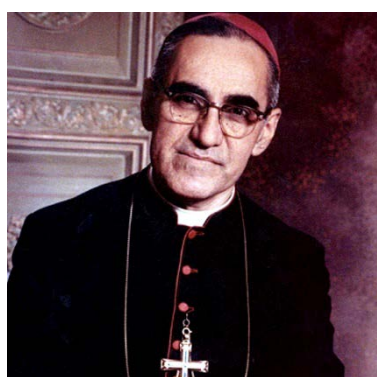


DID ANYONE WIN THE COLD WAR?



15

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DID ANYONE WIN THE C O L D W A R ?

EXPLORING AMERICA'S HISTORY THROUGH COMPELLING QUESTIONS

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- 1 WAS THE COLD WAR UNAVOIDABLE?
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DID ANYONE WIN THE C O L D W A R ?

World War II was an absolute victory for the United States and its allies over the totalitarian, fascist regimes of Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, and Hideki Tojo. However, as the elation of V-E and V-J Days passed, and thousands of American troops started coming home, the joy of victory was tempered by a new reality.

It is said that war produces strange bedfellows, and indeed the common struggle against Nazi Germany had brought the United States and Josef Stalin's communist Soviet Union together as partners, if only for a few years. Now, with their common enemy defeated, the two nations looked in 1945 at each other with distrust.

From the American perspective, the war had resulted in only partial freedom for humankind. As Americans saw it, for all those who lived under Josef Stalin's rule, communism was little better than Nazism. From their perspective on the other side of the world, the Soviets looked out at the awesome power of the United States – power, which had been wielded during the war as the Arsenal of Democracy – and saw a threat even greater than Hitler's Germany. The Soviet Union lost more of its soldiers and civilians in the war than any other nation and they faced a nuclear-armed United States.

So, as the Second World War was ending, a new war was beginning. This war would not include direct combat between the two superpowers, but it raged around the world and into space. Millions of people would die, billions of dollars were spent and the prospect of nuclear holocaust would hang over everyone for 50 years. This new conflict was the Cold War. The United States and the Soviet Union may never have gone head-to-head on the battlefield, but it was unquestionably a war nonetheless.

第二次世界大战是美国及其盟友对阿道夫·希特勒、贝尼托·墨索里尼和东条英机的极权、法西斯政权的绝对胜利。然而，随着 V-E 和 V-J 日的兴起，成千上万的美国军队开始回国，胜利的喜悦受到了新现实的磨砺。

据说战争产生了奇怪的同伙，实际上与纳粹德国的共同斗争，把美国 and 斯大林的共产主义苏联作为合作伙伴，只是几年。现在，他们的共同敌人被打败了，两国在 1945 年相互怀疑。

从美国的角度来看，战争只造成了人类的部分自由。正如美国人看到的那样，对于所有在约瑟夫·斯大林统治下的人来说，共产主义都比纳粹主义好一点。从他们对世界另一端的角度来看，苏联人看到了在战争中被当作民主的阿森纳所拥有的美国的强大力量，并且看到的威胁甚至比希特勒的德国更大。苏联在战争中失去了更多的士兵和平民，他们面临着一个拥有核武器的美国。

所以，当第二次世界大战结束时，一场新的战争开始了。这场战争不包括两个超级大国之间的直接战斗，但它在世界各地和太空中肆虐。数百万人将会死亡，花费数十亿美元，核浩劫的前景将在每个人身上笼罩 50 年。这个新的冲突是冷战。美国 and 苏联可能永远不会在战场上刀切，但毫无疑问是一场战争。

When the Soviet Union disintegrated and the Cold War ended nearly a half century after 1945 it would seem that United States and the free market economic system had again survived the judgement of history while communism had failed, just like fascism before it. But can you win a war you don't fight on the battlefield? Can you claim victory if it takes 50 years to achieve your goal? If winning means filling the world with nuclear weapons, is that really a victory? With so many lives lost and disrupted, did anyone really win the Cold War?

当苏联解体，冷战在1945年后的半个世纪内结束时，似乎美国和自由市场经济体系再次在历史的判断中幸存下来，而共产主义失败了，就像法西斯主义一样。但是，你能赢得一场你不战的战争吗？如果要50年才能实现你的目标，你能否宣称胜利？如果获胜意味着用核武器填补这个世界，那真的是一个胜利吗？有这么多人的生命被打乱了，有人真的赢得了冷战吗？

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F I R S T Q U E S T I O N

WAS THE COLD WAR UNAVOIDABLE?



INTRODUCTION

We often think of history as destiny: It happened, so it must have been unavoidable. However, looking at the present makes us question this assumption. How many of the events in the news this week are the result of destiny, and how many are the result of choice? Natural disasters might be unavoidable, but political choices, the winning play in last night's game, and the latest social trend are clearly the results of human choice.

It's worth considering this element of choice when we study the Cold War. If this struggle that divided the world and upended lives for more than four decades was a matter of human choice, why didn't the people in 1945, when it began, make a better choice? If they could have, why didn't they prevent the Cold War from starting in the first place?

On the other hand, sometimes events spiral out of anyone's ability to control. If that's the case, what were the circumstances that made the Cold War happen? What wheels were in motion that were too powerful for humans to stop?

This is the question to consider here at the start of our study of the Cold War. As World War II was ending, there was chaos in many parts of the world. Could political leaders, military leaders and everyday people have made choices that prevented the Cold War standoff between East and West? Or was the Cold War unavoidable?

介绍

我们经常把历史看作是命运：它发生了，所以它一定是不可避免的。但是，从目前来看，这使得我们质疑这个假设。本周新闻中有多少事件是命运的结果，有多少是选择的结果？自然灾害可能是不可避免的，但是政治选择，昨晚比赛中的胜负以及最新的社会潮流显然是人类选择的结果。

在研究冷战时，值得考虑这个因素。如果说这场分裂世界，颠覆了四十多年的斗争是一个人类选择的问题，为什么 1945 年的人民从一开始就没有做出更好的选择呢？如果可以的话，他们为什么不从一开始就阻止冷战呢？

另一方面，有时候，任何人都可以控制事件。如果是这样的话，冷战发生的情况是什么呢？什么轮子在动力上对人类来说太强大了？

这是我们研究冷战开始时要考虑的问题。二战即将结束，世界很多地方都出现混乱。政治领导人，军事领导人和常人是否可以选择不阻止冷战时期东西方之间的僵持？还是冷战不可避免？

1 WAS THE COLD WAR UNAVOIDABLE?



COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM

At its core, the Cold War was a conflict between two competing ideas about how the world should work. It was not a war about religion the way Hitler's hatred of Jews had fueled the Holocaust, or a war about raw materials and power like the Spanish-American War. It was not really even a war about territory like the Indian Wars of the late 1800s.

The Cold War was definitely a struggle for territory, but not because of the raw materials or markets for manufactured products that those territories offered. Instead, the quest for territory was a quest to control the destinies of the people who lived in those territories.

The Cold War was a long, often violent, struggle to bring the people of the world into either a free market economic system, or communism. These competing ideas were not new. In fact, the struggle between the supporters of these two worldviews had been going on for generations.

A free market system is what we have in the United States today. Sometimes we call this system **capitalism**. In a capitalist system, all of your choices are free, but everything costs money, or **capital**. For example, you are free to choose what to buy, where, and how much to spend. Of course, you have to pay for what you buy. Likewise, the store owner has a choice about what to produce and sell, and how much to charge. The owners also had a choice about who to hire to work for them, and how much they were willing to pay their workers. No one forced the workers to take the job, and they could quit if they wanted. It is their choice. We call capitalism a **free market economy** because everyone is free to make whatever choices he or she wants. Notice that in a free market economy the government is not involved in any way.

Capitalism may be simple because it requires no one to plan it, but it is not perfect. Some people will come up with brilliant ideas, or be particularly cunning, or hard work will pay off and they may become wealthy. And, some people who are lazy, or just have back luck, will end up poor. In a free market world, there are classes: the upper class who owns businesses and controls most of the wealth, and the middle and lower classes who provide the labor.

共产主义与资本主义

冷战的核心是两个相互竞争的世界应该如何运作的观点之间的冲突。希特勒对犹太人的仇恨是对大屠杀的推波助澜，也不像西美战争那样是一场关于原料和权力的战争。对于像 19 世纪末的印度战争这样的领土来说，这不是一场真正的战争。

冷战无疑是对领土的争夺，而不是因为这些领土所提供的制造产品的原材料或市场。相反，寻求领土是为了控制住在这些领土上的人们的命运。

冷战是把世界人民变成自由市场经济体系或共产主义的长期的，往往是暴力的斗争。这些相互竞争的想法并不新鲜。事实上，这两个世界观的支持者之间的斗争已经持续了几代人。

自由市场体系是我们今天在美国所拥有的。有时我们称之为制度资本主义。在资本主义制度下，你所有的选择都是免费的，但所有东西都是花钱，或者是资本。例如，您可以自由选择要购买的东西，在哪里以及需要花多少钱。当然，你必须支付你买的东西。同样，店主可以选择生产和销售什么，以及要收费多少。业主也可以选择雇用谁来为他们工作，他们愿意付多少工资。没有人强迫工人接受这个工作，如果他们愿意，他们可以辞职。这是他们的选择。我们把资本主义称为自由市场经济，因为每个人都可以自由地做出他或她想要的任何选择。请注意，在自由市场经济中，政府并不以任何方式参与。

资本主义可能是简单的，因为它不需要人来计划，但它不是完美的。有些人会想出好点子，或者特别狡猾，或者努力工作就会回报，可能会变得富有。而且，一些懒惰的人，或者只是倒霉的人，最终会变穷。在自由市场的世界里，有一些阶级：拥有企业和控制大部分财富的上层阶级，以及提供劳动的中下阶层。

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Communism is entirely different. In the 1800s, two German intellectuals, **Karl Marx** and **Friedrich Engels** saw the suffering of millions of people who toiled every day in factories owned by a few wealthy men who had so much money they couldn't possibly spend it in a lifetime. Marx and Engels believed they knew a better, more just way to make the world work. In 1848, they wrote their ideas down into a short book and published it with the name "**The Communist Manifesto**."

In Marx and Engels's view, the wealth of the world should be shared by the workers who make that wealth possible. Farmers should share the profits of the food they grow. Factory workers should share in the profits of the goods they produce. There should be no owners, only workers. If their ideas were put into practice, they argued, there would be no poverty. Anyone who wanted a job and was willing to work, could have a job. The goods and food the people produced would be shared by all the people who worked. Marx, Engels, and their followers had a saying: "**From everyone according to his ability, to everyone according to his need.**" In other words, everyone would do their best at whatever they were best at for the good of the nation, and everyone would share the nation's wealth.

共产主义是完全不同的。19 世纪，两位德国知识分子卡尔·马克思和弗里德里希·恩格斯看到了数百万劳动者的苦难，他们每天都在几个富有的工人的工厂里工作，这些工人有很多钱，一辈子都不可能花掉。马克思和恩格斯相信他们知道一个更好，更公正的方式来使世界发挥作用。1848 年，他们将自己的想法写成了一本小册子，并以“共产党宣言”的名义出版。

按照马克思恩格斯的观点，世界的财富应该由能够创造财富的工人分享。农民应该分享他们种植的粮食的利润。工厂工人应该分享他们生产的商品的利润。不应该有所有者，只有工人。如果他们的想法付诸实践，他们认为，不会有贫困。任何想要工作并愿意工作的人都可以找到工作。人们生产的货物和食物将由所有工作的人共享。马克思，恩格斯和他们的追随者有句话说：“大家按照他的能力，按照他的需要给每个人”，换句话说，每个人都会为了国家的利益竭尽全力，每个人都会分享国家的财富。

Primary Source: Document

Propaganda such as this poster from the Soviet Union was common in the communist world. Advertising is a characteristic of a free market economy. So, instead, the government used propaganda to encourage the people to work hard for the good of the country.

主要来源：文件

像苏联这样的海报这样的宣传在共产主义世界是很普遍的。广告是自由市场经济的特征。所以政府用宣传鼓励人民为国家的利益而努力。



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Communism sounded good on paper, but in the real world people with money – the upper classes – used their wealth to influence government officials and had no desire to see communist ideas implemented. Imagine how John D. Rockefeller or Andrew Carnegie must have felt about communism! Marx and Engels had followers in both Europe and the United States. Famously, the International Workers of the World, a union that wanted to organize a communist revolution in America, agitated for the working classes to rise up and overthrow the government, but naturally, they faced tremendous opposition. Dubbed the “Wobblies,” their most outspoken leader, Frank Little, was murdered in Butte, Montana when he went there to lead a strike of copper miners. In the United States fear of communism was so strong that in the years after the First World War, a Red Scare swept the nation and restrictions on immigration were passed – in part to keep out European immigrants who might harbor communist sentiments.

However, in Russia in 1917 things turned out differently. The king, or Czar of Russia, **Nicolas II** was unpopular. Russia’s millions of impoverished peasants hated him and the rest of the royal family. Moreover, in 1917 Russia was losing to Germany in the First World War. With their husbands, sons and fathers dying on the battlefield, Russians were ready for a change. **Vladimir Lenin** seized the opportunity. His followers, called **Bolsheviks**, organized a rebellion, and established the world’s first communist nation, changing their country’s name in 1922 to the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)**, or the **Soviet Union** for short.



共产主义在纸面上听起来不错，但在现实世界中，有钱的人 - 上层阶级 - 用他们的财富来影响政府官员，而不希望看到共产主义思想得以实施。想象一下，如果约翰·洛克菲勒（John D. Rockefeller）或安德鲁·卡耐基（Andrew Carnegie，马克思和恩格斯在欧洲和美国都有追随者。世界各国的工人们想在美国组织起一场共产主义革命，鼓动工人阶级起来推翻政府，但自然却面临着巨大的反对。他们最直言不讳的领导人弗兰克·利特尔（Frank Little）在蒙大拿州的比尤特（Butte）去了铜矿矿工罢工的时候被谋杀了。在美国，对共产主义的恐惧非常强烈，以至于在第一次世界大战后的几年里，红色的恐慌席卷了全国，并通过对移民的限制，部分原因是为了避免可能怀有共产主义情绪的欧洲移民。

然而，在 1917 年的俄罗斯事情却有所不同。国王，或俄罗斯的沙皇尼古拉二世不得人心。俄罗斯数百万贫困农民痛恨他和皇室其他人。而且，1917 年俄罗斯在第一次世界大战中输给了德国。他们的丈夫，儿子和父亲死在战场上，俄罗斯人已经准备好改变了。弗拉基米尔·列宁抓住机会。他的追随者布尔什维克组织起义，建立了世界上第一个共产主义国家，1922 年改名为苏维埃社会主义共和国联盟（苏联），简称苏联。

Primary Source: Photograph

Vladimir Lenin led the successful revolution in Russia in 1917 and established the Soviet Union as the world’s first communist nation.

主要来源：照片

1917 年，列宁领导了俄罗斯的成功革命，把苏联建成了世界上第一个共产主义国家。

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When Lenin died in 1924, one of his lieutenants took power. The new Soviet leader was **Josef Stalin**, a ruthless, murderous man who imprisoned and exterminated tens of thousands of his own citizens. In many ways, Stalin was just as terrible as Hitler, but during World War II the United States was at war with Germany and so was Stalin's Soviet Union, which made the United States and the Soviets allies. Being on the same side, however, did not make the Soviets or the Americans any more understanding of one another's ideologies.

Americans had seen what communism meant in the real world. Lenin, Stalin and the Soviet leaders had taken away the property of the wealthy. They had forced millions of people to give up their land, moved thousands of people to work on state-run farms and in government factories. They killed or jailed protesters. Communism had not proven to be the utopia Marx and Engels had described a century before and Americans had no desire to join in the communist experiment. Furthermore, they did not want anyone else in the world to have to endure Soviet style communism.

PLANNING THE POST-WAR WORLD

President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** was first elected in 1932 at the height of the Great Depression. His New Deal programs had made him so popular that Americans reelected him again and again – four time in total.

As World War II was drawing to a close, Roosevelt was in his fourth term and one of his most important tasks was to represent the United States at international conferences between the wartime allies. At first, the conferences were meant to help the allies coordinate their strategies for defeating the Axis Powers, but in 1945 it was clear that the Allies had the upper hand on the battlefield and the leaders met to plan for the future. After all the destruction of the war, what sort of world would they build out of the wreckage?

The **Yalta Conference**, held in February of 1945, in the Livadia Palace near the Soviet resort town of Yalta was one of these great meetings. In attendance were President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill of the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union's Josef Stalin. Each leader had his own agenda for the meeting. Roosevelt wanted Soviet support in the Pacific to finish the fight against Japan, especially since at the time it seemed like an invasion of Japan was likely. Roosevelt also wanted Stalin to commit to joining a new United Nations. Churchill pressed for open elections and democratic governments in Eastern and Central Europe. In contrast, Stalin demanded a Soviet sphere of political influence in Eastern and Central Europe that the Soviets believed would

列宁在 1924 年去世时，他的一名副官掌权。新的苏联领导人是约瑟夫·斯大林，他是一个无情，凶残的人，囚禁和灭绝了成千上万的自己的公民。在很多方面，斯大林和希特勒一样可怕，但是在二战时期，美国正在与德国交战，斯大林的苏联也是如此，这使得美国 and 苏联同盟。然而，同一方面却没有使苏联或美国人更加了解对方的意识形态。

美国人已经看到了现实世界中共产主义的含义。列宁，斯大林和苏联领导人夺走了富人的财产。他们迫使数百万人放弃土地，让数千人到国营农场和政府工厂工作。他们杀害或监禁抗议者。共产主义没有被证明是马克思和恩格斯一个世纪以前所描述的乌托邦，美国人也没有参加共产主义实验的愿望。而且，他们不希望世界上任何人都忍受苏联式的共产主义。

规划战后世界

富兰克林·罗斯福总统于 1932 年首次当选大萧条高峰。他的新计划使他如此受欢迎，以至于美国人一次又一次地蝉联了他 - 总共四次。

随着二战即将结束，罗斯福已经是第四个任期了，他最重要的任务之一就是在战时盟友的国际会议上代表美国。首先，这些会议是为了帮助盟国协调其战胜轴心国的战略，但是在 1945 年，盟国显然在战场上占了上风，领导人为了未来而谋划。在战争被毁灭之后，他们将从残骸中建立什么样的世界？

雅尔塔会议于 1945 年 2 月在苏联度假小镇雅尔塔附近的里瓦迪亚宫举行，是这些伟大的会议之一。出席的有总统罗斯福，英国首相丘吉尔和苏联的斯大林。每个领导都有自己的会议议程。罗斯福希望苏联在太平洋的支持下完成对抗日本的斗争，特别是因为当时似乎可能是对日本的入侵。罗斯福还希望斯大林承诺加入新的联合国。丘吉尔在东欧和中欧要求公开选举和民主政府。相比之下，斯大林要求在东欧和中欧有一个苏联的政治影响力范围，苏联认为苏联会为未来的入侵提供缓冲。雅尔塔会议结

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provide a buffer against future invasions. The Yalta Conference ended with general agreement between the leaders, but since the war was not over, they would need to convene again.



结束时，两国领导人之间达成了广泛的一致，但由于战争尚未结束，他们需要再次召开会议。

Primary Source: Photograph

Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at the Yalta Conference.

主要来源：照片

丘吉尔，罗斯福和斯大林在雅尔塔会议上。

The next meeting of the Allied leaders, however, featured a change of cast. On March 29, 1945, President Roosevelt passed away from a stroke. Roosevelt's death was met with shock and grief across the United States and around the world. The public had not known of his declining health. On May 8, less than a month after his death, the war in Europe ended. America's new President, Harry S. Truman, who turned 61 that day, dedicated Victory in Europe Day and its celebrations to Roosevelt's memory. Truman said that his only wish was "that Franklin D. Roosevelt had lived to witness this day." In the United Kingdom, voters ousted Prime Minister Winston Churchill and replaced him with Clement Attlee.

然而，盟军领导人下一次会议的演员阵容发生了变化。1945年3月29日，罗斯福总统中风了。罗斯福的去世在美国乃至全世界都遭受了震惊和悲痛。公众并不知道他的健康状况正在下降。5月8日，在他去世不到一个月，欧洲战争结束了。当天61岁的美国新任总统哈里·杜鲁门（Harry S. Truman）为“罗斯福纪念日”献出了“欧洲日的胜利”和庆祝活动。杜鲁门说，他唯一的愿望是“富兰克林·罗斯福今天已经见证了这一天”。在英国，选民把总理温斯顿·丘吉尔赶下台，接替克莱门特·艾德礼。

When Stalin met his new counterparts in **Potsdam**, German in July of 1945, the state of the war had changed significantly. Germany had surrendered. Hitler was dead. Although he did not announce it, Truman was about to use the nuclear bomb to end the war with Japan. The decisions the leaders made at the Potsdam Conference would have a lasting effect on the map of Europe, especially for defeated Germany.

1945年7月，斯大林在德国波茨坦见到了他的新同事，战争状况发生了重大变化。德国已经投降了。希特勒死了。尽管杜鲁门没有公布这个消息，但杜鲁门正准备用核弹来结束与日本的战争。领导人在波茨坦会议上做出的决定将会对欧洲地图，特别是被打败的德国产生持久的影响。

The Soviet Union, it was agreed, would have control over Eastern Europe including Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Albania, and

苏联同意控制东欧，包括波兰，捷克斯洛伐克，匈牙利，罗马尼亚，阿尔巴尼亚和保加利

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Bulgaria. Germany would be split into four zones, administered by the Soviet Union, United Kingdom, the United States and France. Germany's capital city, Berlin, was inside of the Soviet zone, but would itself also be divided into four zones. In the coming years, the western allies unified their zones to create West Germany and the city of West Berlin. The Soviet Union, however, established communist governments in each of the nations they had overrun and created East Germany and the city of East Berlin.

DECOLONIZATION

As much as World War II reshaped the map of Europe, the rest of the world also saw major changes. Since the 1800s, vast regions of Africa and Asia had been ruled as colonies by the great powers of Europe. In the two decades after 1945, most of these colonies asked for, fought for, or were granted independence in a global process known as **decolonization**.

India, the second most populous nation on earth won its independence from the United Kingdom in 1947 under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. In Africa, dozens of nations emerged, as did the nations of the Middle East that are familiar to us today. It was there that Jews from Europe who survived the Holocaust established the new nation of **Israel** along the eastern edge of the Mediterranean Sea in the ancient lands of the Bible.

Most of the former colonies were terribly poor. For generations the Europeans had extracted their wealth – oil, minerals, diamonds, rubber – and given very little back in return. Europeans hadn't invested in the infrastructure, or in the people of their colonies. In the Congo, a colony of 13 million people, only 16 people had a college degree when it gained its independence from Belgium in 1965. Lacking an educated class, many of these newly independent nations faced an enormous challenge creating stable governments that could manage vast territories and rich natural resources.

Both the United States and Soviet Union were interested in the future of this newly independent **Third World**. For the Soviets, the former colonies were ripe territory to spread communism. Americans believed stopping the spread of communism was essential to the preservation of freedom. For both superpowers, access to the natural resources of the Third World would be a significant advantage in their race for technological superiority.

亚。德国将分为四个区，由苏联，英国，美国 和法国管理。德国的首都柏林位于苏联地区内 部，但本身也被划分为四个区域。未来几年， 西方盟国将统一开发西德和西柏林。然而，苏 联在它们超越的每一个国家建立了共产主义政 府，并创建了东德和东柏林市。

非殖民化

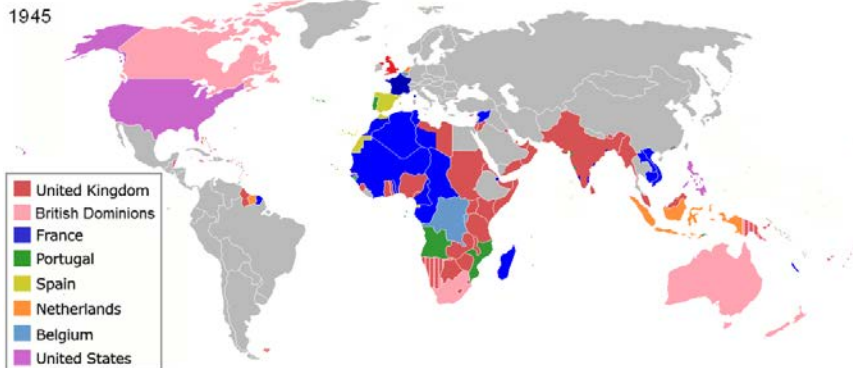
就像二次世界大战重塑了欧洲地图一样，世界 其他地方也发生了重大变化。自 19 世纪以来， 非洲和亚洲的广大地区被欧洲列强统治为殖民 地。在 1945 年之后的二十年中，这些殖民地中 的大多数在被称为非殖民化的全球进程中要 求，争取或者被赋予独立性。

印度是世界上人口第二大的国家，在圣雄甘地 的领导下，于 1947 年赢得了英国的独立。在非 洲，几十个国家和我们今天所熟悉的中东国家 一样，都出现了。犹太大屠杀中幸存下来的欧 洲犹太人在古代的圣地上，在地中海东岸建立 了新的以色列国。

前殖民地大部分是非常贫穷的。欧洲人已经提 炼出了他们的财富 - 石油，矿物，钻石和橡胶 - 而且几乎没有回报。欧洲人没有投资基础设 施，也没有投资于殖民地的人民。在刚果，一 个有 1300 万人口的殖民地，1965 年从比利时 获得独立后，只有 16 人获得了大学学位。缺乏 受过良好教育的阶级，许多这些新独立的国家 面临巨大的挑战，建立稳定的政府，领土和丰 富的自然资源。

美国和苏联都对这个新独立的第三世界的未来 感兴趣。对于苏维埃来说，前殖民地是传播共 产主义的成熟领地。美国人相信阻止共产主义 的蔓延对维护自由至关重要。对于两个超级大 国来说，获得第三世界的自然资源在技术优势 竞赛中将是一个显著的优势。

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Secondary Source: Map

Most of the former colonies were located in Africa and South and Southeast Asia. Together with the Middle East as well as Central and South America, these regions make up the Third World.

次要来源：地图

前殖民地大部分位于非洲，南亚和东南亚。与中东以及中南美洲一起，这些地区构成了第三世界。

THE UNITED NATIONS

An examination of the decades between the two world wars showed a lack of commitment to the spirit of internationalism. Without the participation of the United States, the old League of Nations proved too weak to stop Germany and Japan's expansionist dreams. Perhaps a stronger international body, as envisioned by Woodrow Wilson, was necessary to keep the great powers from tearing the world apart.

Despite the ideological animosity between the Soviet Union and the western allies, a new spirit of globalism was born out of World War II. It was based, in part, on the widespread recognition of the failures of isolationism. The incarnation of this global spirit came to life with the establishment of the **United Nations (UN)** in 1945 with its headquarters in New York City.

Delegates from around the world convened in San Francisco in 1945 to write a charter. Representing the United States, Franklin Roosevelt's widow Eleanor addressed the delegates. Despite considerable enmity and conflicts of interest among the attending nations, the charter for the new international body was ultimately ratified by unanimous consent.

The UN charter called for the establishment of a **Security Council**, which serves as the executive branch of the United Nations. The Security Council must authorize any actions, such as economic sanctions, the use of force, or the deployment of peacekeeping troops.

Each of the Great Powers — the five victorious nations in World War II: the United States, Great Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union (now Russia) holds a permanent seat on the Security Council. Ten more seats are held by other nations elected to two-year terms by the General Assembly. The five permanent members hold the power of **veto**. No action can go forth if any one of the five objects. As the Cold War

联合国

对两次世界大战之间几十年的考察表明，对国际主义精神的缺乏承诺。没有美国的参与，旧的国际联盟太弱，无法阻止德国和日本的扩张主义梦想。也许如伍德罗·威尔逊（Woodrow Wilson）所设想的那样，一个更强大的国际机构有必要阻止大国把世界分裂开来。

尽管苏联和西方盟友之间存在着意识形态上的敌意，但全球化的全新精神源于二战。这部分是基于对孤立主义的失败的广泛认识。1945年，联合国（UN）成立，总部设在纽约市，成为全球精神的化身。

1945年，来自世界各地的代表在旧金山召集了一个章程。富兰克林·罗斯福的寡媳埃莉诺代表美国，向与会代表致辞。尽管与会国家之间存在相当的敌意和利益冲突，新的国际机构的章程最终得到了一致同意。

联合国宪章要求设立一个担任联合国行政部门的安理会。安理会必须授权采取任何行动，如经济制裁，使用武力或部署维和部队。

每个大国 - 二战中的五个胜利国家：美国，英国，法国，中国和苏联（现在的俄罗斯）都是安理会常任理事国。大会选出其他十二个国家的席位再增加十个席位。五个常任理事国拥有否决权。如果五个对象中的任何一个都没有动

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crystallized, the countervailing veto powers of the United States and the Soviet Union often served to inhibit the Security Council from taking any forceful or meaningful action in times of crisis.

