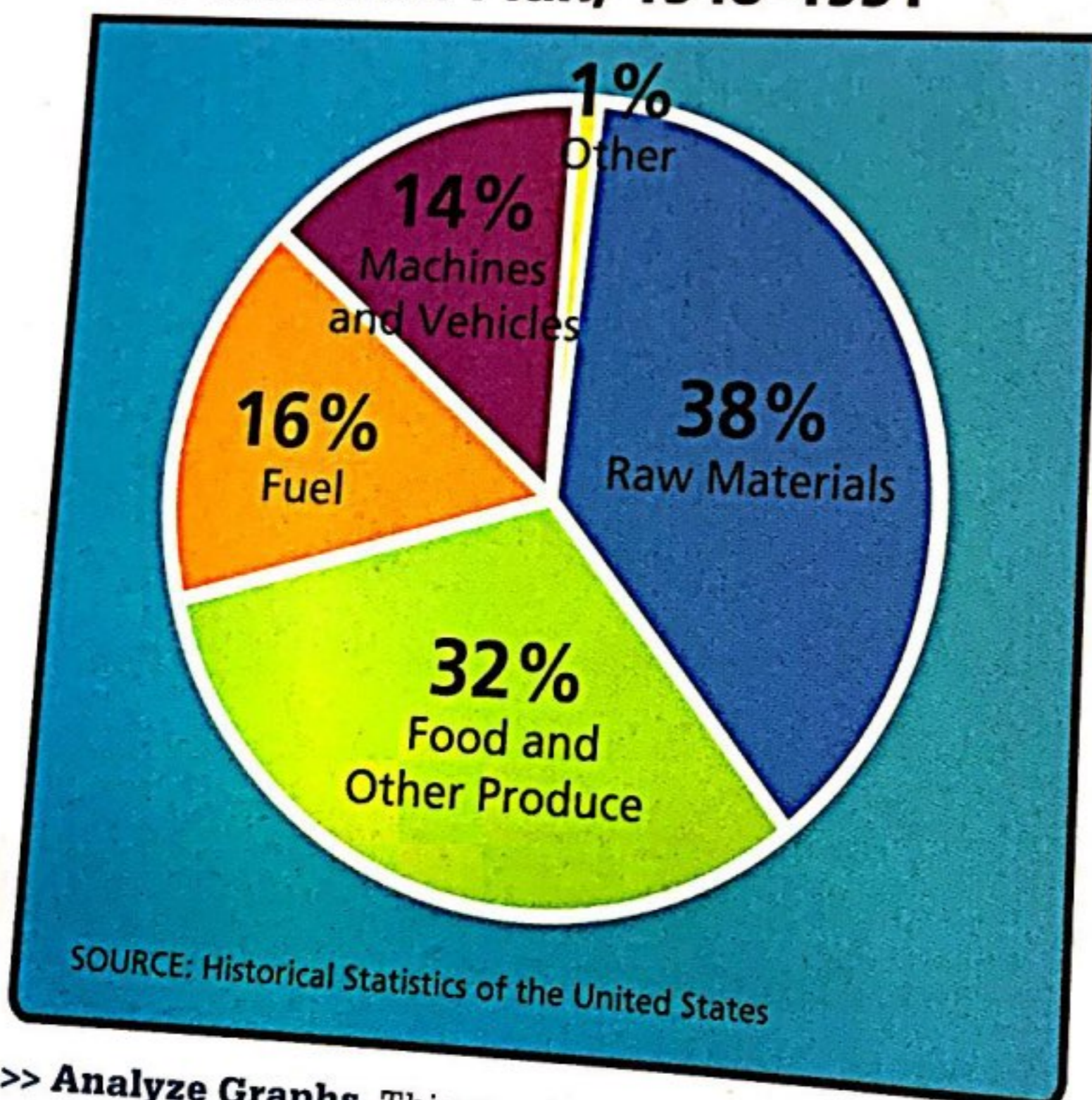
that without economic health, "there can be no political stability and no assured peace."

In early 1948, Congress approved the **Marshall Plan**. Over the next four years, the United States gave about \$13 billion in grants and loans to nations in Western Europe. The program provided food to reduce famine, fuel to heat houses and factories, and money to jump-start economic growth. Aid was also offered to the Soviet satellite states in Eastern Europe, but Stalin refused to let them accept it.

