The Cold War Divides the World

**MAIN IDEA**

**REVOLUTION**
The superpowers supported opposing sides in Latin American and Middle Eastern conflicts.

**WHY IT MATTERS NOW**

Many of these areas today are troubled by political, economic, and military conflict and crisis.

**TERMS & NAMES**

- Third World
- nonaligned nations
- Fidel Castro
- Anastasio Somoza
- Daniel Ortega
- Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini

**SETTING THE STAGE**

Following World War II, the world’s nations were grouped politically into three “worlds.” The first was the industrialized capitalist nations, including the United States and its allies. The second was the Communist nations led by the Soviet Union. The **Third World** consisted of developing nations, often newly independent, who were not aligned with either superpower. These nonaligned countries provided yet another arena for competition between the Cold War superpowers.

**Fighting for the Third World**

The Third World nations were located in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. They were economically poor and politically unstable. This was largely due to a long history of colonialism. They also suffered from ethnic conflicts and lack of technology and education. Each needed a political and economic system around which to build its society. Soviet-style communism and U.S.-style free-market democracy were the main choices.

**Cold War Strategies**

The United States, the Soviet Union, and, in some cases, China, used a variety of techniques to gain influence in the Third World. (See feature on next page.) They backed wars of revolution, liberation, or counterrevolution. The U.S. and Soviet intelligence agencies—the CIA and the KGB—engaged in various covert, or secret, activities, ranging from spying to assassination attempts. The United States also gave military aid, built schools, set up programs to combat poverty, and sent volunteer workers to many developing nations. The Soviets offered military and technical assistance, mainly to India and Egypt.

**Association of Nonaligned Nations**

Other developing nations also needed assistance. They became important players in the Cold War competition between the United States, the Soviet Union, and later, China. But not all Third World countries wished to play a role in the Cold War. As mentioned earlier India vowed to remain neutral. Indonesia, a populous island nation in Southeast Asia, also struggled to stay uninvolved. In 1955, it hosted many leaders from Asia and Africa at the Bandung Conference. They met to form what they called a “third force” of independent countries, or **nonaligned nations**. Some nations, such as India and Indonesia, were able to maintain their neutrality. But others took sides with the superpowers or played competing sides against each other.
### Major Strategies of the Cold War

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<tr>
<th>Foreign Aid</th>
<th>Espionage</th>
<th>Multinational Alliances</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>The two superpowers tried to win allies by giving financial aid to other nations. For instance, Egypt took aid from the Soviet Union to build the Aswan High Dam (see photograph above).</td>
<td>Fearing the enemy might be gaining the advantage, each side spied on the other. One famous incident was the Soviet downing of a U.S. U-2 spy plane in 1960.</td>
<td>To gain the support of other nations, both the Soviet Union and the United States entered into alliances. Two examples of this were NATO and the Warsaw Pact (shown on map above).</td>
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<th>Brinkmanship</th>
<th>Surrogate Wars</th>
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<td>Both superpowers used propaganda to try to win support overseas. For example, Radio Free Europe broadcast radio programs about the rest of the world into Eastern Europe.</td>
<td>The policy of brinkmanship meant going to the brink of war to make the other side back down. One example was the Cuban Missile Crisis.</td>
<td>The word surrogate means substitute. Although the United States and the Soviet Union did not fight each other directly, they fought indirectly by backing opposing sides in many smaller conflicts.</td>
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### SKILLBUILDER: Interpreting Visuals

1. **Generalizing** Judging from the map, how would you describe the effect on Europe of multinational alliances?

2. **Analyzing Motives** What motive did the two superpowers have for fighting surrogate wars?
Chapter 33  

Confrontations in Latin America  

After World War II, rapid industrialization, population growth, and a lingering gap between the rich and the poor led Latin American nations to seek aid from both superpowers. At the same time, many of these countries alternated between short-lived democracy and harsh military rule. As described in Chapter 28, U.S. involvement in Latin America began long before World War II. American businesses backed leaders who protected U.S. interests but who also often oppressed their people. After the war, communism and nationalistic feelings inspired revolutionary movements. These found enthusiastic Soviet support. In response, the United States provided military and economic assistance to anti-Communist dictators.  

Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution  

In the 1950s, Cuba was ruled by an unpopular dictator, Fulgencio Batista, who had U.S. support. Cuban resentment led to a popular revolution, which overthrew Batista in January 1959. A young lawyer named Fidel Castro led that revolution. At first, many people praised Castro for bringing social reforms to Cuba and improving the economy. Yet Castro was a harsh dictator. He suspended elections, jailed or executed his opponents, and tightly controlled the press.  

When Castro nationalized the Cuban economy, he took over U.S.-owned sugar mills and refineries. In response, Eisenhower ordered an embargo on all trade with Cuba. Castro then turned to the Soviets for economic and military aid.
In 1960, the CIA began to train anti-Castro Cuban exiles. In April 1961, they invaded Cuba, landing at the Bay of Pigs. However, the United States did not provide the hoped for air support. Castro’s forces easily defeated the invaders, humiliating the United States.

**Nuclear Face-off: the Cuban Missile Crisis** The failed Bay of Pigs invasion convinced Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev that the United States would not resist Soviet expansion in Latin America. So, in July 1962, Khrushchev secretly began to build 42 missile sites in Cuba. In October, an American spy plane discovered the sites. President John F. Kennedy declared that missiles so close to the U.S. mainland were a threat. He demanded their removal and also announced a naval blockade of Cuba to prevent the Soviets from installing more missiles.

 Castro protested his country’s being used as a pawn in the Cold War:

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

*Cuba did not and does not intend to be in the middle of a conflict between the East and the West. Our problem is above all one of national sovereignty. Cuba does not mean to get involved in the Cold War.*

_FIDEL CASTRO_, quoted in an interview October 27, 1962

But Castro and Cuba were deeply involved. Kennedy’s demand for the removal of Soviet missiles put the United States and the Soviet Union on a collision course. People around the world feared nuclear war. Fortunately, Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles in return for a U.S. promise not to invade Cuba.

The resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis left Castro completely dependent on Soviet support. In exchange for this support, Castro backed Communist revolutions in Latin America and Africa. Soviet aid to Cuba, however, ended abruptly with the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. This loss dealt a crippling blow to the Cuban economy. But the aging Castro refused to adopt economic reforms or to give up power.

**Civil War in Nicaragua** Just as the United States had supported Batista in Cuba, it had funded the Nicaraguan dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza and his family since 1933. In 1979, Communist Sandinista rebels toppled Somoza’s son. Both the United States and the Soviet Union initially gave aid to the Sandinistas and their leader, Daniel Ortega (awr•TAY•guh). The Sandinistas, however, gave assistance to other Marxist rebels in nearby El Salvador. To help the El Salvadoran government fight those rebels, the United States supported Nicaraguan anti-Communist forces called the Contras or contrarevolucionarios.

The civil war in Nicaragua lasted more than a decade and seriously weakened the country’s economy. In 1990, President Ortega agreed to hold free elections, the first in the nation’s history. Violeta Chamorro, a reform candidate, defeated him. The Sandinistas were also defeated in elections in 1996 and 2001.
Confrontations in the Middle East

As the map on page 984 shows, Cold War confrontations continued to erupt around the globe. The oil-rich Middle East attracted both superpowers.

Religious and Secular Values Clash in Iran

Throughout the Middle East, oil industry wealth fueled a growing clash between traditional Islamic values and modern Western materialism. In no country was this cultural conflict more dramatically shown than in Iran (Persia before 1935). After World War II, Iran’s leader, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi (pah•luh•vee), embraced Western governments and wealthy Western oil companies. Iranian nationalists resented these foreign alliances and united under Prime Minister Muhammed Mossadeq (moh•sah•DEHK). They nationalized a British-owned oil company and, in 1953, forced the shah to flee. Fearing Iran might turn to the Soviets for support, the United States helped restore the shah to power.

The United States Supports Secular Rule

With U.S. support, the shah westernized his country. By the end of the 1950s, Iran’s capital, Tehran, featured gleaming skyscrapers, foreign banks, and modern factories. Millions of Iranians, however, still lived in extreme poverty. The shah tried to weaken the political influence of Iran’s conservative Muslim leaders, known as ayatollahs (eye•uh• TOH•luhz), who opposed Western influences. The leader of this religious opposition, Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini (koh• MA Y•nee), was living in exile. Spurred by his tape-recorded messages, Iranians rioted in every major city in late 1978. Faced with overwhelming opposition, the shah fled Iran in 1979. A triumphant Khomeini returned to establish an Islamic state and to export Iran’s militant form of Islam.