The main body of the United Nations is the **General Assembly**. Every member nation holds a seat in the General Assembly, which is often described as a town meeting for the world. The General Assembly has standing committees to address ongoing issues such as financial, social, cultural, legal and humanitarian concerns. The General Assembly passes resolutions and has the power to make recommendations to the Security Council, but has no power to require action.

Overseeing the operations of the United Nation is a **Secretary General** who is appointed by the Security Council. The United Nations charter did not describe the role of the Secretary General in detail, but the people who have held the position have used it to promote peace by helping to mediate conflicts and to promote human rights. By tradition, the Secretary General is never from one of the five permanent members. The Secretary Generals over the past six decades have hailed from such nations as Norway, Peru, South Korea, Thailand, Egypt, Ghana and Spain.

In addition to the Security Council and General Assembly, the United Nations operates an International Court of Justice and works to help refugees, women and children, and to end disease and hunger through programs such as UNICEF and the World Health Organization.

One of Eleanor Roosevelt's personal missions was to convince the United Nations to adopt an international Declaration of Human Rights. While it has certainly been violated time and time again, the declaration she helped write serves as a noble goal for which nations can aspire, and also as a benchmark to measure governments that fall short.

Unlike its failed predecessor the League of Nations, the United Nations can point to many solid accomplishments including sending peacekeepers to war-stricken areas, raising literacy and health rates in the Third World, and authorizing the use of force against aggressor nations.

In 1945 as well as today, the United Nations gives us cause to believe that nations can get along together. Although it is far from perfect, in a world with conflicting histories, agendas, and political posturing, the United Nations continues to offer a way for nations to peacefully coexist and better all of humankind.

作，冷战结束后，美苏反动的否决权经常阻碍安理会在危机时期采取有力或有意义的行动。

联合国的主要机构是大会。每个成员国在大会都有一个席位，这个席位通常被称为世界城市会议。大会设有常设委员会来解决诸如财政，社会，文化，法律和人道主义等问题。大会通过决议，有权向安理会提出建议，但无权要求采取行动。

监督联合国的行动是由安理会任命的秘书长。“联合国宪章”没有详细描述秘书长的作用，但是担任这个职位的人们通过帮助调解冲突和促进人权来利用它来促进和平。按照传统，秘书长从来不是五个常任理事国之一。六十年来，秘书长来自挪威，秘鲁，韩国，泰国，埃及，加纳和西班牙等国。

联合国除了安全理事会和大会外，还设有国际法院，致力于帮助难民，妇女和儿童，并通过儿童基金会和世界卫生组织等方案遏制疾病和饥饿。

埃莉诺·罗斯福的个人使命之一是说服联合国通过国际人权宣言。虽然它一再遭到侵犯，但她所撰写的宣言是一个国家可以追求的崇高目标，也是衡量政府不足的一个基准。

与其失败的前任国联不同，联合国可以指出许多可靠的成就，包括派遣维和人员前往受战争影响的地区，提高第三世界的扫盲和卫生率，并授权对侵略国使用武力。

1945 年以及今天，联合国使我们有理由相信各国能够相处融洽。尽管这个世界并不完美，但在历史，议程和政治姿态互相冲突的世界里，联合国继续为各国和平共处，使全人类更好地提供一条道路。

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Primary Source: Photograph

Eleanor Roosevelt holding a copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, her crowning achievement as a humanitarian.

主要来源：照片

埃莉诺·罗斯福持有“世界人权宣言”的副本，她作为人道主义者的最高成就。

THE IRON CURTAIN

“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.” – Winston Churchill, March 5, 1946

The **Iron Curtain** as described by Churchill at Westminster College was both a physical and mental boundary between the East and the West – between freedom and communism. The physical manifestation of the boundary, the border fences and armed guards, and especially the Berlin Wall, were potent symbols of the deep divide between the two great powers and their allies during the Cold War.

The exact location of the Iron Curtain was a product of World War II. As Nazi Germany fell, and Hitler's armies retreated from territory they had conquered, the Allies advanced, eventually converging in Germany itself. The British and Americans moved across France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy, they took over the job of governing those nations. It was not feasible, however, to have troops who were needed on the

铁幕

“从波罗的海的斯提廷到亚得里亚海的的里雅斯特，铁幕已经降临整个大陆。在这条线的背后是中欧和东欧古国的所有首都。华沙，柏林，布拉格，维也纳，布达佩斯，贝尔格莱德，布加勒斯特和索非亚；所有这些著名的城市和他们周围的人口都是我所说的苏联领域，而且这一切都以某种形式受到苏维埃的影响，但是对莫斯科的控制权也是非常高的，” – 温斯顿·丘吉尔，1946年3月5日

丘吉尔在威斯敏斯特学院所描述的铁幕，既是东西方之间的自然界与共产主义之间的身体界限，也是心理界限。边界，边防围栏和武装警卫，特别是柏林墙的实际表现，是冷战时期两大强国及其盟友深刻分歧的有力象征。

铁幕的确切位置是第二次世界大战的产物。随着纳粹德国的垮台，希特勒的军队撤出了他们所征服的领土，盟军先进化，最终在德国自己聚集起来。英国人和美国人横跨法国，比利时，荷兰和意大利，接管治理这些国家的工作。然而，在前线需要的部队继续进行维持治

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front to continue the work of policing, so the Allies made an effort to return control to the people. This worked well in places that had been conquered by Germany and welcomed the Allies as liberators.

Germany was different. There was no question that the Allies were going to stay in Germany and rebuild it themselves. As Truman, Stalin and Attlee had planned at Potsdam, the division of Germany was a way to share the work of this tremendous undertaking.



安工作是不可行的，所以盟军就把控制权交给了人民。这在德国征服的地方运作良好，欢迎盟国成为解放者。

德国是不同的。毫无疑问，盟国将留在德国，自己重建。正如杜鲁门，斯大林和艾德礼曾经在波茨坦计划的那样，德国师是分享这项巨大工作的一种方式。

Primary Source: Photograph

In most of Europe, the border between East and West was marked by fences and border guards.

主要来源：照片

在欧洲的大部分地区，东西方的边界都有围墙和边防警卫。

For Stalin, the division of Germany was an opportunity. The Soviet Army in the portion of Germany under his control – East Germany – actively supported Germany's small communist party. Since the days of Marx and Engels, there had been communists in Germany, but during Hitler's reign they were persecuted by the Nazis. Now with the communist Soviet Union in charge, the German communists were elevated and took control of government.

对斯大林来说，德国的分裂是一个机会。在他控制的德国部分苏联军队 - 东德 - 积极支持德国的小共产党。从马克思恩格斯时代起，德国就有共产主义分子，但是在希特勒的制约下，他们遭到了纳粹的迫害。现在在共产主义的苏联负责的情况下，德国共产主义者被抬高了，并且控制了政府。

And so it went across all of Europe. In the lands that the Soviets had retaken from Germany during the closing year of the war in the East – Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Albania, Hungary, Bulgaria and East Germany – communists were supported and took power. In the East, the new Soviet-supported governments and the occupying Soviet Army remade the economies in the Soviet model: state-run industries, farms, and no private ownership.

所以它遍布整个欧洲。在东，波兰，捷克斯洛伐克，罗马尼亚，阿尔巴尼亚，匈牙利，保加利亚和东德共产主义战争的最后一年，苏联从德国夺回的土地得到了支持和掌权。在东方，新苏联支持的政府和苏联占领军以苏维埃模式重建经济：国有工业，农场，没有私有制。

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Meanwhile the West returned to the free market economy it had before the war. And, with the exception of Spain, Portugal and Greece which were dictatorships until the 1970s, the people of the West elected their leaders.

The Iron Curtain took physical shape in the form of border defenses between the countries of Western and Eastern Europe. These were some of the most heavily militarized areas in the world, particularly the so-called "inner German border" between East and West Germany. The inner German border was marked in rural areas by double fences made of steel mesh with sharp edges, while near urban areas high concrete barriers were built. While in the first decade after the end of the Second World War people travelled freely between the East and West, by the end of the 1950s it was nearly impossible, and after the **Berlin Wall** was erected in 1961, citizens of the communist nations of the East were shot and killed by their own border guards for trying to escape.



同时西方又回到了战前的自由市场经济。除了 70 年代以前的西班牙、葡萄牙和希腊独裁之外，西方人选举了领导人。

铁幕在西欧和东欧国家之间形成了边界防御的形式。这些是世界上军事最为严重的地区之一，特别是东德与西德之间的所谓“内德边界”。德国内部的边界在农村用铁丝网制成的边缘锋利的双栅栏标出，而在城市附近建造了高水泥壁垒。在第二次世界大战结束后的第一个十年，人们在东西方之间自由旅行，到五十年代末几乎是不可能的，而在 1961 年柏林墙竖立之后，共产主义国家的公民东部被自己的边防部队枪杀，企图逃跑。

Primary Source: Photograph

The Berlin Wall under construction in 1961. Eventually there would be two walls with a wide gap in between to make escape more difficult.

主要来源：照片

柏林墙在 1961 年正在建设中。最终会有两面墙之间有一个很大的差距，使逃生更加困难。

The division between the communist nations and those supported by the United States during the Cold War extended into Asia as well, but the term "Iron Curtain" was only used for the fortified borders in Europe. The border between North Korea and South Korea remains to this day comparable to the former inner German border, particularly in its degree of militarization.

While the Iron Curtain was an actual border of concrete and steel, patrolled by armies, it was even more so a boundary in the minds of people. Like a curtain that divides two halves of a room or separates the inside from the out, the Iron Curtain separated neighbors into two distinct worlds, at odds and distrustful.

冷战时期共产主义国家和美国支持的分裂也延伸到了亚洲，而“铁幕”一词则仅用于欧洲的防御边界。朝鲜与韩国之间的边界直到今天依然与前德内边境相当，特别是在军事化程度上。

虽然铁幕是一个由军队巡逻的混凝土和钢铁的实际边界，但在人们心目中更是如此。就像一扇把房间的两半分开或把内部与外面分开的帷幕一样，铁幕将邻居分成两个截然不同的世界，彼此不相容，不信任。

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CONCLUSION

Clearly, there were powerful forces at work in 1945. The Soviets and Western Allies had very different ideas about what the post-war world should look like. Although the establishment of the United Nations is evidence that the world wanted an alternative to conflict, the young United Nations did not prevent the Cold War.

Perhaps, the start of the Cold War was a matter of leadership. If Stalin hadn't been in power in the Soviet Union, would the communist world have turned so resolutely away from cooperation with the West? If Truman hadn't used the atomic bomb to end World War II, would the Soviets have felt less threatened?

Or maybe it was a broader sense of distrust, brought about by years of war. Perhaps people just weren't ready to put their "us vs. them" mindset to rest.

Then again, the Cold War was a product of human action, so couldn't we have made the choice that would have prevented it? What do you think? Was the Cold War unavoidable?

结论

显然，1945 年有强大的力量在作战。苏联和西方盟国对于战后世界应该是什么样子有着截然不同的想法。尽管联合国的建立是世界想要替代冲突的证据，但联合国的年轻人并没有阻止冷战。

也许，冷战的开始是一个领导问题。如果斯大林没有在苏联当权，共产主义世界是否会如此坚决地摆脱与西方的合作呢？如果杜鲁门没有使用原子弹来结束第二次世界大战，那么苏联人会不会受到更多的威胁呢？

或者也许是多年的战争带来的更广泛的不信任感。也许人们还没有准备好把他们的“我们与他们的”思想放在一起。

那么冷战是人类行动的产物，所以我们不能做出阻止它的选择吗？你怎么看？冷战是不可避免的？



Read the Communist Manifesto



View a slideshow of Soviet propaganda



Read the Universal Declaration of Human Rights



Watch a video tour of the Berlin Wall and Inner German Border

1 WAS THE COLD WAR UNAVOIDABLE?



PEOPLE AND GROUPS

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: German intellectuals who promoted the ideas of socialism and communism and wrote the Communist Manifesto.

Nicolas II: The last czar, or king of Russia. He and his family were murdered by the Bolsheviks.

Vladimir Lenin: Leader of the Bolsheviks and first communist leader of the Soviet Union.

Bolsheviks: The communist revolutionaries in Russia.

Josef Stalin: One of Lenin's supporters and the second leader of the Soviet Union from 1922-1953.

Franklin D. Roosevelt: President of the United States during the Great Depression and most of WWII.

United Nations (UN): An organization in which the nations of the world meet to cooperate and solve disputes. The headquarters is in New York City.

Security Council: The small group of nations that has the authority to set policy for the United Nations. It includes five permanent members: the US, UK, France, Russia and China.

General Assembly: The body of the representatives of every nation that is a member of the United Nations. This group can pass resolutions to express opinion but does not have the authority to set policy.

Secretary General: The administrator of the United Nations. The Secretary General traditionally plays a peace-keeping role in the world.

人和组

卡尔·马克思和弗里德里希·恩格斯：推动社会主义和共产主义思想的德国知识分子撰写共产党宣言。

尼古拉二世：最后的沙皇，或俄罗斯的国王。他和他的家人被布尔什维克所杀害。

列宁：布尔什维克领导人，苏联第一任共产党领袖。

布尔什维克：俄国的共产革命者。

约瑟夫·斯大林：1922 - 1953 年列宁支持者和苏联第二任领导人。

富兰克林·D·罗斯福 (Franklin D. Roosevelt)：大萧条时期和二战时期的美国总统。

联合国 (UN)：世界各国开会合作解决争端组织。总部在纽约市。

安理会：有权为联合国制定政策的一小撮国家。它包括五个常任理事国：美国，英国，法国，俄罗斯和中国。

大会：每个联合国会员国的代表机构。这个小组可以通过决议来表达意见，但是没有权力制定政策。

秘书长：联合国的行政长官。秘书长传统上在世界上发挥维和作用。



KEY CONCEPTS

Capitalism: An economic system in which people are free to make choices about how to spend money, where to work, etc.

Capital: Money

Free Market Economy: Another term for capitalism.

Communism: An economic system in which the government controls all production and distribution. In theory, everyone works and everyone shares.

From everyone according to his ability, to everyone according to his need: A slogan that explains how a communist economy works. Everyone contributes and everyone shares in the profits.

Veto: The right to reject a law. In the case of the United Nations, each of the five permanent members of the Security Council can veto a measure.

关键概念

资本主义：人们可以自由选择如何花钱，在哪里工作的经济体系等等。

资本：金钱

自由市场经济：资本主义的另一个术语。

共产主义：政府控制所有生产和分配的经济体系。理论上，每个人都工作，每个人都分享。

每个人都要根据自己的能力，根据自己的需要，给每个人一个解释共产经济如何运作的口号。每个人都有贡献，每个人都分享利润。

否决权：拒绝法律的权利。就联合国而言，安理会五个常任理事国中的每一个都可以否决一项措施。



TEXTS

The Communist Manifesto: The book by Marx and Engels that explained communism.

案文

共产党宣言：马克思和恩格斯解释共产主义的书。

1 WAS THE COLD WAR UNAVOIDABLE?



EVENTS

Yalta Conference: February 1945 meeting between President Roosevelt, Josef Stalin, and Great Britain's Prime Minister Winston Churchill to make agreements about the post-WWII world.

Potsdam Conference: A conferences in July and August 1945 between President Truman, Josef Stalin and Great Britain's Clement Attlee in which the leaders agreed to divide Germany into four zones of occupation.

Decolonization: The process by which former colonies in the Third World gained independence from European powers in the first few decades after WWII.

活动

雅尔塔会议：1945 年 2 月，罗斯福总统，约瑟夫·斯大林和英国首相丘吉尔会晤，就二战后的世界达成一致。

波茨坦会议：杜鲁门总统，斯大林总理和英国的克莱门特·艾德礼于 1945 年 7 月和 8 月举行会议，领导人同意将德国划分为四个占领区。

非殖民化：二战后头几十年第三世界前殖民地独立于欧洲列强的过程。



LOCATIONS

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR): The official name of the Soviet Union.

Israel: Nation created in the Middle East after WWII largely by Jews who escaped the Holocaust. Israel and the United States are strong allies, but Israel has a history of violent confrontation with its Arab neighbors.

Third World: The traditionally poorer regions of the world including Central and South America, Africa, the Middle East, South Asia and Southeast Asia.

Iron Curtain: The division between Eastern and Western Europe marking the separation between the communist and free worlds.

地点

苏维埃社会主义共和国联盟（苏联）：苏联的正式名称。

以色列：二战后在中东创造的国家主要是逃避大屠杀的犹太人。以色列和美国是强大的盟友，但以色列与阿拉伯邻国有暴力对抗的历史。

第三世界：世界上传统上较为贫穷的地区，包括中南美洲，非洲，中东，南亚和东南亚。

铁幕：东欧与西欧的分界线，标志着共产主义世界与自由世界的分离。

2

S E C O N D Q U E S T I O N WAS CONTAINMENT THE RIGHT WAY TO DEAL WITH THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM?



INTRODUCTION

Once it became clear that Stalin was intent on pushing communist ideology as far as his armies could carry it, the leaders in the West had the difficult task of determining what to do. It seemed unthinkable to let Stalin have his way. Too many lives had been lost protecting freedom and democracy during the epic struggle of World War II to simply walk away and let the Soviets erase those victories. Nevertheless, the world was weary of war, so short of continuing the struggle on the battlefield, how else could the West stand up to communist expansion?

Containment, the solution the United States settled on, prevented open war – it made the Cold War cold instead of hot – but was containment the best choice?

介绍

一旦斯大林显然意图推行共产主义思想，就像他的军队能够承担这一点，西方领导人就有了决定做什么的艰巨任务。让斯大林走上前路似乎是不可想象的。在第二次世界大战的史诗般的斗争中，过多的生命丧失了保护自由和民主的意愿，只好走开，让苏联人抹去这些胜利。尽管如此，世界对战争仍然厌倦，不能继续在战场上进行斗争，西方怎么能够站起来呢？

遏制是美国解决的办法，阻止了公开的战争 - 冷战使得冷战变得不再热，但是遏制是最好的选择？

CONTAINMENT AND THE MARSHALL PLAN

When the Soviet Red Army began the long, slow process of pushing back the German war machine, it absorbed the nearby **Baltic States** of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania along the Baltic Sea into the Soviet Union. As they went, communist forces dominated the governments of Romania and Bulgaria. By the fall of 1945, it was clear that the Soviet-backed communists had complete control of Poland, violating the Yalta promise of free and unfettered elections there. It was only a matter of time before Hungary and Czechoslovakia fell into the Soviet orbit.

When Josef Stalin ordered the creation of a communist puppet regime in the Soviet sector of occupied Germany, the West began to panic. How many dominoes would fall? American diplomats saw the people of a continent ravaged by war looking for strong leadership and aid of any sort. If communists provided the help they desperately needed, they may embrace Stalin and communism as their saving grace. The continent was ripe for revolution. Would the Soviets get all of Germany? What about Italy and France? President Truman was determined to reverse the trend.

Since the American people were weary from war and had no desire to send troops into Eastern Europe to roll back the gains of Stalin's Red Army, fighting the Soviet Union would have been impossible. Instead, **George Kennan** a mid-level diplomat in the State Department proposed a new approach: the policy of **containment**.

In places where communism threatened to expand, American aid would be used to prevent a takeover. By vigorously supporting freely elected governments, the United States might be able to contain communism within its current borders. This policy became known as the **Truman Doctrine** as the President outlined his plans to Congress.

Greece and Turkey were the first nations spiraling into crisis that had not been directly occupied by the Soviet Army. Both countries were on the verge of being taken over by Soviet-backed guerrilla movements. Truman decided to draw a line in the sand. In March 1947, he asked Congress to appropriate \$400 million to send to these two nations in the form of military and economic assistance. Within two years the help the Americans provided had stabilized the Greek and Turkish economies and helped reestablish law and order. The communist threat passed as people began to view democracy and the free market system promoted by the United States as the road to peace and prosperity.

遏制和马歇尔计划

当苏联红军开始推迟德国战争机器的漫长、缓慢的过程时，它把波罗的海沿岸的爱沙尼亚、拉脱维亚和立陶宛附近的波罗的海国家吸收到了苏联。就在他们去的时候，共产主义势力统治了罗马尼亚和保加利亚的政府。到了 1945 年秋，苏联支持的共产主义者完全控制了波兰，违反了雅尔塔在那里自由而不受约束的选举的承诺。匈牙利和捷克斯洛伐克陷入苏联轨道只是时间问题。

当约瑟夫·斯大林命令在被占领的德国苏维埃部门建立共产傀儡政权时，西方开始恐慌。多少个多米诺骨牌会掉下来？美国外交官看到一个受战争蹂躏的大陆人民寻求任何形式的强有力的领导和援助。如果共产党人提供了他们急需的帮助，他们可能会把斯大林和共产主义作为他们的救恩。这个大陆的革命已经成熟了。苏联人会得到德国的全部吗？那么意大利和法国呢？杜鲁门总统决心扭转这一趋势。

既然美国人民因战争而疲惫不堪，又不想派兵进入东欧来压低斯大林红军的利益，就不可能与苏联作战。相反，国务院中层外交官乔治·凯南提出了一种新的方法：遏制政策。

在共产主义威胁扩大的地方，美国的援助将被用来阻止收购。通过大力支持自由选举的政府，美国可能能够在当前的边界内遏制共产主义。当总统向国会提出他的计划时，这个政策就被称为杜鲁门主义（Truman Doctrine）。

希腊和土耳其是第一批卷入危机的国家，并没有被苏联军队直接占领。这两个国家即将被苏联支持的游击队运动所接管。杜鲁门决定在沙子上画一条线。1947 年 3 月，他要求国会拨款 4 亿美元，以军事和经济援助的形式向这两个国家派遣。在两年内，美国人提供的帮助使希腊和土耳其经济稳定下来，并帮助恢复了法律和秩序。随着人们开始把民主和美国推动的自由市场体系视为和平与繁荣的道路，共产主义的威胁就此消失了。

Emergency aid to Turkey and Greece worked to stabilize those two nations, but all of Europe was devastated. The war had ruined crop fields and destroyed infrastructure. The people of the entire continent were in dire need. On June 5, 1947, Secretary of State **George Marshall** announced the European Recovery Program. To avoid antagonizing the Soviet Union, Marshall announced that the purpose of sending aid to Western Europe was completely humanitarian, and even offered aid to the communist states in the East, but Stalin refused. He knew that American money could influence the hearts and minds of the people in his sphere of influence the same way it had in Greece and Turkey. In the end, congress approved Truman's request of \$17 billion over four years to be sent to Great Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Belgium.



The **Marshall Plan** created an economic miracle in Western Europe. By the target date of the program four years later, Western European industries were producing twice as much as they had before war broke out. The aid also produced record levels of trade with American firms, fueling a postwar economic boom in the United States. Some Americans grumbled about the costs, but peace and freedom in Western Europe proved to be bargain.

Lastly, and much to Truman's delight, none of the nations of Western Europe that received aid under the Marshall Plan ever faced a serious threat of communist takeover. On the contrary, the nations of Western Europe were, and continue to be America's strongest allies.

对土耳其和希腊的紧急援助使这两个国家稳定下来，但整个欧洲都遭到了破坏。战争破坏了农田，摧毁了基础设施。整个大陆的人们急需。1947年6月5日，国务卿乔治·马歇尔宣布了欧洲复兴计划。为避免对抗苏联，马歇尔宣布向西欧派遣援助的目的完全是人道主义的，甚至向东方的共产国家提供援助，但斯大林拒绝了。他知道，美国的金钱可以像在希腊和土耳其一样，影响到他的影响力的人民的心灵和思想。最后，国会批准了杜鲁门四年来170亿美元的要求，被派往英国，法国，西德，意大利，荷兰和比利时。

Primary Source: Editorial Cartoon

Congress races to pass funding to save Western Europe from the chaos spread by communism in a cartoon arguing in favor of the Marshall Plan.

遏制和马歇尔计划

国会为了拯救西欧，从共产主义传播的混乱中争取赞助“马歇尔计划”，争夺资金。

马歇尔计划在西欧创造了一个经济奇迹。四年后的这个计划的目标日期，西欧工业的产量是战前爆发的两倍。这笔援助还创造了与美国公司的贸易水平创纪录水平，助长了战后美国的经济繁荣。一些美国人对成本抱怨，但西欧的和平与自由被证明是讨价还价的。

最后，对于杜鲁门的喜悦来说，没有一个得到马歇尔计划援助的西欧国家曾经面临过严重的共产主义收购威胁。相反，西欧国家是并且仍然是美国最强大的盟友。



THE BERLIN AIRLIFT

Berlin, Germany's wartime capital was the prickliest of all issues that separated the United States and Soviet Union during the late 1940s and became a symbol of the entire Cold War. The city was divided into four Zones of Occupation like the rest of Germany. However, the entire city lay within the Soviet zone of occupation miles from the rest of West Germany. Once the nation of East Germany was established, the allied sections of the capital known as West Berlin became an island of democracy and capitalism behind the Iron Curtain.

Stalin viewed West Berlin as an embarrassment. Thousands of East Germans were moving to West Berlin, and then on to West Germany to escape the establishment of a communist regime. Stalin wanted the Allies out of the city.

In June 1948, he decided to seal all land routes going into West Berlin. Since the borders of West Berlin had been open since the end of the war, most of what the people of the city consumed, especially food and fuel, was produced in the surrounding East German countryside. Stalin gambled that the Western powers were tired, and that their populations were not willing to risk another war to protect the city. Faced with starvation, he calculated the Americans would give up and leave the city rather than let people starve. Alternatively, the people of West Berlin would throw the Americans out in order to end the blockade. Either way, a withdrawal by the United States would eliminate the democratic enclave in the Soviet zone.

Truman was faced with a tough choice. Relinquishing West Berlin to the Soviets would seriously undermine the new doctrine of containment. Any negotiated settlement would suggest that the Soviet Union could engineer a crisis at any time to exact concessions. If Berlin were compromised, the whole of West Germany might question the American commitment to German democracy. To Harry Truman, there was no question. "We are going to stay, period," he declared. Together, with Britain, the United States began moving massive amounts of food and supplies into West Berlin by air.

柏林航空公司

德国的战时首都柏林是 20 世纪 40 年代后期分裂美苏的所有问题中最棘手的问题，成为整个冷战的象征。与德国其他地区一样，这个城市被划分为四个职业区。然而，整个城市都位于苏联西德的其他地区。一旦东德国家成立，首都西柏林的联盟部分成为铁幕背后的民主和资本主义岛屿。

斯大林把西柏林视为尴尬。成千上万的东德人搬到西柏林，然后到西德逃避建立共产主义政权。斯大林希望盟军出城。

1948 年 6 月，他决定封锁所有进入西柏林的陆路。自从战争结束以来，西柏林的边界一直是开放的，城市人民大部分消费的东西，特别是食物和燃料，都是在东德周边农村生产的。斯大林赌博说西方列强疲惫不堪，他们的人民不愿冒另一场战争来保护这个城市。面对饥饿，他计算美国人会放弃离开这个城市，而不是让人们饿死。另一方面，西柏林人也会把美国人抛出去，以封锁封锁。无论哪种方式，美国的撤军都会消灭苏联地区的民主飞地。

杜鲁门面临着艰难的选择。将西柏林放弃给苏联，将严重破坏遏制的新理论。任何通过谈判达成的解决办法都意味着苏联可以随时制造危机来确定让步。如果柏林妥协，整个西德可能会质疑美国对德国民主的承诺。对杜鲁门来说，毫无疑问。他说：“我们要留下来。美国 and 英国一起，开始通过空运将大量的食物和物资运送到西柏林。”



Primary Source: Editorial Cartoon

Congress races to pass funding to save Western Europe from the chaos spread by communism in a cartoon arguing in favor of the Marshall Plan.

主要来源：照片

年轻的柏林人看着一架美国飞机在空运期间登陆林。

At first Stalin was convinced the **airlift** would fail and there was every reason to believe it would. After 1945, the allies had greatly reduced the number of heavy aircraft and pilots in their air forces. It was altogether possible that there might just not be the planes and pilots necessary to deliver enough food and fuel to keep the people of West Berlin from starving and freezing during the coming winter. There was also a problem of where to land. There were only three airports in West Berlin.