The Marshall Plan provided a vivid example of how U.S. aid could serve the ends of both economic and foreign policy. The aid helped countries that desperately needed assistance. The prosperity it stimulated then helped the American economy by increasing trade. Finally, the good relationships that the aid created worked against the expansion of communism.

**? IDENTIFY MAIN IDEAS** Why did George Kennan think that containment would work against Soviet expansion?

### Shipments Financed by the Marshall Plan, 1948–1951



**>> Analyze Graphs** This graph shows the shipments financed by the Marshall Plan. Based on the chart, why would Food and Other Produce take up such a large percentage of the shipments?

**Interactive Gallery**

## Cold War

The front lines of the Cold War were located in Germany. The zones that were controlled by France, Britain, and the United States were combined to form West Germany. West Germany was bordered on the east by the Soviet-controlled East Germany. The Allies also controlled the western part of Berlin, a city tucked deep inside communist East Germany.

### United States and Britain Respond with Berlin Airlift

West Berlin was, as one Soviet leader later described it, "a bone in the throat" of the Soviet Union. Its relative prosperity and freedom stood in contrast to the bleak life of East Berliners. Stalin was determined to capture West Berlin or win other concessions from the Western allies. In June 1948, he stopped all highway, railway, and waterway traffic from western Germany into West Berlin. Without any means of receiving aid, West Berlin would fall to the communists.

Stalin was able to close roads, stop barges, and block railways, but he could not blockade the sky. As a result, the United States and Britain supplied West Berlin through a massive airlift that lasted nearly one year. Food, fuel, medical supplies, clothing, toys—everything the residents of West Berlin needed was flown into the city.

Even through rain and snow, goods arrived regularly. The **Berlin airlift** demonstrated to West Berlin, the Soviet Union, and the world how far the United States would go to protect noncommunist parts of Europe and contain communism.

**The North Atlantic Treaty Organization** In May 1949, Stalin was forced to acknowledge that his attempt to blockade Berlin had failed. The Berlin airlift was a proud moment for Americans and Berliners and a major success for the policy of containment. One Berlin resident later recalled her feelings when the blockade was finally lifted:

Sheer joy—nothing else. Nothing else. Joy, and [the feeling that], 'We have done it! And it works!' . . . That was so very important. The West has won! I say this quite deliberately in such a crass way because you wanted to know how I felt emotionally. The West—well, we have succeeded. And



## Cold War Alliances, 1955

NATO		WARSAW PACT
Belgium	Netherlands	Albania
Canada	Norway	Bulgaria
Denmark	Portugal	Czechoslovakia
France	Turkey	East Germany
Greece	United Kingdom	Hungary
Iceland	United States	Poland
Italy	West Germany	Romania
Luxembourg		Soviet Union

>> **Analyze Tables** Which NATO countries were not located in Europe?

the West has won and the others have not!

—Ella Barowsky, CNN interview, 1996

The Berlin airlift demonstrated that Stalin could be contained if Western nations were prepared to take forceful action. The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, formed in 1949, provided the military alliance to counter Soviet expansion. Twelve Western European and North American nations agreed to act together in the defense of Western Europe. Member nations agreed that “an armed attack against one or more of them . . . shall be considered an attack against all of them.” This principle of mutual military assistance is called collective security.

In 1955, West Germany became a member of NATO. In response, the Soviet Union and its satellite states formed a rival military alliance, called the **Warsaw Pact**. All the communist states of Eastern Europe except Yugoslavia were members.

Like members of NATO, nations of the Warsaw Pact pledged to defend one another if attacked. Although members agreed on paper not to interfere in one

another's internal affairs, the Soviet Union continued to exert firm control over its Warsaw Pact allies.

**? EXPLAIN** How did the United States and its allies respond to Soviet aggression in Europe?

### ASSESSMENT

- Distinguish** between the political systems of the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War.
- Identify Cause and Effect** Describe the factors that led to the creation of the Truman Doctrine, as well as how the doctrine affected U.S. foreign policy.
- Evaluate Arguments** Describe George F. Kennan's argument in favor of the containment policy, and explain why he thought it would be successful.
- Generate Explanations** How did the concept of collective security lead to the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)?
- Summarize** the effects of the Marshall Plan on the United States and Western European countries.