Khomeini’s Anti-U.S. Policies

Strict adherence to Islam ruled Khomeini’s domestic policies. But hatred of the United States, because of U.S. support for the shah, was at the heart of his foreign policy. In 1979, with the ayatollah’s blessing, young Islamic revolutionaries seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran. They took more than 60 Americans hostage and demanded the United States force the shah to face trial. Most hostages remained prisoners for 444 days before being released in 1981.

Khomeini encouraged Muslim radicals elsewhere to overthrow their secular governments. Intended to unify Muslims, this policy heightened tensions between Iran and its neighbor and territorial rival, Iraq. A military leader, Saddam Hussein (hoo•SAYN), governed Iraq as a secular state.
War broke out between Iran and Iraq in 1980. The United States secretly gave aid to both sides because it did not want the balance of power in the region to change. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, had long been a supporter of Iraq. A million Iranians and Iraqis died in the war before the UN negotiated a ceasefire in 1988.

**The Superpowers Face Off in Afghanistan** For several years following World War II, Afghanistan maintained its independence from both the neighboring Soviet Union and the United States. In the 1950s, however, Soviet influence in the country began to increase. In the late 1970s, a Muslim revolt threatened to topple Afghanistan’s Communist regime. This revolt led to a Soviet invasion in 1979.

The Soviets expected to prop up the Afghan Communists and quickly withdraw. Instead, just like the United States in Vietnam, the Soviets found themselves stuck. And like the Vietcong in Vietnam, rebel forces outmaneuvered a military superpower. Supplied with American weapons, the Afghan rebels, called mujahideen, or holy warriors, fought on.

The United States had armed the rebels because they considered the Soviet invasion a threat to Middle Eastern oil supplies. President Jimmy Carter warned the Soviets against any attempt to gain control of the Persian Gulf. To protest the invasion, he stopped U.S. grain shipments to the Soviet Union and ordered a U.S. boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics. In the 1980s, a new Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachev, acknowledged the war’s devastating costs. He withdrew all Soviet troops by 1989. By then, internal unrest and economic problems were tearing apart the Soviet Union itself.

**Connect to Today**

**The Taliban**

Islamic religious students, or taliban, were among the mujahideen rebels who fought the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Various groups of students loosely organized themselves during a civil war among mujahideen factions that followed the Soviet withdrawal in 1989.

In 1996, one of these groups, called the Taliban, seized power and established an Islamic government. At first, they were popular among many Afghans. But they imposed a repressive rule especially harsh on women, and failed to improve the lives of the people. They also gave sanctuary to international Islamic terrorists. In 2001, an anti-terrorist coalition led by the United States drove them from power.

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**TERMS & NAMES**

1. For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- **Third World**
- nonaligned nations
- Fidel Castro
- Anastasio Somoza
- Daniel Ortega
- Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini

**USING YOUR NOTES**

2. Which confrontation had the most lasting significance?

**MAIN IDEAS**

3. How was the Cuban Missile Crisis resolved?

4. What was significant about the 1990 elections in Nicaragua?

5. Why did the Soviet Union invade Afghanistan?

**CRITICAL THINKING & WRITING**

6. **MAKING INFERENCES** What advantages and disadvantages might being nonaligned have offered a developing nation during the Cold War?

7. **COMPARING** What similarities do you see among U.S. actions in Nicaragua, Cuba, and Iran?

8. **ANALYZING CAUSES** What were the reasons that Islamic fundamentalists took control of Iran?

9. **WRITING ACTIVITY** For either Cuba, Nicaragua, or Iran, write an annotated time line of events discussed in this section.

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**SECTION ASSESSMENT**

**WRITING AN OPINION PAPER**

Research the effects of the U.S. trade embargo on Cuba. Write a two-paragraph opinion paper on whether it would be in the best interests of the United States to lift that embargo.