In a testament to logistical planning and resourcefulness, General **William Tuner** organized around-the-clock flights. By the time the airlift ended, the allies were delivering 4,000 tons of supplies every day. At the height of the airlift, a plane was landing in West Berlin every minute.

With the airlift, Truman turned the tables on Stalin. Now the choice between war and peace was in Stalin's hands. Instead of the Americans starting a war to break the land blockade, Stalin would have to start a war to end the airlift by shooting down the allied planes, and he refused to give that order. Over the next eleven months, Stalin began to look bad in the eyes of the world. He was clearly willing to use innocent civilians as pawns to quench his expansionist thirst.

After more than a year, in May 1949, the Soviets ended the blockade. The United States and Britain had flown over 250,000 supply missions and the airlift had been a success. The policy of containment was intact, and even more importantly, the Americans and British had demonstrated to the people of West Berlin, West Germany, and the

起初，斯大林相信空运会失败，有充分的理由相信它。1945 年以后，盟国大大减少了空军重型飞机和飞行员的数量。完全有可能没有必要的飞机和飞行员提供足够的食物和燃料，以防止西柏林人民在即将到来的冬季饥饿和冰冻。还有一个地方的问题。西柏林只有三个机场。

威廉·图纳（William Tuner）将军通过后勤计划和机智的实践，组织了 24 小时的飞行。空运结束时，盟国每天运送 4000 吨物资。在空运的高空，一架飞机每分钟都在西柏林登陆。

随着空运，杜鲁门把桌子上的斯大林。现在战争与和平之间的选择是在斯大林的手中。斯大林不是要打仗打破地面封锁，而是要开始战争，结束空运，击落盟军的飞机，他拒绝下令。在接下来的十一个月里，斯大林在世界的眼中开始变得不好看。他显然愿意用无辜的平民作为典当来解除他的扩张主义的渴望。

经过一年多的时间，1949 年 5 月，苏维埃结束了封锁。美国 and 英国已经飞行了超过 25 万的供应任务，空运获得了成功。遏制政策是完整的，更重要



world that they would stand up to the Soviet Union in the defense of freedom.

NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT

With his choice to blockade Berlin, Stalin miscalculated the strength of western unity. To cement the cooperation that the western allies had shown during the war and immediate postwar years, the Western allies formed the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** in April 1949. The pact operated on the basis of **collective security**. If any one of the member states were attacked, all would retaliate together. The original NATO members were Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Canada, Iceland, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, and the United States. Later Greece and Turkey were added. These two nations were traditional enemies, and Turkey is a predominantly Muslim nation, but they straddle the seaways that connect the Black and Mediterranean Seas. With Greece, Turkey, Denmark, Norway and Iceland all members of NATO, the West could keep an eye on the Soviet Navy as it came and went from the Mediterranean and Baltic Seas.

NATO was the sort of permanent alliance George Washington had warned against in his Farewell Address in 1796. By helping to found NATO, the United States formally shed its isolationist past and thrust itself forward as the indispensable superpower in the struggle for freedom.

In 1955 West Germany joined NATO, prompting the Soviet Union and the communist nations of the Eastern Bloc to form their own mutual defense alliance. Because it was signed in the Polish city of Warsaw, the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was commonly known as the **Warsaw Pact**. Like the members of NATO, the Warsaw Pact nations coordinated their militaries, integrated communications systems, shared equipment and technologies, used each other's military facilities, and practiced coordinated attacks. In time, NATO and the Warsaw Pact became synonymous with the free West and the communist East, even though there were nations on both sides of the Iron Curtain that refused to join either alliance.

When the Cold War ended in 1991, the Warsaw Pact dissolved. NATO, on the other hand, still exists today. Its membership has greatly expanded and now includes some of the former Warsaw Pact nations, much to the distress of current Russian leaders.

的是，美英两国向西柏林，西德和世界的人民展示了他们为维护自由而挺身而出的苏联。

北约和华沙公约

斯大林选择封锁柏林，错误地估计了西方统一的力量。为了加强西方盟友在战争和战后几年间的合作，西方盟友于 1949 年 4 月组建了北大西洋公约组织（NATO）。该协定是在集体安全的基础上进行的。如果任何一个成员国遭到袭击，一切都会一起报复。原来的北约成员是英国，法国，意大利，荷兰，比利时，加拿大，冰岛，卢森堡，丹麦，挪威，葡萄牙和美国。后来又增加了希腊和土耳其。这两个国家是传统的敌人，土耳其是主要的穆斯林国家，但它们跨越连接黑海和地中海的海路。与希腊，土耳其，丹麦，挪威和冰岛的所有北约成员国相比，西方国家可以密切关注苏联海军从地中海到波罗的海的走向。

北约是乔治·华盛顿在 1796 年的告别演讲中提到的永久性联盟。通过帮助找到北约，美国正式摆脱了孤立主义的过去，作为争取自由斗争中不可或缺的超级大国。

1955 年西德加入北约，促使苏联与东欧共产主义国家形成自己的防务联盟。由于是在波兰华沙签署的，“友好合作互助条约”俗称“华沙条约”。与北约成员国一样，华约国家也协调了他们的军队，综合通信系统，共享设备和技术，使用对方的军事设施，并进行协调攻击。尽管铁幕两边都有拒绝加入联盟的国家，北约和华沙条约成了自由西方和共产主义东方的代名词。

1991 年冷战结束的时候，华沙条约解散了。另一方面，北约今天依然存在。其成员已经大大扩展，现在包括一些前华沙条约国家，很多俄罗斯现任领导人的痛苦。



CONTAINMENT IN ASIA

The crisis in Berlin may have been the first test of Truman's commitment to the policy of containment, but there was never any fighting involved in the Berlin Airlift. In Asia, however, a long and bloody land war proved to be a great test of Truman's resolve.

Unlike in Europe, containment had not gone well in Asia. First, and most importantly, China had fallen into communist hands. This was not entirely surprising. The transformation of China into a communist nation had begun long before the outbreak of the Cold War. In fact, a civil war had been raging in China since the early 1900s.

In 1911, modernized Chinese military units began uprisings against the Qing family's imperial rule. Over the next year, various provinces declared independence from the government and on January 1, 1912, delegates from the independent provinces elected **Sun Yat-sen** as the first provisional president of the Republic of China. The last emperor of China, Puyi, was forced to abdicate a month later on February 12. Although Sun was inaugurated in Nanjing as the first provisional president, he was unable to maintain stability since leaders in many provinces also wanted control. Sun did not command an army of his own and over the next decade, conflict rather than peace was common throughout China.

In the 1920s, Sun Yat-sen established a base in southern China and set out to unite the fragmented nation. With assistance from the Soviet Union, he entered into an alliance with the fledgling Communist Party of China. After Sun's death from cancer in 1925, one of his protégés, **Chiang Kai-shek**, seized control of the Kuomintang, Sun's political party, and succeeded in bringing most of South and Central China under its rule in a military campaign known as the Northern Expedition. In 1927, Chiang turned on the communists who had supported him in an effort to secure his power. In 1934, driven from their mountain bases, the communist forces embarked on the **Long March** across China's most desolate terrain to the northwest, where they established a guerrilla base at Yan'an in Shaanxi Province. During the Long March, the communists reorganized under a new leader, **Mao Zedong**.

Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and Mao Zedong's Chinese Communist Party put their conflict on hold between 1937 and 1945 when they both turned their attention to repelling the invading Japanese. Following the defeat of Japan in 1945, the war between the nationalists and communists resumed.

在亚洲的包容

柏林危机可能是杜鲁门遏制政策承诺的第一次考验，但柏林空运从未有过任何战斗。然而在亚洲，长期血腥的土地战争证明是杜鲁门决心的一个重大考验。

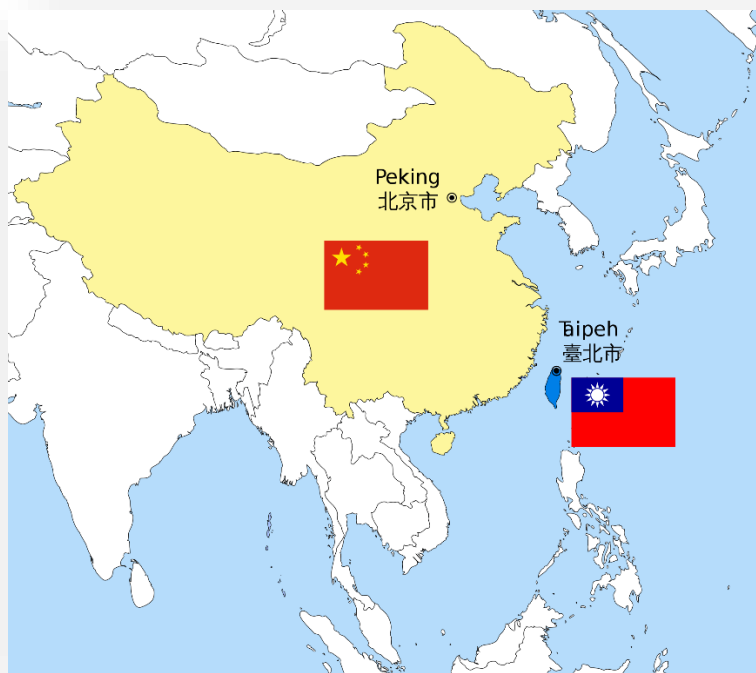
与欧洲不同的是，遏制在亚洲并不顺利。首先，最为重要的是，中国已经陷入了共产主义的手中。这并不令人惊讶。冷战爆发之前，中国已经成为一个共产国家。事实上，自二十世纪初以来，中国内战一直在肆虐。

1911 年，现代化的中国军队开始反抗清朝皇室的统治。明年各省宣布独立，1912 年 1 月 1 日，独立省的代表选举孙中山为中华民国第一任临时总统。中国最后一位皇帝溥仪在一个月后被迫退位。虽然孙中山在南京成为第一位临时总统，但由于许多省份的领导人 also 想要控制，所以他无法保持稳定。孙中山并没有自己的军队，在接下来的十年里，中国的冲突而不是和平是普遍的。

20 世纪 20 年代，孙中山在华南建立了一个基地，着手统一这个分散的国家。他在苏联的帮助下，与刚刚起步的中国共产党结成了联盟。1925 年孙中山死于癌症之后，他的一个学徒蒋介石夺取了孙中山的国民党政权的控制权，并成功地把南中国的大部分地区置于其统治之下，被称为北伐。蒋介石于 1927 年转而支持支持他的共产党，以夺取其权力。1934 年，从山地基地赶来，共产党军队踏上了长征横跨中国最荒凉的地带的西北，在陕西延安建立了游击队基地。长征期间，共产主义者在一个新领导人毛泽东的重组下。

蒋介石的国民党和毛泽东的中国共产党在一九三七年至一九四五年间，都把他们的冲突搁置起来，当时他们都把注意力转移到了驱逐侵略日本人身上。1945 年日本战败之后，民族主义者和共产主义者之间的战争又恢复了。

After three years of exhausting military campaigns, Chiang Kai-shek and approximately two million Nationalist Chinese retreated from mainland China to the island of Formosa on October 1, 1949. Mao Zedong proclaimed the **People's Republic of China** with its capital in Beijing. In December 1949, Chiang proclaimed Taipei, Taiwan, the temporary capital of the **Republic of China**. To this day, both the communist government in Beijing and the nationalist government in Taipei claim to be the legitimate rulers of all of China, but in reality, mainland China and the island nation of **Taiwan** operate as fully independent countries.



Secondary Source: Map

The two Chinas. This map shows mainland China and Taiwan as well as the two capital cities.

次要来源：地图

两个中国人。这幅地图显示了中国大陆和台湾以及两个首府城市。

Although the United States had not been directly involved in the Chinese Civil War, President Truman was widely criticized for failing to stop the march of Mao's army. China, the most populous country on the planet had become the world's second communist nation on Truman's watch. How could he let this happen and what did it mean for the rest of Asia?

THE KOREAN WAR

When the Soviet Union entered the Second World War against Japan, they sent troops into Japanese-occupied Korea. American troops established a presence in the southern part of the Korean Peninsula and when the Japanese surrendered, Korea split into a Soviet northern

尽管美国并没有直接卷入中国内战，但是杜鲁门总统因为没有阻止毛泽东军队的进军而受到广泛的批评。中国这个地球上人口最多的国家已经成为杜鲁门观察的世界第二共产主义国家。他怎么能让这个事情发生，对亚洲其他地区意味着什么呢？

朝鲜战争

当苏联进入第二次世界大战时，他们出兵入日本占领的朝鲜。美军在朝鲜半岛南部地区存在，日军投



zone, and an American southern zone, divided at the **38th Parallel**. Korea began to resemble divided Germany.

Upon the recommendation of the United Nations, elections were scheduled to choose leaders who would reunify Korea, but fearing that the Americans would manipulate the outcome, the North's communist leaders refused to participate. The election went forward in the South and **Syngman Rhee** became president, but the Soviets supported **Kim Il-Sung** as leader of the North. When the United States and the Soviet Union withdrew their forces from the peninsula in 1948 and 1949, trouble began.

Kim Il-Sung had no desire to remain leader of only the northern half of Korea. On June 25, 1950, his armed forces crossed the 38th Parallel and marched into the South. It took only two days for President Truman to commit the United States military to the defense of South Korea. Truman hoped to build a broad coalition by enlisting support from the United Nations.

Of course, the Soviet Union could veto any proposed action by the Security Council, but this time the Americans were in luck. The Soviets were boycotting the Security Council for refusing to admit communist China into the United Nations. As a result, the Council voted unanimously to "repel the armed attack" of North Korea. Many countries sent troops to defend the South but the vast majority of the soldiers were from the United States and South Korea.

The commander of the United Nations forces was **Douglas MacArthur**, the hero of World War II in the Pacific and commander of the American occupation of Japan. He had an uphill battle to fight, as the North had overrun the entire peninsula with the exception of a small area around the city of Pusan in the far south.

MacArthur ordered a daring amphibious assault at Inchon on the western side of the peninsula. It was one of the most brilliant military calculations of his illustrious career. Caught by surprise, the communist-backed northern forces reeled in retreat. American troops from Inchon and Pusan quickly pushed the North Koreans to the 38th Parallel and then beyond. MacArthur, Truman and the Americans saw an opportunity to create a united democratic Korea and pushed Kim's army up to the Yalu River, the border between Korea and China.

Truman relished the idea of reuniting Korea, but his hopes were dashed on November 27, when over 400,000 Chinese soldiers flooded across the Yalu River. Surprising Truman and MacArthur who had both calculated that the Chinese would want to stay out of the fight,

降后，朝鲜分裂为苏联北部地区和美国南部地区，分成三十八线。韩国开始像分裂的德国。

根据联合国的建议，选举计划选择将统一韩国的领导人，但担心美国人会操纵结果，北韩共产党领导人拒绝参加。选举在南方进行，李承晚成为总统，但苏联支持金日成担任北韩领导人。美苏苏联在一九四八年和一九四九年从半岛撤军的时候，麻烦就开始了。

金日成不想继续担任韩国北半部的领导人。1950年6月25日，他的军队越过三八线，进军南方。杜鲁门总统只用了两天的时间就把美国的军队交给了韩国的防务。杜鲁门希望通过争取联合国的支持来建立一个广泛的联盟。

当然，苏联可以否决安理会提出的任何行动，但是这次美国人是幸运的。苏联抵制安理会拒绝接受共产党中国加入联合国。结果，安理会一致投票表决“打击北韩的武装进攻”。许多国家出兵保卫南方，但绝大多数的士兵来自美国 and 韩国。

联合国军的指挥官是二战时期太平洋英雄道格拉斯·麦克阿瑟和美国占领日本的指挥官。他打了一场艰苦的战斗，因为除了南部的釜山市周围的一个小区域，北部已经超过了整个半岛。

麦克阿瑟在半岛西侧的仁川点了一次大胆的两栖攻击。这是他杰出的职业生涯中最辉煌的军事计算之一。被共产党支持的北方势力惊呆了，退缩了。来自仁川和釜山的美国军队迅速将朝鲜人推向了三十八平行线。麦克阿瑟，杜鲁门和美国人看到了创造一个统一的民主的韩国的机会，并且把金的军队推到了韩中两国边界的鸭绿江上。

杜鲁门欣赏统一韩国的想法，但他的希望在11月27日破土动工，当时中国有40多万军人横渡鸭绿江。令人惊讶的是，杜鲁门和麦克阿瑟都曾计算过中国人不愿意离开这场斗争，毛泽东主席决定来帮助他的共产主义邻国。



Chairman Mao Zedong had decided to come to the aid of his communist neighbor.

American troops were once again forced south of the 38th Parallel. General MacArthur viewed the seesawing war as a great struggle against the evil forces of communism. He applied the lessons he learned fighting the Japanese in World War II, and advocated for nothing less than total victory. He proposed escalating the war by bombing China, even suggesting that nuclear weapons should be considered as an option. In MacArthur's mind, not winning was the same as losing.

Truman disagreed. He feared escalation of the conflict could lead to another world war, especially if by attacking China the Americans provoked the Soviet Union. Truman could imagine the world slipping into another great war in the same way the European powers had tumbled into World War One in 1914. Actually, China was also exercising restraint. They could have attacked American bases in Japan that were used to support the war in Korea, but like Truman, had decided to fight the war only in Korea.

Disgruntled, MacArthur took his case directly to the American people by openly criticizing Truman's approach. The Constitution firmly gives the power of commander-in-chief of the military to a civilian elected president. Truman feared that if he gave in to MacArthur it might appear that the president was taking orders from the military, rather than the other way around, so on April 6, 1951, Truman ordered that MacArthur be replaced as commander in Korea and Japan.

Fallout from Truman's decision was immediate. Some Republicans in Congress called for him to be impeached. MacArthur was a revered war hero. When he flew home to the United States, he was greeted with a parade that was attended by 500,000 people. In contrast, Truman's popularity dropped to 22%, the lowest ever for any president in the era of modern opinion polling. Meanwhile, MacArthur was invited to address a joint session of Congress, the only military commander ever to do so.

In his speech MacArthur declared, "Efforts have been made to distort my position. It has been said in effect that I was a warmonger. Nothing could be further from the truth. I know war as few other men now living know it, and nothing to me is more revolting... But once war is forced upon us, there is no other alternative than to apply every available means to bring it to a swift end. War's very object is victory, not prolonged indecision. In war there can be no substitute for victory." In the end, though, Truman was president, and his judgment was that the best resolution of the war in Korea was not total victory

美国军队再次被迫在三八线以南。麦克阿瑟将军把这场动荡的战争视为对抗共产主义邪恶势力的伟大斗争。他运用他在二战中学到的与日本人作战的教训，主张不胜枚举。他提出通过轰炸中国来升级战争，甚至认为应该把核武器当作一种选择。在麦克阿瑟的脑海中，不是失败就是失败。

杜鲁门不同意。他担心冲突升级可能导致另一场世界大战，特别是如果通过袭击中国美国人挑起苏联。杜鲁门可以想象，世界正在像 1914 年欧洲列强陷入第一次世界大战一样滑入另一场大战。实际上，中国也是在克制。他们本可以袭击曾经支持朝鲜战争的美国在日本的基地，但像杜鲁门一样，决定只在韩国作战。

不满的是，麦克阿瑟公开批评杜鲁门的做法，直接向美国人民陈述了他的情况。宪法坚定地赋予军方总司令一位民选总统的权力。杜鲁门担心，如果他向麦克阿瑟屈服的话，看起来总统是在接受军方的命令，而不是反过来，所以在 1951 年 4 月 6 日，杜鲁门命令麦克阿瑟换成韩国和日本的司令。

杜鲁门决定的辐射是立竿见影的。国会中的一些共和党人呼吁他被弹。麦克阿瑟是一个崇敬的战争英雄。当他飞回美国时，他迎来了一场有 50 万人参加的游行。相比之下，杜鲁门的人气降到了 22%，是现代民意调查时代任何总统的最低水平。与此同时，麦克阿瑟被邀请在国会联合会议上发言，这是唯一的军事指挥官。

麦克阿瑟在他的讲话中宣称：“已经做出了扭曲我的立场的努力。实际上已经说过，我是一个战争贩子。没有东西会离事实很远。我知道战争是因为很少有其他人现在知道这一点，对我来说没有什么比这更令人反感的了。但是，一旦战争被强加于我们身上，除了用一切可能的手段来迅速结束战争之外别无选择。战争的对象是胜利，而不是长时间犹豫不决。在战争中，胜利无可取代。”最后，杜鲁门当上了总统，他的判断是，朝鲜战争的最佳解决方案

against all the forces of communism, but a permanently divided Korean peninsula.



式并不是对一切共产主义势力的彻底胜利，而是永久分裂的朝鲜半岛。

Primary Source: Photograph

President Truman and Douglas MacArthur at a meeting they held in Hawaii.

主要来源：照片

杜鲁门总统和麦克阿瑟在夏威夷举行的会议上。

The war itself had evolved into a **stalemate**, with the front line corresponding more or less to the 38th Parallel where the division of the peninsula had been three years before. Ceasefire negotiations dragged on for two more years, beyond Truman's presidency. Finally, under the direction of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Truman's successor, an **armistice** was signed at Panmunjom on July 27, 1953. North Korea remained a communist dictatorship under the leadership of Kim Il-sung, and South Korea remained under the control of Syngman Rhee who ruled for 12 years as a dictator, but, in the opinion of the United States, at least not a communist dictator.

Over 5 million people died before the war ended and more than half of the victims were civilians. In all, 37,000 Americans died in the conflict. Today, Korea remains divided by a three-mile wide **demilitarized zone (DMZ)** guarded on both sides by vigilant armies. Kim Il-sung was succeeded by his son **Kim Jong-il** and then by his grandson **Kim Jong-un**. Supported today only by China, North Korea is one of the world's poorest and most isolated countries.

战争本身已经演变成僵持局面，前线与三年前的三八线大致相当。除了杜鲁门总统以外，停火谈判还拖了两年。最后，在杜鲁门总统德怀特·D·艾森豪威尔总统的领导下，1953年7月27日在板门店签署了停战协定。朝鲜在金日成的领导下仍然是共产党专政，而韩国仍然受到李承晚以独裁者的身份统治了12年，但在美国看来，至少不是共产党的独裁者。

战争结束前，有五百多万人丧生，一半以上的受害者是平民。总共有37000名美国人在冲突中遇难。今天，韩国仍然被一支由警卫队双方守卫的三英里宽的非军事区（DMZ）划分。金日成继承了他的儿子金正日和他的孙子金正恩。北韩今天只受中国支持，是世界上最贫穷和最孤立的国家之一。



South Korea eventually embraced democracy, modernized its economy, and is a major trading partner of the United States. Korean products such as Samsung electronics and Hyundai automobiles are commonplace in America, and American products and soldiers are familiar sights in South Korea. In 2017, there were still 37,500 American military personnel stationed in South Korea standing guard against another invasion from the North.

VIETNAM

In the 1800s and early 1900s, powerful nations gobbled up weaker ones in the development of vast empires. For example, the United States took Hawaii and the Philippines. Great Britain ruled over India. And all the major powers of Europe had divided up Africa. The lands of Southeast Asia that are today's nations of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia comprised the French colony of **Indochina**.

After World War One, an independence movement formed in Vietnam led by **Ho Chi Minh**. Ho was educated in the West, where he became a disciple of Marxist thought. Ho resented and resisted the French, and when the Japanese invaded Vietnam during World War II and displaced the French, Ho fought them as well. His liberation movement, known as the **Viet Minh**, used guerrilla warfare and successfully held many key cities by 1945. When the Japanese surrendered, Ho gave a victory speech in Hanoi. Paraphrasing Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, Ho proclaimed a new independent nation of Vietnam.

France was determined to reclaim all its territories after World War II. The United States now faced an interesting dilemma. American tradition dictated sympathy for revolutionaries rather than archaic colonial powers. The American army had even helped Ho during World War II in his fight against Japan. However, given Truman's new strategy of containment, supporting the Marxist Viet Minh was unthinkable.

DOMINO THEORY

Vietnam was a small nation compared to China, Korea or Japan, and most Americans had never heard of it and would have been at a loss to find it on a map. However, for military strategists Vietnam was hugely important.

American diplomats subscribed to the **Domino Theory**. Like a line of dominos in which a first falling domino knocks down the next, which topples the next, and so on, a communist victory in Vietnam might

韩国最终拥抱民主，实现经济现代化，是美国的主要贸易伙伴。韩国产品，如三星电子和现代汽车在美国是司空见惯的，而美国的产品和士兵是韩国人熟悉的景点。2017年，还有37500名美国军人驻扎在韩国，防止北韩再次入侵。

越南

在十九世纪和二十世纪初，强大的国家在庞大的帝国发展中吞噬了较弱的国家。例如，美国拿了夏威夷和菲律宾。英国统治印度。欧洲所有的大国都把非洲分开了。当今越南，老挝和柬埔寨国家的东南亚土地包括法属殖民地印度支那。

第一次世界大战后，由越南胡志明领导的越南独立运动。何教育在西方，成为马克思主义思想的门徒。何怨恨法国人，二战期间日本侵略越南，法国人流离失所的时候，他也和他们抗争。他的解放运动，被称为越南，使用游击战争，并于1945年成功地举行了许多重点城市。当日本人投降时，何在河内发表胜利演说。解释托马斯·杰斐逊的独立宣言，何宣称越南是一个新的独立国家。

法国决心在二战后收回所有领土。美国现在面临一个有趣的困境。美国的传统要求革命者而不是古老的殖民统治者同情。第二次世界大战期间，美国军队甚至还帮助了他打击日本。但是，鉴于杜鲁门的新遏制战略，支持马克思主义的越南是不可想象的。

多米诺理论

与中国，韩国和日本相比，越南是一个小国，大多数美国人从来没有听说过这样的情况，如果在地图上找到这个数字，他们将不知所措。然而，越南军事战略家非常重要。

美国外交官赞成多米诺骨牌理论。就像多米诺骨牌中的第一颗倒下的多米诺骨牌将下一个击倒，下一个倒下，等等，越南的共产主义胜利可能会导致老



lead to communist victories in Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Such a scenario was unthinkable to the makers of American foreign policy.

President Truman decided to support France in its efforts to reclaim Indochina by providing money and military advisers. The United States financial commitment amounted to nearly one billion dollars per year. For Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese, America's support of the French imperialists was unimaginable. How could a nation whose founding ideals they so admired help the colonizers?

The French, for their part, found Ho Chi Minh a formidable adversary. Between 1945 and 1954, a fierce war raged. Slowly but surely, the Viet Minh wore down the French will to fight. In the end, a large regiment of French troops was surrounded by the Vietnamese under the leadership of communist general **Vo Nguyen Giap** at **Dien Bien Phu**. After a long siege, the French surrendered. This final catastrophe convinced the French to abandon their hopes of reclaiming their lost colony.

PICKING SIDES

The French troops withdrew, leaving Ho Chi Minh in control of the northern half of the country. Negotiations to formally end the conflict took place in Geneva, Switzerland. A multinational agreement divided Vietnam at the 17th Parallel. The territory north of this line would be led by Ho Chi Minh with **Hanoi** its capital.

The southern sector named the city of **Saigon** its capital and **Ngo Dinh Diem** its leader. The division of Vietnam was meant to be temporary, with nationwide elections scheduled for 1956. Knowing that Ho Chi Minh would be a sure victor, however, the South made sure these elections were never held.

During the administrations of Eisenhower and Kennedy, the United States continued to supply funds, weapons, and military advisers to South Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh turned North Vietnam into a communist dictatorship and created a new band of guerrillas called the **Viet Cong**, whose sole purpose was to overthrow the military regime in the South and reunite the nation.

In the first of many cases during the Cold War, the United States backed an unpopular leader in Ngo Dinh Diem. Diem was corrupt, showed little commitment to democratic principles, and favored Catholics to the dismay of Vietnam's Buddhist majority. But Diem was not a communist, which was the most important criteria when the

挝，柬埔寨，泰国，马来西亚和印度尼西亚的共产党胜利。对美国外交政策的制定者来说，这种情况是不可想象的。

杜鲁门总统决定支持法国通过提供金钱和军事顾问来收回印度支那。美国的财政承诺每年近十亿美元。对于胡志明和越南人来说，美国对法国帝国主义的支持是不可想象的。一个如此钦佩他们的创始理想的国家怎能帮助殖民者呢？

法国人则发现胡志明是一个强大的对手。1945年至1954年间，一场激烈的战争肆虐。越来越慢，但是肯定的是，越南人打倒了法国人的意志。最后，在奠边府的共产主义将军阮国强的领导下，一支法国大军团被越南人包围。经过长时间的围攻，法国人投降了。这场最后的灾难使法国人放弃了收复失去的殖民地的希望。

挑选方向

法国军队撤出，离开胡志明控制该国北部地区。正式结束冲突的谈判在瑞士日内瓦举行。一项跨国协议在十七点划分越南。这条线以北的地区由胡志明领导，首都河内。

南部地区将西贡市命名为首都，而 Ngo Dinh Diem 则是其领袖。越南的分裂本来就是暂时的，定于1956年举行全国性的选举。然而，知道胡志明是胜利者，南方确保这些选举从未举行过。

艾森豪威尔和肯尼迪政府期间，美国继续向南越提供资金，武器和军事顾问。胡志明将北越变成共产党专政，成立了一支名叫越共的游击队，唯一的目的是推翻南军政权，团结国家。

在冷战时期的许多情况下，美国支持了一个不受欢迎的 Ngo Dinh Diem 领导人。迪姆是腐败的，对民主原则没有多少承诺，并且赞成天主教徒对越南佛教多数人的沮丧。但是，迪姆并不是共产主义者，这是冷战期间美国在世界各地寻找盟友时最重要的标准。

United States was looking for allies around the world during the Cold War.

Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Nixon and Ford all struggled with the question of how to stop the spread of communism in Southeast Asia without being on the wrong side of history. In the end, American's leaders were unsuccessful in almost all of their goals. The United States ended up fighting a long, devastating and disastrous war that, after terrible bloodshed and destruction, we ultimately lost. Ho Chi Minh's struggle for a unified, independent Vietnam under a communist government succeeded.

CONCLUSION

Although containment successfully prevented the spread of communism in Europe and Korea, the United States lost the fight to stop communists from unifying Vietnam. Containment proved to be largely peaceful in Europe, but resulted in tremendous violence and bloodshed in Asia. In addition, containment did nothing to liberate people from communism. At best, it protected some people from living under communist rule. So, was containment the right way to deal with the spread of communism?

杜鲁门总统，艾森豪威尔总统，肯尼迪总统，尼克松总统和福特总统，都为如何制止东南亚共产主义的蔓延而不站在历史错误的一面而努力。最后，美国领导人几乎在所有的目标上都失败了。美国最终战斗了一场漫长而毁灭性的灾难性的战争，经过可怕的流血和破坏，我们最终失败了。胡志明为共产主义政府统一，独立的越南而奋斗的成功。

结论

尽管遏制成功地阻止了共产主义在欧洲和韩国的蔓延，美国却失去了阻止共产党统一越南的斗争。遏制被证明在欧洲基本上是和平的，但是在亚洲造成了巨大的暴力和流血。另外，遏制并没有把人们从共产主义中解放出来。它充其量只能保护一部分人不受共产主义统治的影响。那么，遏制正确处理共产主义蔓延的方法呢？



Listen to Marshall's address at
Harvard University proposing the
plan to rebuild Europe



Read documents related to
The firing of MacArthur



PEOPLE AND GROUPS

George Kennan: The State Department official who developed the policy of containment.

George Marshall: American Secretary of State who proposed using American money to rebuild Europe. He believed that if countries had a strong economy they would be less likely to fall to communism.

William Turner: American air force general who organized the Berlin Airlift.

NATO: Alliance that includes the United States, Canada, and most of the nations of Western Europe as well Greece and Turkey. It was created to counter the threat of the Soviet Union.

Warsaw Pact: The collective security agreement that was the answer to NATO. It included the Soviet Union and most of Eastern Europe.

Sun Yat-sen: Leader of the movement to overthrow the last of the Chinese emperors. He is often considered the "Father of China."

Chiang Kai-shek: Sun Yat-sen's successor and leader of the nationalist, non-communist Chinese forces. He lost to Mao and fled to Taiwan.

Mao Zedong: Leader of the Chinese communists. He became the first leader of mainland China after the communist takeover.

Syngman Rhee: First leader of South Korea. He ruled as a dictator but was not communist.

Kim Il-Sung: First leader of communist North Korea.

Douglas MacArthur: American hero of WWII in the Pacific. He had led the occupation of Japan and was commander in the Korean War until he was relieved by President Truman for insubordination.

Kim Jong-il: Second leader of North Korea from 1994-2011

Kim Jong-un: Third leader of North Korea from 2011 to the present.

Ho Chi Minh: Communist leader of North Vietnam. His primary goal was Vietnamese independence.

Viet Minh: The guerrilla fighters loyal to Ho Chi Minh.

Vo Nguyen Giap: General in charge of the North Vietnamese Army. He defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu.

Ngo Dinh Diem: Leader of South Vietnam. He was widely disliked by his own people.

Viet Cong: Guerrilla fighters loyal to Ho Chi Minh based in South Vietnam.

人和组

乔治·凯南：制定遏制政策的国务院官员。

乔治·马歇尔：美国国务卿提出用美国的钱重建欧洲。他认为，如果国家经济强劲，就不太可能陷入共产主义。

威廉·特纳：组织柏林空运的美国空军将军。

北约：包括美国，加拿大，大部分西欧国家以及希腊和土耳其在内的联盟。它是为了对付苏联的威胁而设立的。

华沙条约：北约的答案是集体安全协议。它包括苏联和东欧的大部分地区。

孙中山：推翻中国皇帝最后的运动的领袖。他经常被认为是“中国之父”。

蒋介石：孙中山的继承人和民族主义的非共产主义中国势力的领导人。他输给毛，逃到台湾。

毛泽东：中共领导人。共产党收购后，他成为大陆第一位领导人。

李承晚：韩国第一任领导人。他被统治为独裁者，但不是共产主义者。

金日成：共产主义朝鲜的第一位领导人。

道格拉斯·麦克阿瑟：太平洋第二次世界大战的美国英雄。他领导了日本的占领，并在朝鲜战争中担任指挥官，直到杜鲁门总统放任不管。

金正日：1994 - 2011 年的第二任朝鲜领导人

金正恩：2011 年至今的第三位朝鲜领导人。

胡志明：北越共产党领袖。他的主要目标是越南独立。

越南：忠于胡志明的游击战士。

Vo Nguyen Giap：北越军队负责人。他在奠边府击败了法国人。

Ngo Dinh Diem：南越领导人。他被自己的人民广泛不喜欢。

越共：忠于越南南部胡志明市的游击队战士。



LOCATIONS

Baltic States: Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. They were independent nations along the Baltic Sea before WWII. After the war they were absorbed into the Soviet Union. They were the first three republics to declare independence in 1991.

Berlin: Capital city of Germany. After WWII it was divided. West Berlin was a small enclave of freedom surrounded by Soviet-dominated East Germany. The city was the site of many standoffs and physical manifestations of the Cold War.

People's Republic of China (PRC): The official name of communist mainland China.

地点

波罗的海国家：拉脱维亚，立陶宛和爱沙尼亚。二战前他们是波罗的海沿岸的独立国家。战后他们被吸收到了苏联。他们是 1991 年宣布独立的前三个共和国。

柏林：德国首都。第二次世界大战后，它被分裂。西柏林是由苏联主导的东德包围的一个小自由飞地。这个城市是冷战的许多僵局和物质表现的场所。

中华人民共和国 (PRC)：共产主义大陆的正式名称。



Republic of China (ROC): The official name of non-communist Taiwan.

中华民国：非共产党的正式名称。

Taiwan: The small island nation off the southern coast of China founded by Chiang Kai-shek and his followers.

台湾：蒋介石及其追随者所创立的中国南海岸的小岛国。

38th Parallel: The line of latitude that divided North and South Korea before the Korean War. The current boundary still roughly follows the 38th Parallel.

第 38 平行线：朝鲜战争之前划分北韩和南韩的纬线。目前的边界仍然大致跟随三八线。

Demilitarized Zone (DMZ): The three-mile wide strip of land that marks the boundary between North and South Korea.

非军事区 (DMZ)：标志南北韩边界三英里宽的地带。

Indochina: The French colony in Southeast Asia including Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

印度支那：东南亚的法国殖民地，包括越南，柬埔寨和老挝。

Hanoi: Capital of North Vietnam.

河内：北越的首都。

Saigon: Capital of South Vietnam. Today it is known as Ho Chi Minh City.

西贡：南越的首都。今天它被称为胡志明市。



POLICIES

政策

Containment: The policy of preventing the spread of communist but not trying to eliminate it where it already existed.

遏制：防止共产主义扩散的政策，但不是试图消除它已经存在的政策。

Truman Doctrine: President Truman's plan to implement containment and use American money to support countries that were in danger of falling under communist domination.

杜鲁门主义：杜鲁门总统计划实施遏制，并利用美国的资金来支持那些处于共产主义统治下的国家。

Marshall Plan: The plan to use American money to rebuild Europe. It was intended to prevent the spread of communism by demonstrating that a free market system would be the path to prosperity.

马歇尔计划：利用美国资金重建欧洲的计划。这是为了防止共产主义的蔓延，表明自由市场体系将成为繁荣的道路。

Domino Theory: American belief that if one nation fell to communism its neighbors would soon follow.

多米诺骨牌理论：美国人认为，如果一个国家陷入共产主义，它的邻国将很快跟随。



KEY CONCEPTS

关键概念

Collective Security: An agreement between nations in which they agree to treat an attack on any member of the agreement as an attack on all members.

集体安全：国家之间的协议，他们同意把协议的任何成员的攻击视为对所有成员的攻击。

Stalemate: A situation in war in which neither side is able to win.

僵持：战争中双方都无法取胜的局面。

Armistice: An agreement to stop fighting. Rather than creating peace, it serves as a permanent suspension of war.

停战协议：停止战斗。它不是创造和平，而是永久的战争停顿。



EVENTS

活动

Berlin Airlift: Operation mounted by the United States and Great Britain to supply West Berlin by air when Stalin cut off the city's land access in 1948-1949. The Airlift was a success despite tremendous obstacles and the city was saved from communist takeover.

柏林空运：美国和英国在 1948 - 1949 年斯大林切断城市通道时，通过空运运送西柏林的行动。空运是成功的障碍，这个城市从共产主义收购中被拯救出来。

Long March: Heroic march of the Chinese communists to escape destruction.

长征：中国共产党人的英勇行军，以逃避破坏。

Dien Bien Phu: Final battle in 1954 between the Vietnamese forces under Ho Chi Min and the French. The French lost and they abandoned Indochina as a colony.

Dien Bien Phu：胡志明统率下的越南部队与法国人在 1954 年的最后战斗。法国人失败了，他们放弃了印度支那作为殖民地。

3

T H I R D Q U E S T I O N DID AMERICAN LEADERS RESPOND WISELY TO THE THREAT OF COMMUNISM?



INTRODUCTION

The first decades of the Cold War saw tremendous resources on both sides put into the development of weapons – especially nuclear weapons – and a willingness on the part of leaders to play “chicken” with those weapons. By the late 1950s people were learning to live in constant fear of nuclear annihilation, and in 1962, John F. Kennedy almost became the last president ever when he and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev went head to head over the deployment of nuclear missiles in Cuba.

Was this good policy? Was the headlong rush to build nuclear weapons and to counter every possible threat in every corner of the globe wise? Were there other ways of dealing with the communist world that might not have produced such costly, dangerous outcomes? Does matching your opponent gun for gun, ship for ship, warhead for warhead make you stronger or safer? Or does it just put everyone in greater danger?

What do you think? Did American leaders respond wisely to the threat of communism?

介绍

冷战的前几十年，双方都投入了大量的资源，特别是核武器的发展，领导人愿意用这些武器“打鸡”。到 20 世纪 50 年代后期，人们开始学习如何生活在不断遭受核灭绝的时刻。1962 年，约翰·肯尼迪几乎成了有史以来最后一位总统，当时他和苏联总理赫鲁晓夫率领赫鲁晓夫在古巴部署核导弹。

这是好的政策吗？是不是急于建造核武器，并在全球各个角落对付每一个可能的威胁呢？还有其他方式来处理共产主义世界，可能不会产生如此昂贵，危险的结果吗？把你的对手枪配成枪，船上的船，战斗部的弹头让你更强还是更安全？还是只是把每个人都置于危险之中？

你怎么看？美国领导人是否明智地应对共产主义的威胁？



NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

The United States developed the first atomic weapon during World War II and is the only nation in history to have ever used such a weapon in war when it bombed the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. For a few years, America was the only nuclear power. However, by 1964, all five of the victors of that war had developed nuclear weapons.

The process of spreading weapons around the world, and especially the spread of nuclear weapons is known as **proliferation**. Today, a total of nine nations possess nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union surprised the world on August 29, 1949 when it tested its first nuclear warhead. Whereas the Soviet atomic project was first and foremost a product of local expertise and scientific talent, it is clear that espionage of the American Manhattan Project helped the Soviets in various ways and most certainly shortened the time needed to develop its atomic bomb.

In 1952, the United Kingdom became the third nation to possess nuclear weapons when it detonated an atomic bomb in Operation Hurricane on October 3, 1952. Despite major contributions to the Manhattan Project by both Canadian and British governments, the United States Congress passed the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, which prohibited multi-national cooperation on nuclear projects. The law fueled resentment from British scientists and Winston Churchill, as they believed that there were agreements regarding post-war sharing of nuclear technology, and led to Britain developing its own nuclear weapons. Britain did not begin planning the development of their own nuclear weapon until 1947. Because of Britain's small size, they decided to test their bomb on the Monte Bello Islands, off the coast of Australia.

France became the fourth nation to possess nuclear weapons on February 13, 1960, when the atomic bomb Gerboise Bleue was detonated in Algeria in North Africa, then still a French colony.

In the late 1950s, China began developing nuclear weapons with substantial Soviet assistance in exchange for uranium ore. However, when the Soviets and Chinese fell out in the late 1950s over competing interpretations of communist doctrine, the Chinese continued developing nuclear weapons without Soviet support and made remarkable progress in the 1960s. The People's Republic of China became the fifth nuclear power on October 16, 1964 at Lop Nur in western China.

So, within twenty years of the first test of a nuclear device, all five of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council were members of the “**nuclear club**.”

核增殖

美国在第二次世界大战期间研制出第一个原子武器，是 1945 年在日本的广岛和长崎遭到轰炸的唯一一个在战争中曾经使用这种武器的国家。几年来，美国是唯一的核大国。但是，到了 1964 年，这场战争的五个胜利者都发展了核武器。

在世界各地扩散武器，特别是扩散核武器的过程被称为扩散。今天，共有九个国家拥有核武器。

苏联于 1949 年 8 月 29 日测试第一枚核弹头时，惊讶于世界。鉴于苏联原子计划首先是当地专业知识和科技人才的产物，显然，美国“曼哈顿计划”的间谍活动以各种方式帮助了苏联人，而且肯定缩短了发展原子弹所需的时间。

1952 年 10 月 3 日，英国成为第三个在“飓风行动”中引爆原子弹的核武器国家。尽管加拿大和英国政府对曼哈顿计划作出了重大贡献，但美国国会通过了原子能 1946 年“能源法”禁止在核项目上进行多国合作。法律引起了英国科学家和温斯顿·丘吉尔的不满，因为他们相信在战后分享核技术方面达成了一致，并导致英国发展自己的核武器。英国直到 1947 年才开始计划发展自己的核武器。由于英国的规模不大，他们决定在澳大利亚沿海的蒙特贝洛群岛试验自己的炸弹。

法国于 1960 年 2 月 13 日成为第四个拥有核武器的国家，原子弹 Gerboise Bleue 在北非的阿尔及利亚引爆，当时仍是法国的殖民地。

在二十世纪五十年代末，中国开始用大量的苏联援助来开发核武器来换取铀矿。但是，当苏联和中国人在 20 世纪 50 年代后期因共产主义理论的相互竞争而失败时，中国人在没有苏联支持的情况下继续发展核武器，并在 20 世纪 60 年代取得了显著进展。中华人民共和国于 1964 年 10 月 16 日在中国西部罗布泊成为第五个核电站。

因此，在核装置第一次试验的二十年内，联合国安理会所有五个常任理事国都是“核俱乐部”的成员。

THE ARMS RACE

After the successful Trinity nuclear test July 16, 1945, which was the very first nuclear detonation, the Manhattan project lead manager J. Robert Oppenheimer recalled, "We knew the world would not be the same. A few people laughed, a few people cried, most people were silent. I remembered the line from the Hindu scripture the Bhagavad Gita. Vishnu is trying to persuade the prince that he should do his duty and to impress him takes on his multiarmed form and says, 'Now, I am become Death, the destroyer of worlds.' I suppose we all thought that one way or another."

Immediately after the atomic bombings of Japan, the status of atomic weapons in international and military relations was unclear. Presumably, the United States hoped atomic weapons could offset the Soviet Union's larger conventional ground forces in Eastern Europe, and possibly be used to pressure Soviet leader Josef Stalin into making concessions. Under Stalin, the Soviet Union pursued its own atomic capabilities through a combination of scientific research and espionage directed against the American program.

The Soviets believed that the Americans, with their limited nuclear arsenal, were unlikely to engage in any new world wars, while the Americans were not confident they could prevent a Soviet takeover of Europe, despite their atomic advantage. The result of this insecurity on both sides was the massive development of more nuclear weapons, more powerful nuclear weapons, and more and better ways of deploying and delivering them.

At the start of the Cold War, the United States and its allies in Europe had large enough bombers to strike targets in the Soviet Union, but the reverse was not true. In the early 1950s, however, the widespread introduction of jet-powered interceptor aircraft upset this imbalance by reducing the effectiveness of the American bomber fleet. General **Curtis LeMay** was placed in command of the **Strategic Air Command** which managed the American bombers and missiles, and instituted a program to update the bomber fleet to one that was all-jet powered. It was at this time that designers at Boeing produced the infamous **B-52 Stratofortress**, providing the ability to bomb the Soviet Union from bases in the United States.

武器竞赛

曼彻斯特项目负责人 J. 罗伯特·奥本海默 (Robert Robert Oppenheimer) 在 1945 年 7 月 16 日成功进行三位一体的核试验之后, 回忆说: “我们知道世界不会一样, 有几个人笑了, 有几个人哭了, 大多数人都沉默了, 我记起了印度教经文“薄伽梵歌”的一句话, 毗湿奴正试图说服王子应该尽到自己的职责, 给他留下深刻的印象, 他说: “现在, 我成了死亡, 世界的驱逐舰”。我想我们都以这样或那样的方式思考。”

在日本遭到原子弹轰炸之后, 原子武器在国际和军事关系中的地位不明。据推测, 美国希望原子武器可以抵消苏联在东欧的较大规模的常规地面部队, 并可能被用来压迫苏联领导人约瑟夫·斯大林做出让步。在斯大林的领导下, 苏联通过结合科学研究和针对美国方案的间谍活动, 追求自己的原子能力。

苏联人认为, 美国人以其有限的核武库不可能进行任何新的世界大战, 而美国人却不相信他们可以阻止苏联接管欧洲, 尽管他们有原子优势。双方不安全的结果是大量发展更多的核武器, 更强大的核武器以及更多更好的部署和交付方式。

冷战开始时, 美国及其欧洲盟国拥有足够多的轰炸机来打击苏联的目标, 但事实并非如此。然而, 在 20 世纪 50 年代初期, 喷气式拦截机的大规模引进, 通过降低美国轰炸机机队的有效性来消除这种不平衡。库蒂斯·勒梅将军被指派负责管理美国轰炸机和导弹的战略空军司令部, 并制定了一个计划, 将轰炸机舰队更新为全喷气机。正是在这个时候, 波音公司的设计人员才生产出臭名昭著的 B-52 战列舰, 提供从美国基地轰炸苏联的能力。

**Primary Source: Photograph**

A B-52 Stratofortress unloading bombs in the 1960s. These aircraft could also carry nuclear warheads.

主要来源：照片

在二十世纪六十年代，一架 B-52 战机卸载了炸弹。这些飞机也可以携带核弹头。

In the early 1950s, the design of nuclear weapons was evolving. New warheads used fusion instead of fission and produced much larger and more devastating explosions. Referred to as a **thermonuclear** warheads, or more commonly **hydrogen** or **H-bombs**, these weapons replaced the older designs used at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

At the same time that scientists were developing the hydrogen bomb, war planners were thinking about using small nuclear weapons on the battlefield, much the way artillery had been used in earlier wars. These **tactical nuclear weapons** could be carried on small trucks and moved quickly. The United States even developed a nuclear rocket so small it could be mounted on a tripod and carried on foot by a pair of soldiers. There was a significant danger in deploying this class of weapons. In theory, field commanders would have the authority to order their use as needed for an ongoing battle. This doctrine took the authority to launch a nuclear strike, no matter how small, away from the president. Obviously, this posed a great risk that a war might spiral quickly out of control and result in a much larger nuclear exchange. In Korea, General Douglas MacArthur requested the authority to deploy these tactical nuclear weapons, but knowing that he might very well use them against China, President Truman refused.

A revolution in nuclear strategy occurred with the introduction of the **intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM)**, which the Soviet Union first successfully tested in August 1957. A missile was much faster and more cost-effective than a bomber at delivering a warhead to a target and enjoyed a higher survivability due to the enormous difficulty of intercepting ICBMs, a result of their high altitude and extreme speed.

在五十年代初期，核武器的设计正在发展。新的弹头使用融合而不是裂变，并产生更大，更具破坏性的爆炸。这些武器被称为热核弹头，更常见的是氢或 H-炸弹，取代了广岛和长崎使用的旧式设计。

在科学家研制氢弹的同时，战争策划者们正考虑在战场上使用小型核武器，就像早期的战争中使用火炮的方式一样。这些战术核武器可以用小卡车进行并迅速行动。美国甚至开发出一种如此小巧的核弹，它可以安装在三脚架上，并由一对悍料徒步携带。部署这类武器的危险很大。从理论上讲，现场指挥官有权按照需要进行持续的战斗。这个学说有权无视总统发动核打击，无论多么小。显然，这样做带来了很大的风险，即一场战争可能会迅速失控并导致更大的核交易。在韩国，道格拉斯·麦克阿瑟将军请求当局部署这些战术核武器，但由于知道他可能很好地利用这些武器对付中国，杜鲁门总统拒绝了。

随着 1957 年 8 月苏联首次成功试射的洲际弹道导弹（洲际导弹）的出现，核战略发生了一场革命。导弹比轰炸机向目标发射弹头要快得多，成本效益更高，由于拦截洲际导弹非常困难，因为它们的高空速度和极高的速度，所以具有更高的生存能力。洲际弹道导弹可以安装

ICBMs could be mounted on the backs of huge trucks or buried in underground silos encased in protective concrete.

By 1960, the United States had three ways of delivering a nuclear strike: ICBMs, **submarine launched ballistic missiles (SLBM)**, and strategic bombers. These different forces had their advantages and disadvantages. Bombers could deliver large payloads and strike with great accuracy, but were slow, vulnerable while on the ground, and could be shot down as they flew toward their targets. ICBMs were safe in their underground silos while on the ground, but were less accurate than bombers and could not be recalled after launch. Submarines were least vulnerable but were also least accurate and communication could be poor at times.

This **nuclear triad** was critical to maintaining an effective deterrent. A Soviet sneak attack might be able to cripple two of the elements of the triad, but would be unlikely to eliminate all three. The possibility of a counterattack made it possible for the United States to impose unacceptable damage to the Soviet Union. In other words, the American nuclear forces had survivability. Naturally, the Soviet Union and the other nuclear powers replicated the American triad with aircraft, ICBMs, and submarines of their own.

在巨大的卡车背后，或埋在装有防护混凝土的地下筒仓中。

到 1960 年，美国有三种提供核打击的方式：洲际弹道导弹，潜射弹道导弹（SLBM）和战略轰炸机。这些不同的力量有其优点和缺点。轰炸机可以提供大量的有效载荷并以非常精确的速度进行攻击，但速度缓慢，在地面时易受攻击，并可能在飞向目标时被击落。在地面上，洲际弹道导弹在地下的筒仓中是安全的，但是比轰炸机不太准确，在发射后不能被召回。潜艇是最脆弱的，但也是最不准确的，有时沟通可能很差。

这个核三合会对维持有效的威慑至关重要。苏联偷袭可能会削弱黑社会中的两个要素，但不可能消除这三个。反击的可能性使美国有可能对苏联施加不可接受的损害。换句话说，美国核力量具有生存能力。当然，苏联和其他核大国都把美国的黑社会与飞机，洲际弹道导弹和自己的潜艇一起复制。



Primary Source: Photograph

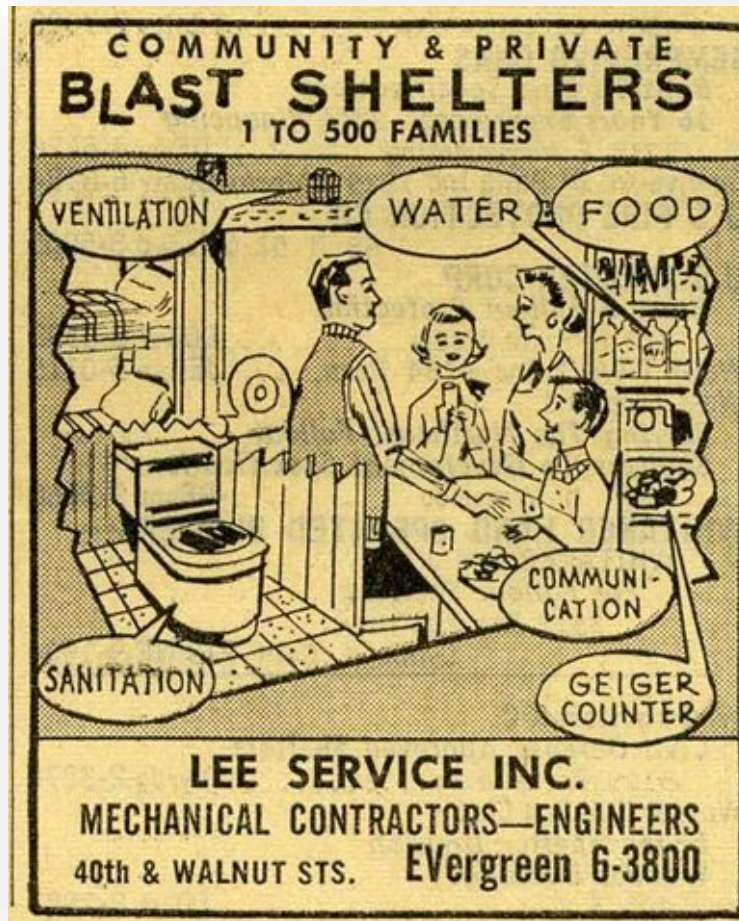
The USS Sam Rayburn, a ballistic missile submarine in port with its missile hatches open.

主要来源：照片

美国海军的萨姆·雷伯（Sam Rayburn）是一艘弹道导弹潜艇，其导弹舱口打开。

RESPONDING TO THE ARMS RACE

In the early 1960s, tensions were so high between the superpowers that the Strategic Air Command, the division of the US Air Force that managed the nuclear arsenal, instituted round-the-clock airborne alerts. At any moment, a group of B-52s armed with thermonuclear bombs was in flight near the borders of the Soviet Union waiting for orders to turn and attack. Eventually this program was ended in 1968 after five of the B-52s crashed. Luckily none of these incidents led to accidental nuclear explosions, but in the end, political leaders decided that the risk of disaster was greater than the risk of a Soviet attack.



Early ICBMs and bombers were relatively inaccurate, which meant that attacks on military targets such as bases and airfields would not necessarily prevent a counterattack. Consequently, both the Americans and Soviets planned attacks directly on the enemy population, which would theoretically lead to a collapse of the enemy's will to fight. During

回应武器竞赛

在二十世纪六十年代初，超级大国之间的紧张关系如此之高，美国空军管理核武库的战略空军司令部实施了 24 小时的空中警报。在任何时刻，一批装备有热核炸弹的 B-52 飞机在苏联边界附近飞行，等待命令转身和攻击。最终这个计划在 1968 年五架 B-52 坠毁后结束。幸运的是，这些事件都没有导致意外的核爆炸，但是最终政治领导人认为灾难的风险大于苏联袭击的风险。

Primary Source: Document

An advertisement to build fallout shelters from the 1950s.

主要来源：文件

从二十世纪五十年代开始制作放射性庇护所的广告。

早期的洲际弹道导弹和轰炸机相对不准确，这意味着对基地和机场等军事目标的攻击不一定会阻止反击。因此，美国人和苏联人都直接对敌人进行袭击，理论上会导致敌人打仗的意愿崩溃。在冷战时期，苏联投入了广泛的保护民

the Cold War, the Soviet Union invested in extensive protected civilian infrastructure, such as large "nuclear-proof" bunkers and non-perishable food stores. In the United States, smaller scale **civil defense** programs were instituted in the 1950s, where schools and other public buildings had basements stocked with non-perishable food supplies, canned water, first aid supplies, and Geiger counters. Many of the locations were given **fallout shelter** designation signs. Students watched informational videos about how to respond in case of nuclear attack and practiced "duck and cover" drills in class along with regular fire drills. Early warning radar and satellites were deployed to provide notice of an eminent attack and the civil defense siren system was put in place. Today these sirens are used to warn of impending natural disasters such as tornados and tsunamis, but during the early decades of the Cold War, they had a more sinister purpose.

The prospect of nuclear war was indeed terrifying. By the 1970s both the Soviets and Americans were developing **multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRV)**, ballistic missiles containing several thermonuclear warheads that would open up in space and then be aimed at different targets. With over 50,000 nuclear warheads spread around the world, the ability of humanity to destroy itself was a reality. In the end, if all out nuclear war had actually happened, millions of people would have died in the first few hours, and millions more in the ensuing days from radiation sickness and the resulting social and agricultural catastrophe as crops and civil society failed. The prospect of such a **nuclear winter** gave leaders on both sides of the Iron Curtain pause. Although military strategies developed plans for nuclear war, the idea of actually carrying out these plans was unimaginable.

Since nuclear war was an existential threat, the role of government changed. Instead of protecting freedoms and providing basic services, the government was now expected to protect the very existence of the nation. The scientists who were responsible for developing the warheads, missiles, aircraft, radars and all of the technologies that were meant to protect the world became national heroes. Fictional characters who represented protection from the evils of communism and nuclear war also became popular. Comic books featuring **Captain America** and **Superman** were a rage among young people frightened by the idea of sudden and unpredictable annihilation.

MUTUALLY ASSURED DESTRUCTION

It may seem contradictory, but it was widely believed that nuclear weapons made the world safer.

Both Soviet and American experts hoped to use nuclear weapons to extract concessions from the other in the form of high-stakes nuclear blackmail, but the risk connected with using these weapons was so grave

用基础设施, 如大型“核防”掩体和非易腐食品商店。在美国, 二十世纪五十年代开始实行规模较小的民防计划, 学校和其他公共建筑的地下室储存了非易腐食品, 罐装水, 急救用品和盖格计数器。许多地点都有防空洞指定标志。学生们观看了有关如何在核攻击情况下作出反应的信息录像, 并在定期的防火演习中进行了“鸭子和鸭子”演习。部署预警雷达和卫星, 发出突袭通知, 建立民防警报系统。今天, 这些警报用来警告即将发生的龙卷风和海啸等自然灾害, 但在冷战初期, 它们的目的更为险恶。

核战争的前景确实令人恐惧。到 20 世纪 70 年代, 苏联和美国人都在开发多个可独立定位的再入飞行器 (MIRV), 这种弹道导弹包含若干热核弹头, 这些弹头将在太空中打开, 然后瞄准不同的目标。世界各地有超过 5 万枚核弹头, 人类摧毁自己的能力成为现实。最后, 如果真的发生了全部的核战争, 最初几个小时就会有数百万人死亡, 随后的几天又有数百万人因放射病和作物和民间社会的社会和农业灾难而失败。这样一个核冬天的前景让铁幕两边的领导人停下了脚步。尽管军事战略制定了核战争计划, 但实际执行这些计划的想法是不可想象的。

由于核战争是一个存在的威胁, 政府的作用发生了变化。现在, 政府不但没有保护自由和提供基本的服务, 反而保护了国家的生存。负责发展弹头, 导弹, 飞机, 雷达和所有旨在保护世界的技术的科学家成为民族英雄。代表保护免受共产主义和核战争的虚构人物也开始流行起来。以美国队长和超人为特色的漫画书在年轻人中间流行起来, 被突如其来的不可预知的湮灭的想法吓倒了。

相互保证销毁

这似乎是矛盾的, 但人们普遍认为, 核武器使世界更安全。

苏联和美国的专家都希望利用核武器, 以高风险的核讹诈的形式从另一方面取得让步, 但使用这些武器的风险是如此严重以至于无法继

that they refrained. While some, like General Douglas MacArthur, argued nuclear weapons should have been used during the Korean War, most elected leaders, including Presidents Truman and Eisenhower opposed the idea.

By the end of the 1950s, both the United States and Soviet Union had enough nuclear power to obliterate the other side and because of the resiliency built into the nuclear triad, both sides developed a capability to launch a devastating attack even after sustaining a full assault. Any attack would be met with a full response, meaning that any side that dared to order a first strike was ensuring its own annihilation. This was the heart of the idea known as **mutually assured destruction (MAD)**.

What made MAD work as a deterrent was that your opponent knew that you had the capability to respond to a first strike. Although most weapons systems were developed in secret, once they were completed it was important to show them off. The latest bombers were flown for the public and press at airshows and especially at parades in Moscow, trucks bearing nuclear missiles were driven through the streets for cheering crowds, and watching American strategists.



Since the Americans and the Soviets knew that any attack upon the other would be devastating to themselves, the theory of MAD prevented nuclear war. Indeed, the development of tens of thousands of nuclear weapons seemed crazy, and the idea that their very existence ensured peace seems even more illogical, but history has so far proven that fear of nuclear war is a powerful deterrent.

续。虽然像道格拉斯·麦克阿瑟将军 (Douglas MacArthur) 等人在韩战期间应该使用核武器, 但包括杜鲁门总统和艾森豪威尔总统在内的大多数当选领导人都反对这个想法。

到二十世纪五十年代末, 美国和苏联都拥有足够的核力量来消灭对方, 而且由于核三合会的弹性, 双方都发展了一种能力, 即使在遭受全面攻击之后也发动破坏性的攻击。任何攻击都会得到全面的回应, 这意味着敢于命令第一次打击的任何一方都在确保自己的歼灭。这是被称为相互确定的破坏 (MAD) 的核心。

是什么使 MAD 成为一种威慑力, 是因为你的对手知道你有能力应对第一次打击。尽管大多数武器系统都是秘密发展的, 但一旦完成, 就必须展示出来。最新的轰炸机飞到民众和新闻界, 特别是在莫斯科的游行中, 携带核导弹的卡车被驱赶穿过街头欢呼的人群, 看着美国的战略家。

Primary Source: Photograph

A truck-mounted nuclear missile on parade in Red Square in the heart of Moscow.

主要来源: 照片

在莫斯科市中心红场举行游行的卡车式核导弹。

由于美国人和苏联人知道任何攻击对自己都是毁灭性的, 所以 MAD 的理论阻止了核战争。事实上, 成千上万的核武器的发展似乎是疯狂的, 它们的存在确保和平的想法似乎更加不合逻辑, 但是迄今为止历史证明, 对核战争的恐惧是一种强大的威慑力量。

NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING

Every member of the nuclear club undertook a testing program, in part to find out how well their latest technological designs were working, and also to show off their power. Because of the dangers of radioactive fallout from atmospheric nuclear explosions, these tests needed to be done far from population centers. For the Soviet Union, that meant the islands of the Arctic Ocean in Siberia. For China, testing was conducted in the desolated areas of Central Asia. For the Americans and French, nuclear testing was carried out on the islands of Micronesia in the Pacific Ocean.

The United States conducted its first post-war nuclear tests, called Operation Crossroads, at **Bikini Atoll** in the Marshall Islands on 95 ships, including German and Japanese ships that were captured during World War II. One plutonium implosion-type bomb was detonated over the fleet, while the other one was detonated underwater. The 40 families who had lived on the atoll were forced to move before the test. Even today, Bikini Atoll is too contaminated to be safe for habitation and the now-more-than-4000 descendants of the original islanders are scattered across other islands, and the United States.

The United States detonated the first hydrogen bomb on November 1, 1952, on **Enewetak**, another atoll in the Marshall Islands. Code-named Ivy Mike, the project was led by Edward Teller, a Hungarian-American nuclear physicist. It created a radioactive mushroom cloud 100 miles wide and 25 miles high, killing all life on the surrounding islands. As was true at Bikini Atoll, the residents of Enewetak had to move. In all, the United States fired 43 nuclear tests on Enewetak.

On March 1, 1954, the United States conducted the **Castle Bravo** test, of a hydrogen bomb on Bikini Atoll. Scientists significantly underestimated the size of the bomb. Instead of yielding the expected 5 megatons, it produced an explosion of 14.8 megatons, which is the largest nuclear explosion tested by the United States. Fallout from the detonation fell on residents of Rongelap and Utirik atolls and spread around the world. Not only had the Americans not anticipated the size of the blast, but they also miscalculated how wind patterns would carry the resulting radiation. Residents on nearby islands were not evacuated until three days after the test and suffered radiation sickness. Twenty-three crewmembers of the Japanese fishing vessel Daigo Fukuryu Maru, some 50 miles away, were also contaminated by fallout and experienced acute radiation syndrome. The blast initiated an international movement to end atmospheric thermonuclear testing.

核武器试验

核俱乐部的每个成员都进行了测试计划，部分是为了弄清楚他们最新的技术设计是如何运作的，同时也是为了炫耀自己的力量。由于大气层核爆炸造成的放射性尘埃的危害，这些测试需要远离人口中心。对于苏联来说，这意味着西伯利亚北冰洋的岛屿。对中国来说，测试是在中亚荒凉的地区进行的。对美国人和法国人来说，在太平洋的密克罗尼西亚群岛进行了核试验。

美国在马绍尔群岛的比基尼环礁进行了第一次战后核试验，称为“十字路口行动”，共有 95 艘战舰，其中包括第二次世界大战期间被捕的德国和日本的船只。一艘钚弹型炸弹在舰队上引爆，另一艘则在水下引爆。在环礁上居住的 40 户家庭在考试前被迫搬家。即使在今天，比基尼岛环境污染严重，居住安全，原来岛上现有的 4000 多名后裔分散在其他岛屿和美国。

1952 年 11 月 1 日，美国在马绍尔群岛的另一个环礁 Enewetak 引爆了第一枚氢弹。代号为 Ivy Mike 的项目由匈牙利美国核物理学家爱德华·泰勒领导。它创造了一个 100 英里宽 25 英里的放射性蘑菇云，杀死了周围岛屿上的所有生物。比基尼环礁的情况是如此，埃尼威托克的居民不得不搬家。总之，美国向埃尼威托克发射了 43 次核试验。

1954 年 3 月 1 日，美国对比基尼环礁进行了布拉沃试射，科学家们大大低估了炸弹的大小。预计 5 百万吨的产量不是预期的，而是产生了 14.8 百万吨的爆炸，这是美国测试的最大的一次核爆炸。从 Rongelap 和 Utirik 环礁的居民引爆的辐射落在世界各地。美国人不但没有预料到爆炸的大小，而且还错误地计算了风向如何影响辐射。在附近岛屿上的居民直到试验三天后才撤离，并且患有放射病。大约五十英里以外的日本渔船 Daigo Fukuryu Maru 的二十三名船员也受到沉降和经历急性辐射综合症的污染。爆炸发起了一场国际运动，结束大气热核试验。



Primary Source: Photograph

The Castle Bravo Test

主要来源：照片

城堡布拉沃测试

In all, the United States conducted over 67 nuclear tests in the Marshall Islands. Today, a **Compact of Free Association (COFA)** between the United States, the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and Palau allows citizens of these island nations to travel freely to the United States without a passport. The United States has also provided free medical care for the hundreds of people who developed cancers as a result of radiation exposure. In exchange, the COFA nations grant the American military exclusive use of their territory – with the caveat that the Americans do not use, store or test nuclear weapons in the islands.

France conducted most of its nuclear tests at Fangatua Atoll in French Polynesia, also known as the Society Islands. As was the case in the Marshalls, the French tests significantly contaminated the atoll with radiation, making it off-limits to humans.

Today, the original members of the nuclear club have agreed to end all nuclear testing. However India and Pakistan tested nuclear weapons in 1998, and North Korea has tested its weapons multiple times since 2000.

THE SPACE RACE

The world's first long-range rocket was the V-2, made by German scientists during World War II. The V-2, and other models like it, were designed to carry 1,000 kg bombs over a long distance and exploded upon impact. In 1944, Hitler decided to unleash his secret weapon and thousands of these rockets were launched at Britain. The German missiles were notoriously inaccurate, so they cause very little physical

总之，美国在马绍尔群岛进行了 67 次核试验。今天，美国，马绍尔群岛，密克罗尼西亚联邦和帕劳之间的自由联合会（COFA）允许这些岛国的公民无需护照就可以自由旅行到美国。美国还为数百名因辐射而患上癌症的人提供免费医疗服务。作为交换条件，COFA 国家授予美国军方对其领土的专有使用权，同时提醒美国人不要在岛上使用，储存或试验核武器。

法国在法属波利尼西亚的方塔瓜法环礁进行了大部分核试验，也称为社会群岛。与马绍尔群岛的情况一样，法国的测试显著污染了环礁，使其无法进入人类。

今天，原子能俱乐部的成员已经同意结束所有的核试验。然而，印度和巴基斯坦在 1998 年试验了核武器，自 2000 年以来，朝鲜已经多次试验过武器。

太空竞赛

世界上第一枚远程火箭是德国科学家在二战期间制造的 V-2。V-2 和其他型号的飞机在设计上可以承载长达 1000 公斤的炸弹，并在撞击时发生爆炸。1944 年，希特勒决定释放他的秘密武器，成千上万枚火箭在英国发射。德国的导弹



damage, but their ability to produce psychological terror was tremendous.

As the war was drawing to a close, hundreds of German rockets, and their scientists were captured. Taken to the Soviet Union and United States, they were “encouraged” to work and share their knowledge.

Apart from the desire to explore outer space, the development of rockets and satellites served an important military purpose. Intercontinental ballistic missiles had long been regarded the ideal platform for nuclear weapons, and were a more effective delivery system than strategic bombers.

On October 4, 1957, the Soviet Union showed the world that they had missiles able to reach any part of the world when they launched the **Sputnik** satellite into Earth orbit. After some embarrassing failures, and after four months of waiting, the Americans finally managed to successfully launch their own satellite, **Explorer 1**, on January 31, 1958.

In 1957, the Soviets launched the first animal into space – a dog named **Laika** – and on April 12, 1961, Soviet cosmonaut **Yuri Gagarin** became the first human to orbit the Earth. This was another embarrassing blow to the United States and showed the world again how technologically advanced the Soviets had become.

NASA launched **Alan Shephard**, the first American astronaut into space in 1961, but the United States was lagging behind its communist rival in the Space Race. In 1963, **Valentina Tereshkova** became the first woman in space. While there was nothing particularly important to be found in space itself, the development of the space program became a matter of national pride, and served to advance scientific research that was used by the military. While the Soviets clearly lead the way in the 1950s, the Americans were the pioneers of the 1960s.

In 1961, shortly after taking office, President **John F. Kennedy (JFK)** challenged the United States to land a man on the moon before the end of the decade. At the time, such a mission was impossible. Enormous financial, and human resources were necessary to make his goal a reality but Kennedy believed it would be worth the price. At a speech at Rice University, he declared, “**We choose to go to the Moon!** We choose to go to the Moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard; because that goal will serve to organize and measure the best of our energies and skills, because that challenge is one that we are willing to accept, one we are unwilling to postpone, and one we intend to win.”

出了名的不准确，所以造成很少的物理伤害，但是它们产生心理恐怖的能力是巨大的。

随着战争即将结束，数百枚德国火箭及其科学家被俘。对苏联和美国来说，“鼓励”他们工作和分享他们的知识。

除了探索太空的愿望外，火箭和卫星的发展也是重要的军事目的。洲际弹道导弹一直被认为是理想的核武器平台，比战略轰炸机更为有效的运载系统。

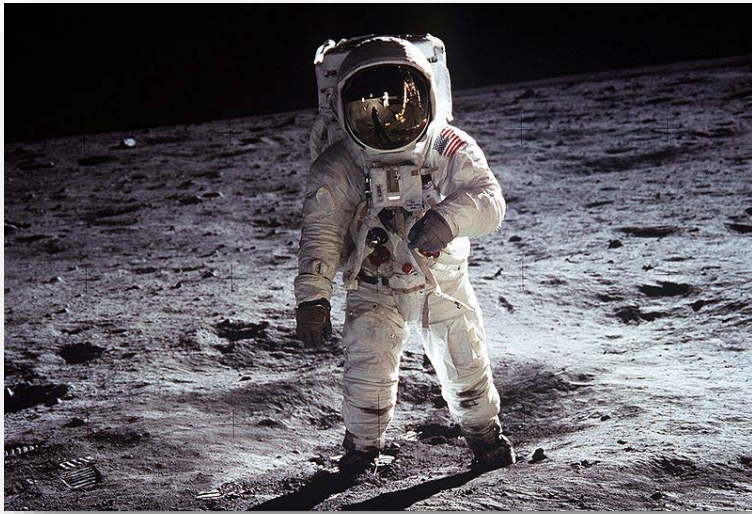
1957 年 10 月 4 日，苏联向世界表明，当人造卫星进入地球轨道时，他们有能够到达世界任何地区的导弹。在经历了一些令人尴尬的失败之后，经过四个月的等待，美国人于 1958 年 1 月 31 日终于成功地发射了自己的卫星“探索者 1 号”。

1957 年，苏联人发射了第一只进入太空的动物——一只名叫莱卡的狗，1961 年 4 月 12 日，苏联宇航员尤里·加加林成为第一个绕地球运行的人。这是对美国又一次尴尬的打击，再次向世界展示了苏联如何在技术上取得进步。

美国宇航局于 1961 年发射了第一个进入太空的美国宇航员艾伦·谢泼德（Alan Shephard），但是美国在太空竞赛中落后于它的共产主义竞争对手。1963 年，瓦伦蒂娜·捷列什科娃成为第一位太空女性。虽然空间本身并没有什么特别重要的东西，但是太空计划的发展成为民族自豪感的一部分，有助于推动军方所使用的科学研究。在 20 世纪 50 年代苏联明显领先的时候，美国人是 20 世纪 60 年代的先驱。

1961 年，约翰·F·肯尼迪总统就职不久，在十年结束之前，向美国挑战，要求一个人登上月球。当时，这样的使命是不可能的。肯尼迪认为这是值得的。在莱斯大学的演讲中，他宣称：“我们选择去月球！我们在这十年中选择去月球做其他事情，不是因为它们很容易，而是因为它们很难；因为这个目标将有助于组织和衡量我们最好的精力和技能，因为这个挑战是我们愿意接受的挑战，我们不愿意推迟的挑战，我们打算取胜的挑战之一。”

To the surprise of many, the **Apollo Program** met Kennedy's challenge. **Neil Armstrong** and Buzz Aldrin became the first people to set foot on the moon, on July 21, 1969. Over 300 million people around the world watched the event through their television screens. It was a terrific achievement that more than made up for the bad start in the Space Race. As he stepped off the ladder of the Eagle Lander onto the lunar surface, Armstrong delivered his famous line, "**One small step for man, one giant leap for mankind.**"



令很多人吃惊的是，阿波罗计划满足了肯尼迪的挑战。1969年7月21日，尼尔·阿姆斯特朗和巴兹·奥尔德林成为第一批登上月球的人。这是一个了不起的成就，不仅弥补了太空竞赛的不好的开始。当他从“鹰”登陆梯上登上月球表面时，阿姆斯特朗发表了他的著名的“人类的一小步，人类的一大步”。

Primary Source: Photograph

Astronaut Buzz Aldrin on the surface of the moon.

主要来源：照片

宇航员巴兹·奥尔德林在月球表面。

By landing on the Moon, the Americans had decisively won the Space Race. While both the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as European nations, China, Japan, and a host of other countries continued to explore the heavens, the era of the Space Race, which coincided with the Arms Race is over.

In the end, the exploration of space advanced our understanding of the universe, but provided a host of benefits for everyday life that we often do not realize are consequences of the rush to beat the Soviets during the Cold War. For example, the network of satellites that provide locations (GPS) and satellites that transmit television, radio and internet signals around the world, as well as weather satellites that track dangerous storms are products of the intense competition of the 1950s and 1960s.

Many technologies that were first developed for the space program have been spun off and are now found in everyday products. Invisible braces, memory foam mattresses, solar panels, ski boots, UV-blocking sunglasses, and cordless tools are all children of the space program.

通过登陆月球，美国人果断地赢得了太空竞赛。虽然美国，苏联以及欧洲国家，中国，日本和其他一些国家继续探索天空，但与军备竞赛相适应的太空竞赛时代已经结束。

最后，空间的探索提升了对宇宙的认识，但为日常生活提供了一系列的好处，我们常常不知道的是冷战时期匆匆打败苏维埃的后果。例如，提供位置（GPS）的卫星网络和在世界各地传输电视，无线电和互联网信号的卫星，以及追踪危险风暴的气象卫星都是20世纪五六十年代激烈竞争的产物。

最初为太空计划开发的许多技术已经脱离出来，现在在日常用品中被发现。隐形牙套，记忆泡沫床垫，太阳能电池板，滑雪靴，防紫外线太阳镜和无绳工具都是太空计划的孩子。



1960 ELECTION

In the **1960 presidential election**, the incumbent president Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower had already served two terms and thus was not eligible to run again. The Republican Party nominated Richard Nixon, Eisenhower's vice president, while the Democrats nominated John F. Kennedy, a senator from Massachusetts. It was one of the closest elections in American history.

Senator Kennedy initially faced opposition from some Democratic Party elders who claimed he was too young and inexperienced to be president. However, JFK, as he came to be known, had an effective campaigning strategy even in the primaries.

At the Republican National Convention, Nixon was the overwhelming choice of the delegates. Nixon chose United Nations Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. to be his running mate. Lodge's foreign-policy credentials fit into Nixon's strategy of campaigning more on foreign policy than domestic policy.

Both Kennedy and Nixon drew large and enthusiastic crowds throughout the campaign. In August of 1960, most polls gave Nixon a lead over Kennedy. However, Nixon was plagued by bad luck throughout the fall campaign. In August, President Eisenhower was asked to name some important ideas that Nixon had contributed to his administration. When he hesitated, it made it seem as though Nixon hadn't been involved in any of Eisenhower's important decisions. In addition, Nixon had to cease campaigning for two weeks early in the campaign to recover from a knee injury. Despite this delay in campaigning, he refused to abandon his pledge to visit all 50 states. Thus, he ended up wasting time visiting states that he had no chance of winning and states that had few electoral votes.

Kennedy benefited from his selection of Texas Senator **Lyndon B. Johnson** as his running mate. Johnson vigorously campaigned for Kennedy and was instrumental in helping to carry several Southern states. Lodge, on the other hand, ran a lethargic campaign and made additional mistakes that hurt Nixon.

The key turning point of the campaign was the four **Kennedy-Nixon debates**. These were the first televised presidential debates, and they attracted enormous publicity. In the first debate, Nixon looked pale, sickly, underweight, and tired as a result of his hospital stay. Kennedy, by contrast, appeared strong, confident, and relaxed during the debate.

The election on November 8, 1960 remains one of the most famous election nights in American history. In the national popular vote,

1960 年选举

在 1960 年的总统大选中，现任总统候选人德怀特·D·艾森豪威尔已经任职了两届，因此没有资格再次参选。共和党提名艾森豪威尔副总统理查德·尼克松，民主党人提名马萨诸塞州参议员约翰·肯尼迪。这是美国历史上最接近的选举之一。

肯尼迪参议员最初遭到了一些民主党的长老的反对，他们声称自己太年轻，没有经验，不能当总统。但是，JFK，即使在初选中也有一个有效的竞选战略。

在共和党全国大会上，尼克松是代表们压倒一切的选择。尼克松选择联合国大使亨利·卡波特·洛奇作为他的竞选伙伴。洛奇的外交政策证明符合尼克松在外交政策上运动的战略，而不是国内政策。

肯尼迪和尼克松在整个竞选过程中吸引了大批热情的人群。1960 年 8 月，大多数民意调查显示尼克松领先于肯尼迪。不过，尼克松在秋季竞选中受到了厄运的困扰。8 月份，艾森豪威尔总统被要求提出一些尼克松对他的政府作出贡献的重要观点。当他犹豫时，似乎尼克松没有参与艾森豪威尔的重要决定。此外，尼克松不得不在膝盖受伤的运动中提前两周停止竞选。尽管竞选活动有所延误，但他拒绝放弃访问所有 50 个州的承诺。因此，他最终浪费了时间去参观那些没有获胜机会的国家，并且表示选举人票很少。

肯尼迪从得克萨斯州参议员林登·约翰逊（Lyndon B. Johnson）中挑选出他的竞选伙伴。约翰逊大力为肯尼迪竞选，并帮助运送南方几个州。另一方面，洛奇却发生了一场昏昏欲睡的运动，并且犯下了额外的错误，伤害了尼克松。

这场运动的关键转折点是四场肯尼迪 - 尼克松的辩论。这是第一次电视转播的总统辩论，引起了巨大的宣传。在第一次辩论中，尼克松由于住院而面色苍白，病态，体重不足，疲倦。肯尼迪相反，在辩论中表现出强烈，自信和放松。

1960 年 11 月 8 日的选举仍然是美国历史上最著名的选举之夜。在全民投票中，肯尼迪击败尼

Kennedy beat Nixon by just one tenth of one percentage point (0.1%)—the closest popular-vote margin of the 20th century. In the Electoral College, Kennedy's victory was larger, as he took 303 electoral votes to Nixon's 219.



克松只有十分之一个百分点 (0.1%)，这是 20 世纪最接近人气的选票余量。在选举团中，肯尼迪的胜利更大，因为他拿了 303 票给尼克松的 219 票。

Primary Source: Photograph

Kennedy and Nixon held three live debates, the first televised debates in presidential election history.

主要来源：照片

肯尼迪和尼克松举行了三场现场辩论，这是总统选举历史上第一次电视辩论。

THE NEW FRONTIER

Compared to Eisenhower, President Kennedy was young and glamorous. The youngest president ever elected, Kennedy and his stylish wife Jacqueline had two young children. The Kennedys were exciting, attractive and energetic. Before the inauguration, the Kennedys had even attended a ball hosted by Hollywood superstar Frank Sinatra.

Kennedy and most of his advisors were part of a new generation, later labeled the Greatest Generation, who were among the GIs and Rosie the Riveters who had sacrificed so much to win World War II. Highlighting the transition of power from the leaders of that war to the men and women who had been its soldiers, Kennedy said, "Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that **the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans**, born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace..."

He went on to confirm his willingness to stand up to communism and support nations around the world who were on the front lines of the Cold War. "Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that

新的边境

与艾森豪威尔相比，肯尼迪总统年轻而富有魅力。肯尼迪和他时髦的妻子杰奎琳有两个小孩，是有史以来最年轻的总统。肯尼迪人是令人兴奋，有吸引力和精力充沛的。在就职典礼之前，肯尼迪甚至参加了由好莱坞巨星弗兰克·西纳特拉主持的舞会。

肯尼迪和他的大部分顾问都是新一代的成员，后来又被列为地理标志之一的最伟大的一代，以及为了赢得第二次世界大战牺牲如此之多的铆钉之手。肯尼迪强调说，从这场战争的领导人到那些曾是其士兵的男女，权力的过渡，说：“让这个词从这个时间，地点，到朋友和敌人一样，火炬已经传递给新世纪出生于本世纪的美国人，受到战争的磨砺，受到艰苦和平的纪律.....”

他接着表示愿意站出来支持共产主义，支持处于冷战前线的世界各国。“让每个国家都知道，不管是我们是好还是坏，我们应该付出代价，



we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty. This much we pledge – and more.”

Kennedy had described the future he wanted to build as a **New Frontier**, and he brought with him to the White House a group of young, visionary advisors who became known as the **New Frontiersmen**. Among them were his brother Robert “Bobby” Kennedy who served as Attorney General and Dean Rusk the Secretary of State. Kennedy tapped Robert McNamara, formerly the President of the Ford Motor Company, to be Secretary of Defense. A brilliant lawyer, Ted Sorenson became one of Kennedy’s closest advisors and the speechwriter who drafted many of the president’s most famous lines.

The excitement that surrounded Kennedy everywhere he went eventually gave rise to the myth of his presidency as a modern Camelot. Like the Camelot of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, Kennedy’s administration was fleeting, full of hope, noble struggles, energy and intrigue. After his assassination in 1963, his widow launched the metaphor when she told Life Magazine, “Don’t let it be forgot, that once there was a spot, for one brief shining moment that was known as Camelot... There’ll never be another Camelot again...”

FLEXIBLE RESPONSE

When Kennedy became president in 1960 it was becoming clear that Eisenhower’s strategy of amassing a huge stockpile of nuclear weapons that would enable massive retaliation was becoming obsolete.

Kennedy wanted more options. He wanted to be able to respond to smaller conflicts in other parts of the world without resorting to threats of nuclear annihilation. He cited General Maxwell Taylor’s book “The Uncertain Trumpet” and its conclusion that massive retaliation left the United States with only two choices: defeat on the ground or the resort to the use of nuclear weapons.

Technology had improved since massive retaliation was adopted. Improvements in communication and transportation meant American forces could be deployed more effectively, quickly, and flexibly than before. Advisers persuaded Kennedy that having multiple options would allow the president to apply the appropriate amount of force without risking escalation or losing alternatives. This would improve credibility for deterrence as the United States would now have low-intensity options and therefore would be more likely to use them, rather than massive retaliation’s all-or-nothing options.

Flexible response meant that the military would need to build up its convention forces, not just its nuclear triad, since it might be called on

承担任何负担，遇到困难，支持任何朋友，反对任何敌人，保证自由的生存和成功。我们承诺这么多，而且更多。”

肯尼迪描述了他想要建立的新前沿的未来，并且带他到白宫来了一群年轻的，有远见的顾问，他们被称为新的边疆人。其中有他的兄弟罗伯特·鲍比·肯尼迪（Robert “Bobby” Kennedy）担任司法部长，而且还担任国务卿。肯尼迪接替了曾任福特汽车公司总裁的罗伯特·麦克纳马拉（Robert McNamara）担任国防部长。杰出的律师泰德·索伦森（Ted Sorenson）成为肯尼迪最亲密的顾问之一，并担任起草许多总统最有名的演讲者的演讲者。

肯尼迪到处包围的激动最终引发了他作为现代卡米洛的总统任期的神话。肯尼迪的政府像亚瑟王的柯密特和圆桌骑士一样，是短暂的，充满了希望，高尚的斗争，精力和阴谋。1963年被暗杀后，他的遗孀向“生活杂志”发表了这个比喻：“不要让它被遗忘，一旦有一个地方，一个被称为卡米洛的简短的闪光时刻，就永远不会有另一个卡米洛再次...”

灵活的回应

当肯尼迪在1960年成为总统时，艾森豪威尔的战略是收集大量的核武器，这将使大规模的报复变得过时。

肯尼迪想要更多的选择。他希望能够应对世界其他地区较小的冲突而不诉诸核威慑的威胁。他引用马克斯韦尔·泰勒将军的“不确定的小号”一书，并得出这样的结论：大规模的报复只有两个选择：打倒地面或使用核武器。

自从大规模报复以来，技术已经有所改善。交通和运输方面的改善意味着美军可以比以前更有效，更快，更灵活地部署。顾问们说服了肯尼迪，有多种选择可以让总统施加适量的武力，而不会冒上升或失去替代的风险。这将提高威慑的可信度，因为美国现在将拥有低强度的选择，因此更有可能使用它们，而不是大规模报复的全部或全部选项。

灵活的反应意味着军方需要建立其会议部队而不仅仅是其核三合会，因为它可能被要求在世



to fight multiple wars simultaneously in different parts of the world, against different types of enemies. Rather than reducing the size of the military, Kennedy greatly increased it, and especially increased the size of the traditional means of warfare: troops, tanks, aircraft, and warships, not just nuclear bombers, missiles and ballistic missile submarines.

THE PEACE CORPS

President Kennedy understood that the United States and supporters of economic and political freedom would not defeat communism with force alone. Since the struggle between East and West was at its core an ideological struggle, the United States needed to win the hearts and minds of the people of the world. Therefore, he aggressively promoted a new **Peace Corps**. This volunteer program sent young Americans, typically recent college graduates, around the world to provide technical assistance to promote economic development and help promote goodwill toward the United States and its ideas. Kennedy believed that people would choose freedom over communism if they met Americans who wanted to serve others, not just the uniformed soldiers of America's armed forces.

The Peace Corps was an enormous success and continues its work even today. Over its history, nearly 220,000 Americans have served their two-year commitments in more than 140 countries.

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

One of President Kennedy's first challenges was Cuba. Located just 90 miles south of Florida, Cuba had a long and checkered relationship with the United States. Freed from Spanish colonial rule in 1898 as part of the Spanish-American War, Cuba had enjoyed only partial sovereignty. While the Teller Amendment had promised the United States would ensure Cuban independence after the conclusion of a peace treaty with Spain, the Platt Amendment enshrined America's right to intervene in Cuban affairs.

And intervene they did. At least four times, American troops landed in Cuba to put down rebellions and protect American business interests. The United States had good reason to be interested in Cuba's internal affairs. American companies controlled 60% of the island's sugar cane industry.

In the 1930s the United States supported a coup led by **Fulgencio Batista** who went on to rule Cuba for nearly 20 years. The Batista era witnessed the almost complete domination of Cuba's economy by the United States, as the number of American corporations continued to swell. Corruption was rife and Havana became a popular sanctuary for American organized crime. Of course, Batista and his cronies used their positions in government to enrich themselves.

界各地同时打击多种战争，针对不同类型的敌人。肯尼迪并没有缩小军事规模，而是大大增加了军力，特别是增加了军队，坦克，飞机和军舰等传统作战手段的规模，而不仅仅是核轰炸机，导弹和弹道导弹潜艇。

和平的核心

肯尼迪总统明白，美国和经济和政治自由的支持者不会只靠武力就能打败共产主义。由于东西方斗争的核心思想斗争，美国需要赢得世界人民的思想。因此，他积极推动新的和平队。这个志愿者计划向全世界的年轻美国人，通常是最近的大学毕业生提供技术援助，以促进经济发展，并有助于促进对美国及其观念的善意。肯尼迪认为，如果遇到想服务于他人的美国人，而不仅仅是美国军队的穿制服的士兵，人们会选择共产主义的自由。

和平队是一个巨大的成功，直到今天仍在继续工作。在其历史上，已有近 22 万美国人在 140 多个国家履行了两年的承诺。

古巴革命

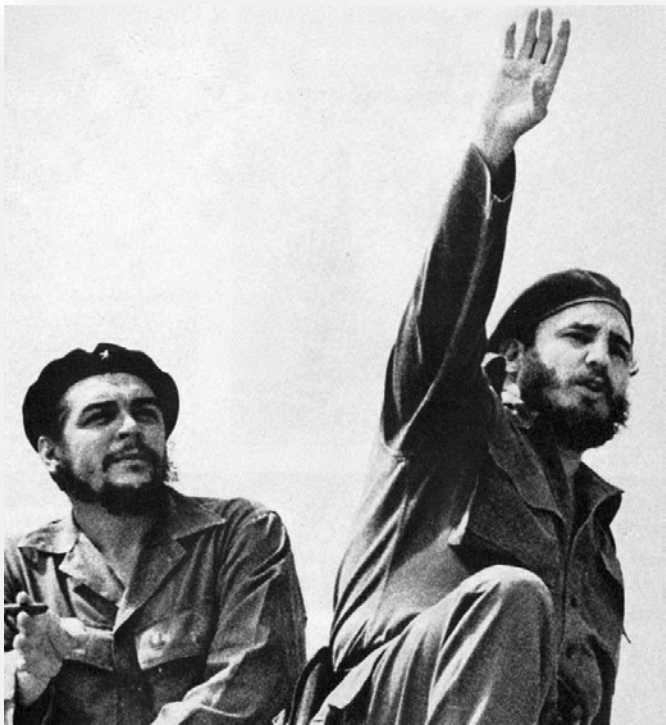
肯尼迪总统的第一个挑战之一就是古巴。古巴位于佛罗里达州南部 90 英里处，与美国有着长期的格格不入的关系。作为西美战争的一部分，在 1898 年从西班牙殖民统治中解放出来，古巴只享有部分主权。“出纳修正案”承诺美国在与西班牙达成和平条约后确保古巴独立，而“普拉特修正案”则载明美国干涉古巴事务的权利。

他们干预了。美国军队至少四次降落古巴，打倒叛乱，保护美国的商业利益。美国有充分理由对古巴内政感兴趣。美国公司控制了该岛甘蔗产业的 60%。

在二十世纪三十年代，美国支持巴尔蒂斯塔（Fulgencio Batista）领导的政变，他继续统治古巴近二十年。在巴蒂斯塔时代，由于美国企业数量的不断增长，美国几乎完全控制了古巴的经济。腐败盛行，哈瓦那成为美国有组织犯罪的受欢迎的避难所。当然，巴蒂斯塔和他的密友们利用他们在政府的职位来丰富自己。

In 1958, a young lawyer named **Fidel Castro** initiated a rebellion against Batista and his regime. From his bases in the mountains of the interior, Castro capitalized on popular discontent and growing anti-American feeling to turn the people against the government. In January 1959, **Castro and his rebel army marched into the cities of Santiago de Cuba and Havana.** Batista fled to Spain.

At first, Kennedy supported the Cuban Revolution. Castro was seen by many Americans as a breath of fresh air. Although Batista had protected American businesses in Cuba, Castro might promote democracy, which Batista had not. However, it soon became clear that Castro had more communist leanings. His new government nationalized the wealthy organizations and business of the island. They took possession of the Catholic Church and the estates of the mafia dons. They seized American sugar plantations. Thousands of upper class Cubans moved to South Florida to escape Castro.



The **Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)** mounted a concerted effort to assassinate Castro. The assassination attempts included exploding and poisoned cigars, a tuberculosis-infected scuba-diving suit (Castro loved cigars and scuba diving), a ballpoint pen containing a hypodermic syringe preloaded with lethal poison, bombings and other more straight forward

1958 年，一位名叫菲德尔·卡斯特罗（Fidel Castro）的年轻律师发起了对巴蒂斯塔及其政权的叛乱。卡斯特罗在内地山区的基地，充分利用民众的不满情绪和日益增长的反美情绪，使人民反对政府。1959 年 1 月，卡斯特罗和他的叛军进军古巴圣地亚哥和哈瓦那。巴蒂斯塔逃往西班牙。

起初，肯尼迪支持古巴革命。卡斯特罗被许多美国人视为一股清新的空气。尽管巴蒂斯塔保护了古巴的美国企业，卡斯特罗可能会推动巴蒂斯塔所没有的民主。然而，很快就明白，卡斯特罗有更多的共产主义倾向。他的新政府将岛上富有的组织和业务国有化。他们占有了天主教堂和黑社会的庄园。他们夺取了美国的糖厂。数以千计的上流社会古巴人搬到南佛罗里达州逃离卡斯特罗。

Primary Source: Photograph

Fidel Castro (right) and his second-in-command, Ernesto "Che" Guevara.

主要来源：照片

菲德尔·卡斯特罗（右）和他的副手埃内斯托·“切”格瓦拉。

中央情报局（CIA）齐心协力暗杀卡斯特罗。暗杀企图包括爆炸和中毒的雪茄，结核感染的水肺潜水服（卡斯特罗喜爱雪茄和潜水），装有注射毒品的皮下注射器的圆珠笔，爆炸物和其他更直接的黑手党式执行努力。虽然所有这些

mafia-style execution endeavors. While all of these plots failed, they convinced Castro that the Americans were out to get him, which they were, and that he needed protection from the Soviet Union.

On April 17, 1961, President John F. Kennedy authorized the most brazen attack on Cuba, using 1,500 CIA-trained Cuban exiles. The exiles were to invade Cuba through the **Bay of Pigs** in southwestern Cuba. The forces made many mistakes. The Cuban people did not rise up against Castro as expected and trapped on the beach they urgently called to Washington for American air support. Kennedy, who had naively believed his CIA advisors when they told him the plan was flawless, hesitated. He did not want to become involved in an outright war with Cuba. He refused to send in the air force. Within days, Castro's forces crushed the exiles. It was a humiliating defeat for the new president. Kennedy never trusted military or intelligence advice again, and the Soviet Union concluded that Kennedy was a weak leader. The invasion also angered many Latin-American nations who saw it, yet again, as American arrogance and disrespect for their sovereignty.

THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

In 1962, the Soviet Union was falling desperately behind the United States in the arms race. Soviet missiles were only powerful enough to be launched against Europe but American missiles were capable of striking the entire Soviet Union. In late April 1962, Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchev** conceived the idea of placing intermediate-range missiles in Cuba. A deployment in Cuba would double the Soviet strategic arsenal and provide a real deterrent to a potential attack against the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, Fidel Castro was looking for a way to defend his island nation from another attack by the United States. Since the failed Bay of Pigs invasion, Castro believed a second attack was inevitable. He approved of Khrushchev's plan to place missiles on the island.

The resulting confrontation between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev is considered by many historians to be the climactic moment of the Cold War. The **Cuban Missile Crisis**, as it is now known, was closest the world ever came to nuclear war.

The crisis began on October 15, 1962 when reconnaissance photographs taken by **U-2** spy planes revealed Soviet missile sites under construction in Cuba. Kennedy convened a special committee of twelve of his most important advisers to help him handle the crisis. After seven days of secret and intense debate, this executive committee, or **EX-COMM**, concluded that it had to impose a naval quarantine around Cuba, which

阴谋都失败了，但他们说服了卡斯特罗，美国人是出去找他的，而且他需要苏联的保护。

1961年4月17日，约翰·肯尼迪总统授权对古巴进行最公然的攻击，使用中央情报局训练的1500名流亡者。流亡者将通过古巴西南部的猪湾入侵古巴。这些力量犯了很多错误。古巴人民没有像预期的那样对卡斯特罗站起来，被困在沙滩上，他们紧急呼吁华盛顿要求美国的空中支援。当肯尼迪告诉他这个计划完美无缺时，他天真地相信了他的中情局顾问，犹豫了一下。他不想卷入与古巴的彻底战争。他拒绝派遣空军。几天之内，卡斯特的部队摧毁了这些流亡者。对新总统来说，这是一个屈辱的失败。肯尼迪再也不相信军事和情报方面的建议，苏联认为肯尼迪是一个弱小的领导人。这次入侵也激怒了许多看到它的拉美国家，又一次成为美国的傲慢和不尊重主权。

古巴导弹危机

1962年，苏联在军备竞赛中拼命落后于美国。苏联的导弹只有强大到足以发射反对欧洲，但美国的导弹能够击中整个苏联。1962年4月下旬，苏联总理赫鲁晓夫设想在古巴安装中程导弹。在古巴的部署将使苏联的战略武库加倍，并为对苏联的潜在攻击提供真正的威慑。

与此同时，菲德尔·卡斯特罗正在寻找一种方法来捍卫他的岛国免受美国的另一次袭击。自失败的猪湾入侵以来，卡斯特罗认为第二次袭击是不可避免的。他赞成赫鲁晓夫在岛上放置导弹的计划。

肯尼迪总统和赫鲁晓夫总理之间的对抗被许多历史学家认为是冷战的高潮时刻。正如现在所知，古巴导弹危机是世界上最接近核战争的地方。

危机始于1962年10月15日，U-2侦察机拍摄的侦察照片显示，古巴正在建造苏联的导弹基地。肯尼迪召集了一个由十二位最重要的顾问组成的特别委员会来帮助他应对危机。经过七天秘密而激烈的辩论之后，这个执行委员会

would prevent the arrival of more Soviet offensive weapons on the island.

On October 22, Kennedy announced the discovery of the missile installations to the public and his decision to quarantine the island in an evening television address. He was somber and sought to project an air of determination. He demanded that the Soviets remove all of their offensive weapons from Cuba. Since a naval **blockade** is technically an act of war according to international law, Kennedy euphemistically called it a quarantine.

Khrushchev reacted furiously. In a letter and speech on October 24, he called Kennedy's bluff. He wrote, "If you weigh the present situation with a cool head without giving way to passion, you will understand that the Soviet Union cannot afford not to decline the despotic demands of the USA." He said that the quarantine was an illegal act of aggression that Soviet ships would be instructed to ignore, and that Kennedy's actions might lead to war.

The United Nations Security Council convened to deal with the mounting crisis. The Soviets had publicly claimed that they were not installing nuclear missiles in Cuba, and that their support for Castro was purely defensive. Many nations believed that Kennedy was concocting an excuse to invade the island and depose Castro after his first attempt at the Bay of Pigs had failed. On October 25, Kennedy's ambassador to the United Nations, **Adlai Stevenson** confronted, Soviet Ambassador Valerian Zorin in an emergency meeting of the Security Council. The resulting exchange is now one of the most famous moments in United Nations history.

Stevenson began, "All right sir, let me ask you one simple question. Do you, Ambassador Zorin, deny that the U.S.S.R has placed and is placing medium and intermediate range missiles and sites in Cuba? Yes or no? Don't wait for the translation: yes or no?"

Zorin responded, "I am not in an American courtroom, sir, and therefore I do not wish to answer a question that is put to me in the fashion in which a prosecutor does. In due course, sir, you will have your reply. Do not worry."

Stevenson, not about to let the Soviets off the hook, replied, "You are in the court of world opinion right now and you can answer yes or no."

Zorin tried to brush Stevenson off. "Sir, will you please continue your statement. You will have your answer in due course." But Stevenson was tenacious. "I am prepared to wait for my answer until hell freezes over, if that's your decision. And I'm also prepared to present the evidence in this room."

(EX-COMM) 得出结论说，它必须对古巴进行海军检疫，以防止苏联进攻武器进入岛内。

10月22日，肯尼迪宣布向公众发现导弹设施，并决定在晚间电视讲话中隔离该岛。他忧心忡忡，试图展现一种决心的气氛。他要求苏联人从古巴撤走所有的进攻性武器。由于海军封锁在技术上是根据国际法的战争行为，肯尼迪委婉地称之为检疫。

赫鲁晓夫愤怒地作出反应。他在10月24日的一封信和演讲中，称肯尼迪的虚张声势。他写道：“如果你用冷静的头脑来衡量现状，而不让位于激情，那么你就会明白，苏联不能拒绝不拒绝美国的专制要求。”他说，检疫是一种非法行为苏联船只会被指示不予理睬的侵略，肯尼迪的行动可能会导致战争。

联合国安理会召开会议处理越来越严重的危机。苏联人公开声称他们不在古巴安装核导弹，他们对卡斯特罗的支持纯粹是防御性的。许多国家认为，肯尼迪正在捏造一个借口入侵该岛，并在他第一次尝试猪湾失败后废除卡斯特罗。10月25日，肯尼迪驻联合国大使阿德莱·史蒂文生与苏联大使佐兰在安理会紧急会议中对抗。由此产生的交流现在是联合国历史上最著名的时刻之一。

史蒂文生开始说：“好吧，先生，让我问你一个简单的问题。佐林大使是否否认美国在古巴已经放置中型和中程导弹和地点？是或否？不要等待翻译：是或否？”

佐林回答说：“我不是在美国的法庭里，先生，所以我不想回答检察官所提供的问题。在适当的时候，先生，你会有你的答复。别担心。”

史蒂文生，不想让苏联人摆脱困境，回答说：“你现在正在世界舆论的法庭，你可以回答是或否。”

佐林试图刷史蒂文森。“先生，请你继续发言。你会在适当的时候得到你的答案。”但史蒂文生顽强。“我准备等待我的答案，直到地狱冻结，如果这是你的决定。而且我也准备在这个房间里提供证据。”

With that, Stevenson's aids brought out poster-sized copies of the U-2 photographs of the Soviet missile sites in Cuba. The incontrovertible evidence as Stevenson called it, turned the world against the Soviet Union. Clearly, it was not Kennedy, but Khrushchev who had put the crisis in motion.



因此，史蒂文生的辅助工具为古巴的苏联导弹基地提供了海报大小的 U-2 照片。史蒂文生称之为无可争议的证据，把世界对抗苏联。显然，这不是肯尼迪，而是赫鲁晓夫把危机提上日程。

Primary Source: Photograph

Adlai Stevenson's presentation to the Security Council in the midst of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

主要来源：照片

Adlai Stevenson 在古巴导弹危机中向安理会提交的报告。

On October 26, Khrushchev cabled an impassioned letter to Kennedy. He proposed removing the Soviet missiles and personnel for Cuba if the United States would guarantee not to invade the island or attempt to remove Castro.

While the EX-COMM debated Khrushchev's offer, a U-2 was shot down as it flew high over Cuba. The joint chiefs of staff demanded that Kennedy give them the go-ahead to mount an invasion. The Soviets had clearly initiated the war. If Kennedy refused, they argued, it would be the Bay of Pigs all over again.

Kennedy refused anyway.

In the midst of this, Kennedy received a second letter from Khrushchev. This time, the Soviet leader demanding the removal of American missiles in Turkey in exchange for his missiles in Cuba.

This put Kennedy in a terrible position. Time was running out to mount an invasion. If he waited even a day or two, the military could not guarantee that they could destroy the Soviet missiles before they could be launched. Khrushchev's first letter seemed reasonable, but the second letter was more demanding. Perhaps he had lost power and hardliners in Moscow had taken over. Alternatively, it was possible that

十月二十六日，赫鲁晓夫向肯尼迪发了一封慷慨激昂的信。他建议如果美国保证不要入侵该岛或试图清除卡斯特罗，就要把古巴的导弹和人员移到古巴去。

虽然前经济委员会对赫鲁晓夫的提议进行了辩论，但一架 U-2 飞机在古巴高空飞行时被击落。联合参谋长要求肯尼迪让他们反攻入侵。苏联明确地发动了这场战争。如果肯尼迪拒绝了，他们认为，这将是猪的湾再次。

肯尼迪拒绝了。

在此期间，肯尼迪收到了赫鲁晓夫的第二封信。这次苏联领导人要求在土耳其撤除美国的导弹，以换取他在古巴的导弹。

这使肯尼迪处于一个糟糕的境地。时间不多了，要进行入侵。如果他等了一两天，军方就不能保证他们能够在发射之前就摧毁苏联的导弹。赫鲁晓夫的第一封信似乎是合理的，但第二封信要求更高。也许他已经失去了权力，莫斯科接管了强硬派。或者，赫鲁晓夫有可能害

Khrushchev was terrified Kennedy might actually launch a first strike and he was desperately searching for a way out of the crisis.

The members of EX-COMM all agreed that making a deal with the Soviets was risky. If the Soviets Union could use the threat of missiles in Cuba to extract concessions from the United States, what would prevent them from trying it again a year or two later? What would they demand next? Berlin?

Finally, the president's younger brother, **Robert Kennedy** suggested ignoring the second letter and publicly agreeing to the terms of the first. However, the United States would secretly agree to remove the missiles from Turkey – many months later – so it would not seem to be part of a deal. He met late on the night of October 27 with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin to pass along the message, and to stress that the Soviets would have to agree the next day, or there would be war.



On October 28, Khrushchev announced that he would dismantle the installations in Cuba and return the missiles to the Soviet Union, expressing his trust that the United States would not invade Cuba. The crisis had lasted 13 days. In the end, Kennedy's cool-headedness, patience, and determination to find a way for Khrushchev to save face payed off. Although the unthinkable had been only hours away, the world had not descended into nuclear war.

EFFECTS OF THE CRISIS

The Cuban Missile Crisis had both short-term and long-term effects. Seeing the need for better communication, a direct link was established between the White House and Kremlin. Although in popular culture it is known as the **red telephone** on the president's desk, the hotline was

怕肯尼迪实际上可能发动第一次打击，他正在拼命寻找摆脱危机的办法。

前委员会成员都同意与苏联达成协议是有风险的。如果苏联可以利用古巴的导弹威胁向美国提出让步，那么一两年后又会怎么样呢？他们接下来会要求什么？柏林？

最后，总统的弟弟罗伯特·肯尼迪（Robert Kennedy）建议无视第二封信，公开同意第一封信的条款。然而，美国会秘密同意在几个月后取消来自土耳其的导弹 - 所以这似乎不是一笔交易的一部分。他在十月二十七日晚与苏联大使阿纳托利·多布里宁会面，并且强调苏军不得不在第二天同意，否则将会发生战争。

Primary Source: Photograph

The members of Ex-Comm gathered around a table with President Kennedy at the center during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

主要来源：照片

在古巴导弹危机期间，前交所成员在肯尼迪总统的中心聚集在一起。

10月28日，赫鲁晓夫宣布拆除在古巴的设施，并将导弹归还给苏联，相信美国不会入侵古巴。危机持续了13天。最终，肯尼迪的冷静，耐心和决心为赫鲁晓夫寻找挽回面子的途径付之东流。虽然不可想象的事情已经过去了几个小时，但世界并没有陷入核战争。

危机的影响

古巴导弹危机具有短期和长期的影响。看到需要更好的沟通，白宫和克里姆林宫之间建立了直接的联系。尽管在大众文化中，总统办公桌上被称为红色电话，但热线绝不是电话线，也



never a telephone line, and no red phones have ever been used. The first implementation used Teletype equipment, then a fax machine, and since 2008, a secure computer link over which messages are exchanged by email.

The crisis was a great boost for Kennedy. Erasing doubts about his ability to stand up to communists, his reputation as a determined cold warrior was restored. On the other hand, the final compromise was viewed in the Soviet Union as an embarrassment. Two years afterward the **Politburo** forced Khrushchev out of power, replacing him with **Leonid Brezhnev**.

The United States kept its promise never to invade Cuba. Castro remained in power as a communist dictator well into the 21st Century. When he died in 2016 at age 90, his younger brother **Raul** took over, continuing the regime's hold on power. Accepting Castro's government, however, did not mean that relations between the two nations were any warmer. Americans continued to restrict all travel and trade with Cuba. As the decades progressed, Cuba became more and more impoverished. After 54 years of **embargo**, in 2014 President Barack Obama announced a change in policy, allowing direct flights from the United States to Cuba, and granting travel visas for American tourists. Obama himself visited Cuba in 2016. In 2017, the new Trump Administration, weary of being seen as soft on America's enemies, and aware of the importance of Cuban-American voters, cancelled Obama's agreements.

CONCLUSION

The arms race and the brinksmanship that led to the Cuban Missile Crisis were such a dangerous game that Kennedy and Khrushchev nearly let things slip out of control. The nuclear standoff between East and West produced a strange stalemate that seems to have prevented war. But, was this a good way to deal with the Soviets? Was the outcome we achieved worth the price we paid – both financially and in our physical and emotional security?

What do you think? Did American leaders respond wisely to the communist threat?

没有使用过红色电话。第一个实施使用电传设备，然后是传真机，并从 2008 年开始，通过电子邮件交换消息的安全计算机链接。

这场危机对肯尼迪来说是一个很大的推动。他怀疑自己有能力站在共产主义者身上，他作为坚定的冷战士的声誉得到了恢复。另一方面，最后的妥协在苏联看来是一种尴尬。两年之后，政治局迫使赫鲁晓夫失去了权力，取而代之的是列昂尼德·勃列日涅夫。

美国信守诺言，决不入侵古巴。卡斯特罗仍然是 21 世纪的共产主义独裁者。当他于 2016 年去世，享年 90 岁时，他的弟弟劳尔 (Raul) 接任，继续执政。然而，接受卡斯特罗政府并不意味着两国关系变暖。美国人继续限制所有与古巴的旅行和贸易。随着几十年的发展，古巴变得越来越贫穷。经过 54 年的禁运，2014 年美国总统奥巴马宣布政策改变，允许从美国直飞古巴，并为美国游客提供旅游签证。奥巴马本人于 2016 年访问了古巴。2017 年，新特朗普政府厌倦了被美国视为敌人，并意识到古巴裔美国人选民的重要性，取消了奥巴马的协议。

结论

导致古巴导弹危机的军备竞赛和边缘战争是一场危险的游戏，肯尼迪和赫鲁晓夫差点让事情失控。东西方之间的核僵局产生了一个奇怪的僵局，似乎阻止了战争。但是，这是对付苏联人的好办法吗？我们取得的成果是否值得我们付出的代价 - 无论是在经济上还是在身心安全方面？

你怎么看？美国领导人是否明智地应对共产主义威胁？



Read a Civil Defense Manual from 1966



Watch video from the Castle Bravo Nuclear Test



Watch the Kennedy's Moon Speech



Watch the Moon Landing



Watch highlights from the Nixon-Kennedy Debates



Watch Kennedy's Inaugural Address



Watch Kennedy's TV Address



Watch Adlai Stevenson at the United Nations



PEOPLE & GROUPS

Curtis LeMay: General who led the Strategic Air Command, responsible for America's nuclear bombers and missiles.

Nuclear Club: The group of countries who have nuclear weapons.

Captain America and Superman: Superheroes who became popular during the Cold War by fighting against communist enemies in comic books.

Laika: A dog. The first animal in space.

Yuri Gargarin: Soviet Cosmonaut and first human in space in 1961.

Alan Shephard: First American in space in 1961.

Valentina Tereshkova: Soviet cosmonaut. She became the first woman in space in 1963.

John F. Kennedy (JFK): Democratic president from 1961-1963. He was president during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Neil Armstrong: First man to set foot on the Moon in 1969.

Lyndon B. Johnson: Vice president for John F. Kennedy and president from 1963-1968.

New Frontiersmen: The group of young intellectuals who served as Kennedy's advisors.

Fulgencio Batista: Corrupt dictator of Cuba. He was supported by the United States and was overthrown by Castro.

Fidel Castro: Communist leader who led the Cuban Revolution in 1959.

Nikita Khrushchev: Soviet leader from 1953-1964. He was leader during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Adlai Stevenson: Democratic presidential candidate and ambassador to the United Nations during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

人和组

Curtis LeMay: 领导战略空军司令部的将军，负责美国的核轰炸机和导弹。

核俱乐部: 拥有核武器的国家集团。

美国队长和超人: 在冷战时期通过与漫画中的共产主义敌人作战的超级英雄。

莱卡: 一条狗。太空中的第一个动物。

尤里·加加林: 1961年苏联宇航员和太空第一人。

Alan Shephard: 1961年第一位美国太空人。

瓦伦蒂娜·捷列什科娃: 苏联宇航员。她成为1963年第一位太空女子。

肯尼迪 (肯尼迪): 民主党总统，从1961年至1963年。他是古巴导弹危机期间的总统。

尼尔·阿姆斯特朗: 1969年第一个踏上月球的人。

林登·约翰逊 (Lyndon B. Johnson): 约翰·肯尼迪 (John F. Kennedy) 副总统，1963-1968年任总统。

新领导人: 那些担任肯尼迪顾问的青年知识分子。

Fulgencio Batista: 古巴腐败的独裁者。他得到了美国的支持，被卡斯特罗推翻了。

菲德尔·卡斯特罗: 1959年领导古巴革命的共产党领袖。

赫鲁晓夫: 苏联领导人，从1953年至1964年。他是古巴导弹危机期间的领导人。

Adlai Stevenson: 古巴导弹危机期间民主党总统候选人和联合国大使。



Robert Kennedy: John F. Kennedy's younger brother. He was Attorney General during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Ex-Comm: The group of experts who advised Kennedy during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Politburo: The group of the leaders of the Soviet Union. Roughly equivalent to the President's cabinet.

Leonid Brezhnev: Soviet leader from 1964-1982.

Raul Castro: Fidel Castro's younger brother and leader of Cuba from 2008 to the present.

罗伯特·肯尼迪：肯尼迪的弟弟。他是古巴导弹危机期间的总检察长。

前通信：在古巴导弹危机期间向肯尼迪提供建议的专家小组。

政治局：苏联领导人的集团。大致相当于总统的内阁。

列昂尼德·勃列日涅夫：1964-1982 年的苏联领导人。

劳尔·卡斯特罗：从 2008 年至今，卡斯特的弟弟兼古巴领导人。



POLICIES & TREATIES

Compact of Free Association (COFA): Agreement between the US, Marshall Islands, and Federated States of Micronesia.

New Frontier: Kennedy's agenda, including more domestic spending and a shift away from massive retaliation.

政策和条约

自由联合会 (COFA)：美国，马绍尔群岛和密克罗尼西亚联邦之间的协定。

新的边疆：肯尼迪的议程，包括更多的国内开支和从大规模报复的转变。



KEY CONCEPTS

Proliferation: The spread of weapons, especially nuclear weapons to multiple countries.

Nuclear Winter: The time period after a major nuclear exchange during which crops would be destroyed and most humans would starve.

Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD): The situation in which both the United States and Soviet Union could destroy one another in a nuclear exchange. Because starting a war meant assured destruction, no side would start the war.

Blockade: The use of a navy to prevent the entrance and exit of ships from a port.

Embargo: A block on trade.

关键概念

扩散：武器，特别是核武器向多个国家蔓延。

核冬天：与农作物进行大规模核交换之后的时间将被破坏，大多数人类将会挨饿。

相互保证破坏 (MAD)：美国和苏联在核交换中可能相互毁灭的情况。因为发动战争意味着有保证的破坏，所以没有一方会开始战争。

封锁：使用海军来防止港口进出口。

禁运：贸易障碍



SPEECHES

Kennedy's Inaugural Address: President Kennedy's speech in 1961 and occasion of some of his most famous statements.

We Choose to Go to the Moon: Speech by JFK in 1961 in which he challenged America to send a man to the moon before 1970.

Once small step for man, one giant leap for mankind: Armstrong's statement as he stepped onto the Moon's surface.

重要讲话

肯尼迪的就职演说：肯尼迪总统 1961 年的演讲以及他最著名的一些演讲。

我们选择去月球：JFK 在 1961 年的演讲，他在 1970 年之前向美国提出挑战，要求一个人登月。

人类迈出了一小步，是人类的一次巨大飞跃：阿姆斯特朗在登上月球表面时的声明。



GOVERNMENT & MILITARY AGENCIES

Strategic Air Command: The organization in the American military responsible for America's nuclear bombers and missiles.

Civil Defense: The local organizations who plan for disasters such as hurricanes, earthquakes, and nuclear attack.

Apollo Program: NASA program to develop the technology to send a man to the Moon.

Flexible Response: Kennedy's policy of having more conventional (non-nuclear) weapons so that the United States could use military power without resorting to a nuclear attack.

Peace Corps: A group of young American volunteers who travel to developing nations to provide support and help spread goodwill.

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA): America's spy agency.

政府和军事机构

战略空军司令部：负责美国核轰炸机和导弹的美国军方组织。

民防：计划飓风，地震和核攻击等灾难的当地组织。

阿波罗计划：美国宇航局计划发展的技术，派人到月球。

灵活的回应：肯尼迪的政策是拥有更多的常规（非核武器）武器，以便美国可以使用军事力量而不诉诸核攻击。

和平队：一群年轻的美国志愿者，前往发展中国家提供支持和帮助传播善意。

中央情报局（CIA）：美国的间谍机构。



LOCATIONS

Bikini Atoll: Atoll in the Marshall Islands used by the United States for testing nuclear weapons. It was the site of the Castle Bravo test.

Enewetak: Island in the Marshall Islands used by the United States for testing nuclear weapons. Location of the first hydrogen bomb test.

地点

比基尼环礁：美国用于测试核武器的马绍尔群岛的环礁。这是布拉沃城堡测试的一面。

埃尼威托克：美国用于测试核武器的马绍尔群岛。第一次氢弹试验的地点。



EVENTS

Castle Bravo: Nuclear test on Bikini Atoll that was much larger than expected.

1960 Presidential Election: Election between Senator John F. Kennedy and Vice President Richard Nixon. Kennedy won in a close popular vote.

Kennedy-Nixon Debates: The first televised presidential election debates.

Cuban Revolution: Communist overthrow of Batista's Cuban government in 1958, led by Fidel Castro.

Bay of Pigs Invasion: 1961 attack by anti-communist Cuban exiles who had been trained by the CIA in an effort to start a revolution against Castro. The invasion failed and Kennedy refused to support the invaders.

Cuban Missile Crisis: 13-day standoff in 1962. The Soviet Union had placed nuclear missiles in Cuba and Kennedy demanded that they be removed. It was the closest the world ever came to nuclear war.

活动

布拉沃城堡：比基尼环礁的核试验远远大于预期。

1960 年总统选举：参议员肯尼迪和副总统理查德·尼克松之间的选举。肯尼迪赢得了密切的民众投票。

肯尼迪 - 尼克松辩论：首次电视转播的总统选举辩论。

古巴革命：共产党于 1958 年推翻巴蒂斯塔古巴政府，由卡斯特罗领导。

“猪湾入侵”：1961 年遭到中央情报局训练的反共古巴流亡者的袭击，企图对卡斯特罗进行革命。入侵失败，肯尼迪拒绝支持入侵者。

古巴导弹危机：1962 年 13 天对峙。苏联在古巴放置了核导弹，肯尼迪要求将其拆除。这是世界上最接近核战争的地方。



TECHNOLOGIES

B-52 Stratofortress: Long-range bomber designed to carry nuclear bombs deep into the Soviet Union.

Thermonuclear Warhead: A nuclear warhead that uses fusion to produce a much larger explosion than the fission bomb used against Japan. Also known as a hydrogen bomb or H-bomb.

Tactical Nuclear Weapons: Small nuclear weapons meant to be used on the battlefield the way artillery might be used.

Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM): Nuclear-armed missiles that are fired from one continent to targets in another.

Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile (SLBM): Nuclear-armed missiles fired from submarines.

Nuclear Triad: The three methods of attacking with nuclear weapons: land-based bombers, land-based missiles and submarine-based missiles.

Multiple Independent Targetable Reentry Vehicles (MIRV): Missiles that separate in space and deliver nuclear warheads to many different targets.

Fallout Shelter: A place that would be safe during an atomic attack. They were often stocked with food, water, and medical supplies.

Sputnik: First man-made satellite launched by the Soviet Union in 1957.

Explorer 1: America's first satellite, launched in 1958.

U-2: American spy plane.

Red Telephone: Nickname for the direct communication link between the White House and Kremlin.

TECHNOLOGIES

B-52 战斗机：远程轰炸机，旨在将核弹深入苏联。

热核弹头：使用核聚变弹头产生比日本使用的裂变炸弹大得多的核弹头。也被称为氢弹或氢弹。

战术核武器：小型核武器意味着可以在战场上使用炮兵的方式。

洲际弹道导弹（ICBM）：从一个大陆向另一个大陆发射的核武器导弹。

潜射发射弹道导弹（SLBM）：从潜艇发射的核武器导弹。

核三角：用核武器攻击的三种方法：陆基轰炸机，陆基导弹和潜射导弹。

多个独立的目标再入飞行器（MIRV）：在太空中分离并将核弹头提供给许多不同目标的导弹。

辐射防护：在原子攻击中一个安全的地方。他们经常储备食物，水和医疗用品。

人造卫星：1957 年由苏联发射的第一颗人造卫星。

探险者 1 号：美国的第一颗卫星，于 1958 年发射。

U-2：美国间谍飞机

红色电话：白宫与克里姆林宫之间的直接通信联系的绰号。

4

F O U R T H Q U E S T I O N DID THE COLD WAR HURT AMERICA?



INTRODUCTION

An atmosphere of fear hung over America during the early years of the Cold War. People feared that communists might achieve their goal of world domination. When the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb in 1949, Americans feared nuclear holocaust. That same year, China, the world's most populous nation, became communist. Half of Europe was under Josef Stalin's influence, and every time Americans read their newspapers there seemed to be a new and more terrifying danger.

These fears changed the way Americans thought about freedom and security. Sometimes they became paranoid and ignored basic freedoms as they tumbled over themselves to find communists hidden in their midst. Other times, a desire to defend themselves and stay ahead of the looming danger from the East led to impressive advances in science and engineering.

While the face-to-face standoff between the American armed forces and communist troops might have been far away in Berlin, Korea or Vietnam, the Cold War, like all wars, changed America. Some wars lead to positive outcomes on the home front. For example, the Second World War led to increased participation by women in the workforce, an increased number of Americans going to college due to the GI Bill, and courageous leaders who advanced civil right for African-Americans.

Was this true of the Cold War? Did this long period living on the edge of annihilation make life in at home better, or did the Cold War hurt America?

介绍

冷战初期的恐惧气氛笼罩着美国。人们担心共产党人可能会实现他们的统治世界的目标。当苏联在1949年爆炸第一颗原子弹时，美国人害怕核浩劫。同年，世界上人口最多的国家中国成为共产主义国家。欧洲的一半是在约瑟夫·斯大林的影响下，每当美国人阅读他们的报纸，似乎有一个新的，更可怕的危险。

这些担忧改变了美国人对自由和安全的看法。有的时候，他们变得偏执狂，忽视了基本的自由，因为他们自己在自己的身边翻倒，发现隐藏在他们中间的共产主义者。其他时候，自卫和保持领先于东方即将到来的危险的渴望导致了科学和工程方面的显着进步。

虽然美军与共军之间的面对面对峙在柏林，韩国或越南可能已经很远，但冷战像所有的战争一样，改变了美国。一些战争导致了家门口的积极成果。例如，第二次世界大战导致妇女参与劳动力队伍的增加，由于GI条例草案导致美国人上学的人数增加，以及为非洲裔美国人提高公民权利的勇敢的领导人。

这是冷战的真相吗？这个长期处于湮灭边缘的国家是否能够更好地生活在国内？还是冷战伤害了美国呢？

MCCARTHYISM

“Are you, or have you ever been, a communist?” In the late 1940s and early 1950s, thousands of Americans who toiled in the government, served in the army, worked in the movie industry, or came from any number of other walks of life had to answer that question under oath.

It did not take long for the Cold War confrontation in Europe and Asia to come home. In 1947, President Truman had ordered background checks of every civilian in service to the government to make sure they were not secretly supporting communism or Nazism. When **Alger Hiss**, a high-ranking diplomat at the State Department who had advised Roosevelt at Yalta and been involved in the creation of the United Nations was denounced as a communist and arrested on charges of espionage, Americans panicked. The Hiss trial concluded in 1950 with a conviction. Hiss went to jail, but evidence of his guilt is still inconclusive.

In 1951, husband and wife **Julius and Ethel Rosenberg** were accused of passing nuclear secrets to the Soviet Union. Like Alger Hiss, the Rosenbergs maintained their innocence. While the evidence against Julius was convincing, Ethel's involvement in the plot seems to have been less crucial. All the same, they were both convicted and put to death in the electric chair.

Senator **Joseph McCarthy** of Wisconsin capitalized on national paranoia by proclaiming that communists were omnipresent and that he was America's only salvation. Historians often label his efforts a witch hunt in reference to the Salem Witch Trials of the 1600s in which dozens of people were falsely accused.

At a speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, on February 9, 1950, McCarthy launched his first salvo. He proclaimed that he was aware of **205 card-carrying members of the Communist Party** who worked for the State Department. A few days later, he repeated the charges at a speech in Salt Lake City. McCarthy began to attract headlines, and the Senate asked him to make his case. As it turned out, McCarthy was never able to provide any evidence to support his sensational accusations.

On February 20, 1950, McCarthy addressed the Senate and made a list of dubious claims against suspected communists. He originally cited 81 cases that day but skipped several as he went, and for most cases repeated the same flimsy information. He proved nothing that day, but the Senators were suspicious enough that they called for a full investigation. McCarthy was in the national spotlight.

Staying in the headlines was a full-time job. After accusing low-level officials, McCarthy went for the big guns, even questioning the loyalty of

麦卡锡主义

“你还是你曾经是共产党人吗？”在 20 世纪 40 年代末和 50 年代初期，数以千计的美国人在政府工作，在军队服役，在电影业工作，或其他任何其他步行生活不得不在誓言下回答这个问题。

欧洲和亚洲的冷战对抗并不需要很长时间。1947 年，杜鲁门总统下令对每一位服役的平民进行背景调查，以确保他们不是暗中支持共产主义或纳粹主义。美国国务院高级外交官阿尔杰·希斯（Alger Hiss）在雅尔塔为罗斯福提供建议并参与建立联合国，被指责为共产主义者，并以间谍罪被捕，美国人惊慌失措。Hiss 审判于 1950 年以定罪结束。希斯去了监狱，但他有罪的证据还没有定论。

1951 年，夫妻朱利叶斯和艾瑟尔·罗森堡被指控将核机密传递给苏联。像阿尔杰·希斯一样，罗森伯格保持清白。虽然对朱利叶斯的证据是令人信服的，但埃塞尔参与这个阴谋似乎并不那么重要。同样，他们都被定罪并在电椅里被处死。

威斯康星州的参议员约瑟夫·麦卡锡（Joseph McCarthy）通过宣称共产党人无所不在，并且是美国唯一的救赎来充分利用民族偏执狂。历史学家经常把他的努力标榜为参考 17 世纪的萨利姆女巫审判的一个巫术，数十人被诬告。

1950 年 2 月 9 日，在西弗吉尼亚州的惠灵发表讲话，麦卡锡发起了他的第一次齐射。他宣布他知道共有 205 名携带国务院工作的携带卡的成员。几天后，他在盐湖城的演讲中重复了这些指控。麦卡锡开始吸引头条，参议院要求他提出这个问题。事实证明，麦卡锡从来没有能够提供任何证据来支持他的耸人听闻的指责。

1950 年 2 月 20 日，麦卡锡在参议院发表讲话，列举了对可疑共产党的可疑要求。他当天引用了 81 个案例，但是在他去的时候跳过了几个案例，而且在大多数情况下，这些案例都重复了同样的薄弱的信息。那天他什么也证明不了，但是参议员们很怀疑他们要求全面调查。麦卡锡是全国聚光灯下。

头条新闻是一份全职工作。在指责低级官员之后，麦卡锡去了大枪，甚至质疑当时两位最受

Dean Acheson and George Marshall, two of the most respected republican leaders of the day.



尊敬的共和党领导人艾奇逊 (Dean Acheson) 和乔治·马歇尔 (George Marshall) 的忠诚。

Primary Source: Photograph

Senator Joseph McCarthy claiming to know of communists working in the State Department.

主要来源: 照片

参议员麦卡锡宣称知道在国务院工作的共产党人。

Some Republicans in the Senate were aghast and disavowed McCarthy. Others such as Senator Robert Taft and Congressman Richard Nixon saw him as an asset. The public loved the show. It was emotionally rewarding to think that someone was making sure the country was safe from communist infiltration, and McCarthy was a master of alternately stoking fear and then providing a show of strength and resolve. His supporters rewarded the witch-hunters by sending red-baiters to Washington to file accusations against suspected **Reds**, providing plenty of work for McCarthy and his fellow communist hunters.

Dwight Eisenhower, the hero of World War II had no love for McCarthy. Eisenhower could see through McCarthy's charade, but when Eisenhower was elected president in 1952, he was reluctant to condemn McCarthy for fear of splitting the Republican Party. McCarthy's accusations went on into 1954, when the Wisconsin senator turned his sights on the United States Army. For eight weeks, in televised hearings, McCarthy interrogated army officials, including many decorated war heroes.

参议院的一些共和党人对麦卡锡表示震惊和不满。参议员罗伯特·塔夫特 (Robert Taft) 和议员理查德·尼克松 (Richard Nixon) 等人则认为他是一项资产公众喜爱这个节目。想到有人确保这个国家不受共产主义渗透的伤害, 情感上是有益的, 而麦卡锡是一个交替煽动恐惧, 然后提供力量和决心的大师。他的支持者通过向华盛顿派遣红衣主义者向怀疑红军提出指控, 为麦卡锡及其同党猎人提供大量工作, 奖励猎巫人。

第二次世界大战的英雄德怀特·艾森豪威尔对麦卡锡没有爱意。艾森豪威尔可以看穿麦卡锡的玩笑, 但是当艾森豪威尔在 1952 年当选总统时, 他不敢谴责麦卡锡害怕分裂共和党。麦卡锡的指责延续到 1954 年, 那时威斯康星州的参议员把目光投向了美国军队。八个星期, 在电视听证会上, 麦卡锡询问了军官, 包括许多装饰好的战争英雄。



Primary Source: Photograph

Senator Joseph McCarthy and Welch at the Army hearings.

主要来源：照片

参议员约瑟夫·麦卡锡和韦尔奇在陆军听证会上。

This was his tragic mistake. Television was new in the 1950s, and for the first time Americans were able to watch McCarthy live. Instead of showing a noble crusader, television illustrated the mean-spiritedness of McCarthy's campaign. The army then went on the attack, questioning McCarthy's methods and credibility leading up to one of the most memorable lines in government history. Joseph Welch, a lawyer for the army challenged McCarthy, "Until this moment, Senator, I think I never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness." Then, defending the young man McCarthy was accusing, Welch went on, "Let us not assassinate this lad further, senator. You have done enough. **Have you no sense of decency?**"

Americans agreed. McCarthy was a jerk, and Welch and television proven it. The American people thought McCarthy unscrupulous in his attacks. Poll after poll showed that Americans would not tolerate attacks on the brave men and women in the armed forces.

Fed up with the embarrassing show, McCarthy's colleagues censured him for dishonoring the Senate, and the hearings came to a close. Plagued with poor health and alcoholism, McCarthy himself died three years later.

HUAC

Senator McCarthy was not the only individual to make a name for himself seeking out potential communists. Members of the House of Representatives wanted to show that they were just as enthusiastic about rooting out the red threat.

这是他的悲剧性错误。电视在 20 世纪 50 年代是新的，美国人第一次能够看麦卡锡。电视台并没有展现出一位高尚的十字军东征，而是说明了麦卡锡竞选活动的平均精神。军队继续袭击，质疑麦卡锡的方法和可信度，导致政府历史上最令人难忘的线路之一。军队的律师约瑟夫·韦尔奇 (Joseph Welch) 向麦卡锡提出质疑：“直到现在，参议员，我想我从来没有真正地看到过你的残忍或鲁莽。”然后，捍卫年轻人麦卡锡被控告，韦尔奇接着说：“让我们不要刺杀参议员。你做得够多了。你有没有体面的感觉？”

美国人同意。麦卡锡是个混蛋，韦尔奇和电视台证明了这一点。美国人认为麦卡锡在袭击中是不择手段的。民意调查显示，美国人不会容忍袭击武装部队的勇敢的男人们和女人。

受到这个尴尬的表演感到厌烦，麦卡锡的同事谴责他羞辱参议院，听证会即将结束。身体不好，酗酒，三年后，麦卡锡自己也死了。

HUAC

麦卡锡参议员并不是唯一一个为自己寻找潜在共产主义者的名字的人。众议院议员想表明，他们同样热衷于消除红色威胁。

The **House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)** targeted the Hollywood film industry. Actors, writers and producers alike were summoned to appear before the committee and provide names of colleagues who may have been members of the Communist Party.

Those who repented and named names of suspected communists were allowed to return to business as usual. Those who refused to address the committee were cited for contempt. Since the First Amendment protects Americans' right to free speech and freedom of assembly, there is nothing illegal about being communist, meeting with communists, or spreading communist ideas.

众议院非美活动委员会 (HUAC) 针对好莱坞电影业。演员，作家和制片人都被传唤出席委员会，并提供可能是共产党员的同事的姓名。

那些悔改和命名嫌疑共产主义者的人被允许像往常一样恢复营业。那些拒绝在委员会发言的人被引用为蔑视。自第一修正案保护美国言论自由和集会自由的权利以来，共产主义者，共产主义者，共产主义者的思想是不合法的。

Primary Source: Document

A warning to Americans during the height of the Red Scare focused especially on the supposed influence of communists in Hollywood.

主要来源：文件

在“红色恐慌”高峰时期，对美洲的警告尤其集中在好莱坞共产主义者所应有的影响上。

AMERICANS
DON'T PATRONIZE REDS!!!!

—•—

**YOU CAN DRIVE THE REDS OUT OF
 TELEVISION, RADIO AND HOLLY-
 WOOD**
THIS TRACT WILL TELL YOU HOW.

WHY WE MUST DRIVE THEM OUT:

1) The REDS have made our Screen, Radio and TV Moscow's most effective Fifth Column in America . . .
 2) The REDS of Hollywood and Broadway have always been the chief financial support of Communist propaganda in America . . . 3) OUR OWN FILMS, made by RED Producers, Directors, Writers and STARS, are being used by Moscow in ASIA, Africa, the Balkans and throughout Europe to create hatred of America . . . 4) RIGHT NOW films are being made to craftily glorify MARXISM, UNESCO and ONE-WORLDISM . . . and via your TV Set they are being piped into your Living Room—and are poisoning the minds of your children under your very eyes!!!

So REMEMBER — If you patronize a Film made by RED Producers, Writers, Stars and STUDIOS you are aiding and abetting COMMUNISM . . . every time you permit REDS to come into your Living Room VIA YOUR TV SET you are helping MOSCOW and the INTERNATIONALISTS to destroy America!!!



When ten writers and directors refused to answer the questions the HUAC members posed, citing their first amendment rights, they were cited for contempt of Congress. This was a dubious charge legally since Congress does not have the right to question anyone's political beliefs, but in the hysteria of the early 1950s, even being accused of being a communist was tantamount to a social death sentence.

The **Hollywood 10** as they came to be called were fined, jailed, and lost their jobs. Like others who were accused of being communist during time, they were blacklisted, meaning that no one would hire them. Years passed before they had their reputations restored.

Americans had mixed feelings about the Hollywood 10. Some people admired them for standing up to government officials who were abusing the Constitution. Others felt that communism was such an existential threat that bending the rules was necessary to protect the nation.

EFFECTS OF THE RED SCARE

This era in American history is called the **Red Scare** or **McCarthyism** and we look back with some mystification. How could people have been so consumed by fear that they ignored the Constitution? Were there in fact communists in America? The answer is undoubtedly yes, but many of the accused had attended communist events many years before the hearings. In fact, it had been fashionable to do so in the 1930s.

Although Soviet spies did penetrate the highest levels of the American government, the vast majority of the accused were innocent victims. All across America, state legislatures and school boards mimicked McCarthy and HUAC. Thousands of people lost their jobs and had their reputations tarnished.

Unions were a special target of communist hunters. Sensing an unfavorable environment, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) merged in 1955 to close ranks. Librarians and school boards pulled books from library shelves that they thought might corrupt the minds of children, including *Robin Hood*, which was deemed dangerous for spreading the communist-like notion of stealing from the rich to give to the poor.

Some famous politicians first got their start during the Red Scare. Unlike Senator McCarthy who fell into disgrace, congressman Richard Nixon polished his anti-communist credentials as a member of HUAC and was selected by Eisenhower to be vice president. Later, Nixon capitalized on his tough reputation when he ran for president himself. Another future president, an actor name Ronald Reagan was elected president of the Screen Actors Guild, the union of Hollywood actors, and worked to root out communists from within the ranks of the Hollywood elite.

当十位作者和董事拒绝回答 HUAC 成员提出的问题，引用他们的第一修正案权利，他们被引用为蔑视国会。由于国会无权质疑任何人的政治信仰，这在法律上是一个可疑的指控，但是在 20 世纪 50 年代初的歇斯底里，即使被指责为共产主义者也等于被判处死刑。

他们来的好莱坞 10 被罚款，监禁和失业。像其他被指责为共产主义的人一样，他们被列入黑名单，意味着没有人会雇用他们。数年之后，他们的声誉得到恢复。

美国人对好莱坞 10 感慨万分。有些人赞扬他们站出来滥用宪法的政府官员。其他人则认为，共产主义是一种生存的威胁，为了保护国家，弯曲规则是必要的。

红色的影响

美国历史上的这个时代被称为“红色恐慌”或者“麦卡锡主义”，我们回顾一些神秘的事物。人们怎么可能因为害怕而忽视宪法而被如此消耗？实际上美国的共产主义者呢？答案无疑是肯定的，但很多被告在听证会前多年参加过共产主义活动。事实上，在二十世纪三十年代这样做是很流行的。

虽然苏联间谍确实渗透到美国政府的最高层，但绝大多数被告是无辜的受害者。全美各州立法机构和学校董事会都模仿了麦卡锡和胡卡。成千上万的人失业，声誉受损。

工会是共产主义猎手的特殊目标。感觉到一个不利的环境，美国劳工联合会（AFL）和产业组织大会（CIO）在 1955 年合并到了一起。图书馆员和学校董事会从图书馆的书架上拉书，他们认为这可能会腐蚀儿童们的头脑，包括罗宾汉，这被认为是危险的传播共产主义式的从富人偷窃给穷人的概念。

一些著名的政治家在“红色恐慌”中首先得到了启动。不像参议员麦卡锡那样堕落，国会议员理查德·尼克松（Richard Nixon）抛光了他作为 HUAC 成员的反共证书，并被艾森豪威尔选为副总统。后来，尼克松自己竞选总统时，却利用自己的强硬名声。另一位未来的总统，演员名字罗纳德·里根被选为电影演员协会的主



The Red Scare cast a long shadow over American foreign policy as well. For more nearly two decades, no politician could consider visiting or opening trade with China or withdrawing troops from Southeast Asia without being branded a communist. Ultimately, it was Richard Nixon, one of the great heroes of HUAC, who was able to visit China without being suspected of being soft on communists.

Above all, several messages became crystal clear to the average American: Don't criticize the United States and don't be different.

ATOMS FOR PEACE

As the arms race intensified, fear among the general public about the mysterious dangers of atomic weapons intensified. Research on atomic energy was a strictly held secret and the results of that research had been used only for developing weaponry. President Eisenhower wanted to change that, and on December 8, 1953, he delivered a groundbreaking speech to the United Nations General Assembly that has become known as “Atoms for Peace.”

Eisenhower was determined to solve “the fearful atomic dilemma” by finding some way by which “the miraculous inventiveness of man would not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life.” Essentially, Eisenhower argued, the nations of the world should share the discoveries they were making in the field of atomic energy so that the technologies that were being developed for war could also be applied to civilian purposes – electricity production and medicine for example.

Atoms for Peace opened up nuclear research to civilians and countries that had not previously possessed nuclear technology. This made it possible for some countries to develop weapons. However, the Atoms for Peace program that Eisenhower's speech initiated had great impacts on the world.

Atoms for Peace created the ideological background for the creation of the **International Atomic Energy Agency** and the **Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons**. Eisenhower argued for a nonproliferation agreement throughout the world and argued for a stop of the spread of military use of nuclear weapons. Although the nations that already had atomic weapons kept their weapons and grew their supplies, very few other countries have developed similar weapons since. In this way, Eisenhower was successful.

席，好莱坞演员的联盟，并努力铲除好莱坞精英行列的共产主义者。

红色的恐慌也为美国的外交政策蒙上了阴影。20多年来，没有一个政治家可以考虑去中国进行访问或对外开放贸易，也不会考虑成为共产主义者，从东南亚撤军。最终，HUAC 的伟大英雄之一理查德·尼克松 (Richard Nixon) 能够访问中国，而不会被怀疑是对共产党人的软弱。

最重要的是，对于普通的美国人来说，有几条信息变得清晰起来：不要批评美国，不要与众不同。

和平的原子

随着军备竞赛愈演愈烈，广大民众对原子武器神秘危险的恐惧愈演愈烈。对原子能的研究是一个严格的秘密，研究的结果只用于开发武器。艾森豪威尔总统想要改变这种情况，并于1953年12月8日向联合国大会发表了一个开创性的演讲，这个演讲被称为“和平原子”。

艾森豪威尔决心通过寻找某种方式来解决“可怕的原子困境”，即“人类的奇迹般的创造性不会致力于他的死亡，而是奉献给他的生命”。艾森豪威尔基本上认为，世界各国应该分享他们在原子能领域所取得的发现，使得用于战争的技术也可以用于民用目的 - 例如电力生产和医药。

和平原子向平民和以前没有拥有核技术的国家开放了核研究。这使一些国家有可能发展武器。不过，艾森豪威尔演讲发起的“和平原子”计划对世界影响很大。

和平原子为建立国际原子能机构和“不扩散核武器条约”创造了思想背景。艾森豪威尔在全世界争议达成一项不扩散协议，并主张停止军事扩散使用核武器。虽然已经有原子武器的国家保留了自己的武器，增加了供应，但是自那以后，其他国家也没有发展过类似的武器。艾森豪威尔就这样成功了。

4 DID THE COLD WAR HURT AMERICA?



The Atoms for Peace program also created regulations for the use and handling of nuclear material and production of nuclear power. Today, there are over 440 nuclear reactors in 31 countries that provide about 11% of the world's electricity. In the United States, 99 reactors provide about 19% of our electricity. Atomic technologies have been used by doctors to diagnose illnesses and treat cancers, in agriculture to eradicate pests, and in industry to develop smoke detectors and perhaps eventually, automobiles.



“和平原子”计划还制定了关于使用和处理核材料和生产核电的条例。今天，在31个国家有超过440个核反应堆，提供了全世界约11%的电力。在美国，99个反应堆提供了我们约19%的电力。医生已经使用原子技术来诊断疾病和治疗癌症，在农业中根除病虫害，在工业中开发烟雾探测器，甚至最终可以开发汽车。

Primary Source: Photograph

The Grafenrheinfeld Nuclear Power Plant in Germany. The steam rising from the cooling towers is non-polluting. The use of nuclear technology for civilian purposes was an important product of Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace program.

主要来源：照片

德国 Grafenrheinfeld 核电站。从冷却塔上升的蒸汽是无污染的。将核技术用于民用目的是艾森豪威尔“和平原子”计划的重要产物。

The Atoms for Peace speech and program helped Americans and the people of the rest of the world, see the benefits and not just the terror of nuclear power. However, Atoms for Peace did nothing to slow the arms race. The belief that in order to avoid a nuclear war the United States must stay on the offensive, ready to strike at any time meant that the arms race was essential to preserve our very existence, and the same belief is the reason that the Soviet Union would not give up its atomic weapons either. In fact, during Eisenhower's time in office, the nuclear holdings of the United States rose from 1,005 to 20,000 weapons.

THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Before World War II, the United States didn't have a permanent military industry. In times of war, companies that built cars, refrigerators, and all the other things that were sold to consumers simply adapted their factories to produce tanks, bombers and bombs. This was the basis for President Franklin D. Roosevelt's famous Arsenal of Democracy.

However, the realities of the Cold War were different. The nuclear standoff with the Soviet Union meant that the United States could never

“和平原子”演讲和节目帮助美国人和世界其他地区的人们看到了好处，而不仅仅是核电的恐怖。然而，“和平原子”并没有减缓军备竞赛。认为为了避免核战争，美国必须保持攻势，随时准备罢工，这意味着军备竞赛对于维护我们的存在至关重要，同样的信念也是苏联不放弃其原子武器。事实上，在艾森豪威尔执政期间，美国的核武器从1005件增加到20000件。

军事工业综合体

第二次世界大战之前，美国没有永久的军事工业。在战争时期，建造汽车，冰箱等所有卖给消费者的东西，只是简单地调整工厂来生产坦克，轰炸机和炸弹。这是富兰克林·罗斯福（Franklin D. Roosevelt）著名的民主阿森纳（Arsenal of Democracy）的基础。

然而，冷战的现实是不同的。与苏联的核对峙意味着美国永远不能回到政府不发展，不生产

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go back to a time when the government was not developing, producing and buying new weapons systems. And so, a complex and enduring network grew up between the military who needed the latest weaponry, the companies who developed and built those weapons, and Congress which provided the funds.

President Eisenhower warned Americans about the danger of this relationship, which he dubbed the **Military Industrial Complex**. He foresaw a time when members of congress would realize that they needed the votes of workers at major defense contractors such as Lockheed Martin, Boeing, or Raytheon and would make sure that the military purchased new aircraft, missiles, and guns from these hometown producers. In the end, the government would spend tax dollars, not because the military needed a particular new weapon, but because these contracts were important for creating jobs.

Since the 1950s, many leaders have tried to reduce the size of the nation's arsenal, or stop the purchase of new equipment they deem unnecessary, only to come up against the resistance of the Military Industrial Complex and find that it the demands of the Cold War have irreversibly changed the way our country produces the tools of war.

EDUCATION

On October 4, 1957, the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, the world's first satellite. Suddenly, there was concrete evidence that Soviet education might be superior to that in the United States, and Congress reacted by passing the **National Defense Education Act** to bring American schools up to speed.

Since the defense of the nation was based on nuclear weapons, there was a tremendous need for the scientists and mathematicians who could develop these essential technologies. New electronic computers created a demand for programmers. For years, the United States had relied on well-educated refugees from Europe for its top mathematicians, but it was clearly time for the United States to educate its own. Consequently, the law's focus was preparing young people to excel in math and science.

The law provided funding for schools to upgrade their science laboratories and to train new math and science teachers. It provided loans for students to attend college. It provided money for students to study languages that might help national defense such as Russian. The law initiated a search for talented students, which gave birth to gifted and talented programs in public schools across the country.

Perhaps most importantly in the long term, however, was that the Cold War changed Americans' attitudes towards science in public schools. In the 1920s, a great debate had raged between believers in modernism and traditionalists who insisted that the Bible be the basis for scientific study.

和购买新的武器系统的时候。因此，需要最新武器的军队，发展和建造这些武器的公司和提供资金的国会之间建立了一个复杂而持久的网络。

艾森豪威尔总统警告美国人关于这种关系的危险，他称之为军事工业综合体。他预见国会议员会意识到他们需要洛克希德·马丁公司，波音公司或雷神公司等主要防务承包商的投票，并确保军方从这些家乡生产商那里购买新的飞机，导弹和枪支。最后，政府会花税，而不是因为军方需要一种特殊的新武器，而是因为这些合同对于创造就业很重要。

20 世纪 50 年代以来，许多领导人试图缩小国家的军备规模，或者停止购买他们认为没有必要的新装备，只能提出反对军事工业园区的阻力，发现它对冷战的要求已经不可逆转地改变了我国生产战争工具的方式。

教育

1957 年 10 月 4 日，苏联发射了世界上第一颗卫星 - 人造卫星。突然间，有具体的证据显示，苏联的教育可能优于美国，国会通过了“国防教育法案”来加速美国学校的发展。

由于国家的防务是基于核武器的，因此迫切需要可以开发这些基本技术的科学家和数学家。新的电子计算机创造了程序员的需求。多年来，美国依靠来自欧洲的受过良好教育的难民为其顶尖的数学家，但显然是美国自己教育的时候了。因此，法律的重点是培养年轻人在数学和科学方面的出色表现。

法律为学校提供资金升级他们的科学实验室和培训新的数学和科学教师。它为学生上大学提供贷款。它为学生提供了学习俄语等可能有助于国防的语言的资金。法律启动了对有才能的学生的搜索，在全国公立学校催生了天才和才华横溢的课程。

然而，最为重要的是，从长远来看，冷战改变了美国人对公立学校的科学态度。二十世纪二十年代，现代主义和传统主义者之间的一场激烈的辩论激怒了圣经成为科学研究的基础。

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The 1925 Scopes Trial had epitomized this conflict. In the 1950s, all that changed. Studying science, not the Bible, was essential for the nation's survival. The traditionalists did not disappear, but at least while the Soviet Union's missiles were aimed at America, science and mathematics ruled the public schools.

THE MISSILE GAP

Another important consequence of the Soviet launch of Sputnik was the growing prevalence of the idea that the United States was falling behind in its total number of missiles. By this time the actual number of nuclear missiles and bombs each nation had was irrelevant since they could destroy one another many times over, but the fear of being somehow behind our rivals was potent.

In the early 1950s, American magazines began carrying stories about nuclear powered or nuclear armed Soviet bombers crossing the Arctic and raining destruction down on the United States. Although they were much exaggerated and proven false by subsequent U-2 spy plane missions over the Soviet Union, stories of a **bomber gap** put pressure on members of Congress to act. In response, the air force increased its own bomber fleet to a whopping 2,500 aircraft, far exceeding what turned out to be an imagined, rather than real threat.

Fear of a bomber gap was soon replaced, however, by fear of a **missile gap**. Missiles were far more terrifying than bombers since they could strike with less warning, and covered the distance from their bases deep inside the Soviet Union to their targets in the United States in minutes rather than hours. Incoming bombers might be intercepted and shot down by fighter aircraft, but no one had any way to defend against incoming missiles. Then Senator John F. Kennedy helped popularized this notion in speeches as he geared up for his presidential campaign in 1960.

President Eisenhower, who knew full well that there was no missile gap, was irritated by Kennedy's rhetoric. He knew that fear was an infection that could lead to problems in society, and despite his efforts to provide reassuring, steady, thoughtful leadership, the public seemed to be buying into the idea. Once again, pressure mounted on congress to allocate funds to increase the arsenal of nuclear-tipped missiles.

Ironically, talk of a missile gap probably made America less safe since Soviet leaders began to view Kennedy as an extremist warmonger. When Kennedy authorized the invasion of communist Cuba in 1961 at the Bay of Pigs their fears were confirmed and Kennedy's campaign talk of a missile gap, which he had known was an exaggeration, ended up making the Cuban Missile Crisis much more dangerous than it had to be.

1925 年的范围审判是这场冲突的缩影。在二十世纪五十年代，一切都变了。学习科学，而不是圣经，对于国家的生存至关重要。传统主义者并没有消失，但至少苏联的导弹瞄准美国时，科学和数学统治了公立学校。

导弹间隙

苏联发射人造卫星的另一个重要后果是，美国在导弹总数方面落后的想法越来越普遍。这个时候，每个国家的核导弹和炸弹的实际数量是无关紧要的，因为它们可以相互摧毁多次，但是恐惧在我们的对手身后是有力量的。

在 20 世纪 50 年代初期，美国杂志开始讲述关于穿越北极的核动力或核武装苏联轰炸机的故事，并在美国下雨。虽然后来的 U-2 间谍飞机任务在苏联时被夸大了，被证明是虚假的，但轰炸机差距的报道给国会议员施加了压力。作为回应，空军将自己的轰炸机队增加到了 2500 架，远远超出了原来想象的而不是真正的威胁。

然而恐惧轰炸机的差距很快就被恐惧所取代，因为担心导弹差距。导弹比轰炸机更可怕，因为它们能够以较少的警告进行打击，并且可以在数分钟而不是数小时的时间内从苏联内部深处的基地到美国的目标。进来的轰炸机可能被拦截机和战斗机击落，但没有人有办法防御来袭的导弹。然后参议员肯尼迪在 1960 年的总统竞选中帮助推广这个概念。

艾森豪威尔总统完全清楚地知道没有导弹差距，但却被肯尼迪的言辞激怒了。他知道，恐惧是一种可能导致社会问题的感染，尽管他努力提供令人安心，稳重和深思熟虑的领导力，但公众似乎也在接受这个想法。国会再次施加压力，分配资金增加核武器弹药库。

具有讽刺意味的是，由于苏联领导人开始将肯尼迪视为极端主义的战争贩子，所以谈论导弹差距可能使美国不太安全。当肯尼迪于 1961 年授权入侵共产主义的古巴在猪湾时，他们的担忧得到证实，而肯尼迪的竞选谈到他所知道的导弹差距是夸张的，结果导致古巴的导弹危机远比当初的导弹危机更为危险。

4 DID THE COLD WAR HURT AMERICA?



Whether they bought into the idea of the bomber gap and missile gap or not, Americans had legitimate fears when it came to nuclear attack. What could a regular citizen do if the Soviets decided to launch a nuclear first strike? In reality, the answer was nothing, but this was entirely un-reassuring. A whole industry grew up during the 1950s to build **bomb shelters** in backyards and basements. Complete with beds, tins of crackers and barrels of water, these shelters were advertised in popular magazines and in newspapers. While a personal shelter might save a family from the blast and radioactive fallout of a nuclear attack, it is hard to imagine what sort of world they might climb out to find after consuming their rations of stale crackers.

EISENHOWER'S FAREWELL

Shortly after taking the oath of office in 1953, President Eisenhower had delivered a speech in which he warned about the cost of expanding the armed forces. A former general and hero of the Second World War, Eisenhower surprised many with his dovish tone. He said, "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children. The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than 30 cities. It is two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 population. It is two fine, fully equipped hospitals. It is some fifty miles of concrete pavement. We pay for a single fighter with a half-million bushels of wheat. We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people... This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron."

By the time his presidency ended eight years later, Eisenhower had presided over a long period of economic growth and also a huge expansion of the military. A few days before he handed off power to John F. Kennedy, the young president-elect, Eisenhower appeared on television to speak to the nation one last time. In this **farewell address**, his message was even more urgent. He warned of the danger of the Military Industrial Complex, a term he coined for the speech, and also against the growing influence of government-funded, defense-oriented research, which he saw as limiting the natural curiosity of America's brightest minds.

He urged leaders in American and the world to act cautiously, to keep an eye on the distant future and avoid rash acts that might seem necessary in the moment but would endanger generations to come.

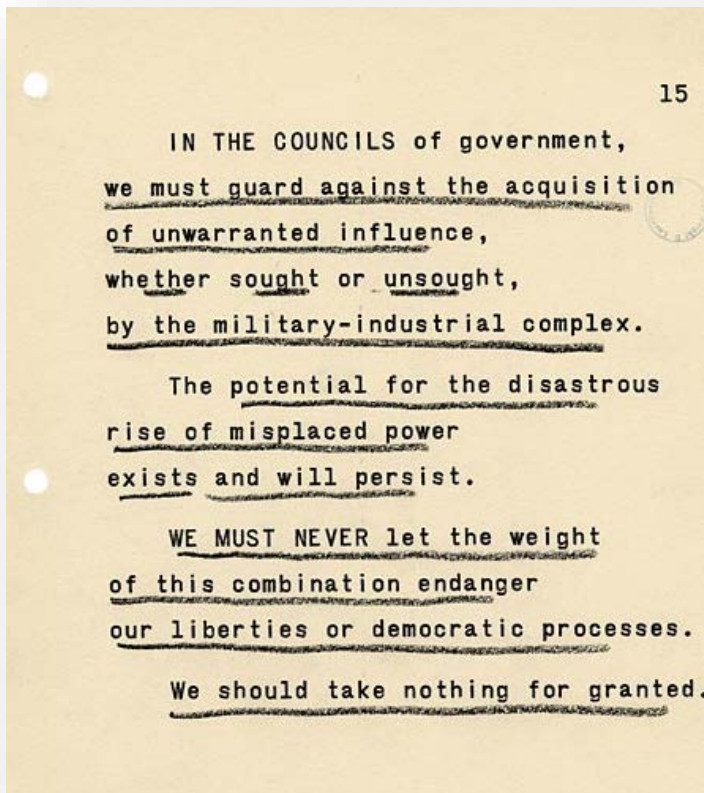
无论是否意识到轰炸机差距和导弹差距，美国人在核攻击时都有合理的恐惧心理。如果苏联决定发动核子第一次打击，普通公民又能做什么呢？实际上，答案并不是什么，但是这完全不令人放心。整个工业在 20 世纪 50 年代长大，在后院和地下室建造防空洞。这些庇护所里装满了床铺，饼干和水桶，在流行杂志和报纸上刊登广告。虽然个人住房可能会使一个家庭免于爆炸和放射性核袭击，但很难想象在消费过时的饼干之后，他们可能会爬出什么样的世界。

艾森豪威尔

1953 年宣誓就职后不久，艾森豪威尔总统发表讲话，警告扩军的成本。第二次世界大战的前将军和英雄，艾森豪威尔以他的温和的语气使人惊讶。他说：“制造的每一艘军舰，每艘军舰的发射，每一枚火箭的发射，都意味着最终意味着从饥饿和不吃的人身上偷盗，冷酷而不穿衣服的人。这个世界并不孤单。它正在消耗劳动者的汗水，科学家的天才和孩子们的希望。现代重型轰炸机的成本是这样的：在 30 多个城市的现代砖学校。这是两座发电厂，每个都有六万人口的城镇。这是两个罚款，设备齐全的医院。这是五十英里的混凝土路面。我们用五十万蒲式耳小麦支付一架战斗机。我们支付一艘可能容纳 8000 多人的新房子的单艘驱逐舰.....这绝不是一种真正意义上的生活方式。在威胁战争的阴云之下，人类正从铁十字架上悬挂下来。”

当他担任主席八年后，艾森豪威尔主持了长期的经济增长和军事的大规模扩张。几天前，他把权力交给了肯尼迪，当选的年轻总统艾森豪威尔也出现在电视上，最后一次向全国讲话。在这个告别演说中，他的信息更加迫切。他警告说，军事工业园区是他为演讲创造的一个术语，同时也反对政府资助的，以防御为导向的研究的日益增长的影响力，他认为这种研究限制了美国最聪明的人的自然好奇心。

他呼吁美国和世界各国领导人谨慎行事，密切关注遥远的未来，避免眼下可能看起来必要的皮疹行为，但会危及后代。



Primary Source: Document

Page 15 from Eisenhower's copy of his farewell address that he used during the television broadcast

主要来源：文件

艾森豪威尔在电视广播中使用的告别地址

Years later, we can look back and see the wisdom that the aging president imparted. His lessons about developing understanding, avoiding unnecessary conflict, guarding against undue influence, and seeking ways to disarm apply as much today as they did in 1961.

CONCLUSION

Every war America has fought has had impacts on the home front. People make sacrifices to support the troops or take jobs in new places to fill in for workers who have taken up arms. But no war produced results at home quite like the Cold War. We transformed our economy. We learned to live in perpetual fear. In some cases, we turned on one another. Although President Eisenhower did his best to turn the negatives of nuclear war into positive advances for humanity, so many aspects of fighting the Cold War turned out to be bad for everyday Americans.

Of course, what was the alternative to fighting the communists? Letting them win? That would have been a catastrophe! Certainly, the benefit of saving freedom for humankind outweighs any price we had to pay. What do you think? Did the Cold War hurt America?

多年以后，我们可以回头看看老龄化总统传授的智慧。今天，他的发展理解，避免不必要的冲突，防范不应有的影响，寻求解除武装的方法，在今天的应用和1961年一样。

结论

美国的每一场战争都对国内产生了影响。人们作出牺牲来支持部队，或者在新的地方找工作来填补已经拿起武器的工人。但是，没有什么战争在国内产生像冷战一样的结果。我们改变了经济。我们学会生活在永久的恐惧之中。在某些情况下，我们互相交流。尽管艾森豪威尔总统尽力把核战争的负面影响转化为人类的积极进步，但是冷战的许多方面对美国人来说却是不利的。

当然，还有什么可以和共产党作战的呢？让他们赢？那会是一场灾难！当然，拯救人类自由的好处大于我们不得不付出的代价。你怎么看？冷战是否伤害了美国？

4 DID THE COLD WAR HURT AMERICA?



Watch Welch and McCarthy at the Army Hearings



Watch a 1950 video: "How to Spot a Communist"



Watch Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace Speech



Watch Eisenhower's Farewell Address



PEOPLE & GROUPS

Alger Hiss: American diplomat who had advised Roosevelt at Yalta and was involved in the creation of the United Nations. He was denounced as a communist during the Red Scare. He was convicted but evidence of his guilt is inconclusive.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg: Julius Rosenberg was scientist who gave nuclear secrets to the Soviet Union. He and his wife Ethel were tried, convicted and put to death during the Red Scare.

Joseph McCarthy: Senator who became famous as an accuser during the Red Scare. He rarely presented evidence and was eventually discredited.

Reds: Derogatory nickname for communists.

Hollywood 10: A group of ten Hollywood writers, producers and directors who were accused of being communist. They refused to answer questions from HUAC and were blacklisted.

人和团体

阿尔杰·希斯 (Alger Hiss)：曾在雅尔塔为罗斯福提供建议并参与联合国创建的美国外交官。在“红色恐慌”期间，他被谴责为共产主义者。他被定罪，但他有罪的证据是不确定的。

朱利叶斯和埃塞尔·罗森伯格：朱利叶斯·罗森伯格是给苏联核泄密的科学家。他和他的妻子 Ethel 在红色恐慌期间被审判，定罪并被处死。

约瑟夫·麦卡锡 (Joseph McCarthy)：参议员在“红色恐慌”中以一名原告而闻名。他很少提出证据，并最终被抹黑。

红人：共产主义者的贬义绰号。

好莱坞 10：一群被指责为共产主义的十名好莱坞作家，制片人和导演。他们拒绝回答 HUAC 的问题，被列入黑名单。



KEY CONCEPTS

Military Industrial Complex: President Eisenhower's term for the relationship between the military, weapons manufacturers, and lawmakers who allocated funding for weapons systems.

Bomber Gap: A perceived lack of long-range bombers capable of striking the Soviet Union in the early 1950s. There was no gap – the United States had a roughly equal number of bombers as the Soviet Union. Concern, however, meant an increase in spending for bomber aircraft.

Missile Gap: A perceived lack of ICBMs compared to the Soviet Union. There was actually no gap, but the public became concerned with Senator Kennedy repeatedly used the term to stoke fear during his 1960 presidential campaign.

Bomb Shelters: A place that would be safe during an atomic attack. They were often stocked with food, water, and medical supplies.

关键概念

军事工业园区：艾森豪威尔总统关于军事，武器制造商和为武器系统分配资金的立法者之间的关系。

轰炸机差距：在 20 世纪 50 年代初，缺乏能够击中苏联的远程轰炸机。没有差距 - 美国的苏联轰炸机数量大致相同。不过，值得关注的是，轰炸机的支出增加了。

导弹差距：与苏联相比，洲际弹道导弹缺乏。实际上没有差距，但是公众关心肯尼迪参议员在 1960 年的总统竞选期间多次使用这个词来引起恐惧。

炸弹庇护所：一个在原子攻击期间会安全的地方。他们经常储备食物，水和医疗用品。

4 DID THE COLD WAR HURT AMERICA?



LAWS & TREATIES

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty: A treaty signed in 1968 by all but four countries in the world. Nations promise not to acquire nuclear weapons (if they don't already possess them) and in exchange they may use nuclear technology for civilian purposes.

National Defense Education Act: Law passed in 1957 after the launch of Sputnik. It provided funding for science and mathematics education in schools and universities.

法律与条款

“不扩散核武器条约”：1968 年世界上所有四个国家签署的条约。国家保证不会获得核武器（如果他们还没有拥有核武器的话），作为交换，他们可能将核技术用于民用目的。

国防教育法：1957 年人造卫星发射后通过的法律。它为学校和大学的科学和数学教育提供资金。



GOVERNMENT & INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC): Special committee formed by members of the House of Representatives to investigate communists in the United States. Future president Richard Nixon was a member of the committee and they investigated the Hollywood 10.

International Atomic Energy Agency: A part of the United Nations that monitors the use of nuclear technology.

政府与国际机构

众议院非美活动委员会（HUAC）：由众议院议员组成的特别委员会，负责调查美国的共产党人。未来的总统尼克松是委员会的成员，他们调查好莱坞 10。

国际原子能机构：监测核技术使用的联合国的一部分。



SPEECHES

McCarthy's 205 Communists: McCarthy claimed to know of 205 communists working in the State Department during a speech in 1950. He never provided evidence but his claim and subsequent Senate hearings made him famous.

Have you no sense of decency?: Famous line from Army lawyer Joseph Welch during the Red Scare. His televised question helped discredit Joseph McCarthy.

Atoms for Peace: A speech given by President Eisenhower in 1953 (and the government programs that followed) that encouraged the civilian use of nuclear technology.

Eisenhower's Farewell Address: Televised address by departing President Eisenhower in 1961 shortly before Kennedy took office. Eisenhower warned of the dangers of all-or-nothing thinking and the growing influence of a military industrial complex.

重要讲话

麦卡锡的 205 名共产党人：麦卡锡声称在 1950 年的一次演讲中，有 205 名共产党员在国务院工作。他从来没有提供证据，但他的主张和随后的参议院听证会使他出名。

你有没有体面的感觉？：军队律师约瑟夫·韦尔奇在红色恐慌期间的著名路线。他的电视转播问题帮助诋毁了 Joseph McCarthy。

和平原子：艾森豪威尔总统于 1953 年（以及后来的政府计划）发表的鼓励民用核技术的演讲。

艾森豪威尔的告别演说：肯尼迪上台前不久，艾森豪威尔总统离任的电视讲话。艾森豪威尔警告说，无论有甚么思想的危险和军事工业综合体的影响力越来越大。



EVENTS

Second Red Scare: The period in the late 1940s and early 1950s when the fear that communists were infiltrating America drove wild accusations and political investigations.

McCarthyism: Another term often used for the Second Red Scare which refers to the unfounded accusations common of the time.

活动

第二次红色恐慌：在 20 世纪 40 年代末和 50 年代初期，当共产党人渗入美国的恐惧引起了野蛮的指责和政治调查。

麦卡锡主义：通常用于第二次红色恐慌的另一个术语，指当时常见的毫无根据的指责。

5

F I F T H Q U E S T I O N W A S T H E S O V I E T U N I O N A C T U A L L Y A N E V I L E M P I R E ?



INTRODUCTION

In 1983, American President Ronald Reagan declared his belief that the Soviet Union was an “evil empire.” He described the ways that the Soviet government restricted the practice of religion, persecuted political opponents, limited personal freedom, dominated the nations of Eastern Europe and sought to spread communism around the world.

Reagan cast the struggle between the East and West as a moral struggle between the forces of good and evil and predicted that communism would eventually be relegated to the “ash heap of history.”

Reagan’s criticisms of the Soviet Union were all at least partly true. But all nations and governments have implemented policies that turn out to be bad, including the United States. Although the citizens of the Soviet Union may have lived in fear, the Soviet school system produced one of the highest rates of literacy in the world. While Americans enjoy the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, we also endure tremendous racism.

Clearly, no nation is perfect, but was there something especially uniquely wrong with communism and the Soviet Union in particular? Had President Reagan touched on some truth about that place and time in history? Was the Soviet Union actually an evil empire?

介绍

1983 年，美国总统里根宣布他的信念，认为苏联是一个“邪恶的帝国”，他描述了苏联政府限制宗教实践的方式，迫害政治对手，有限的人身自由，主宰东欧国家，试图在全世界传播共产主义。

里根将东西方之间的斗争作为善恶势力之间的道德斗争，并预言共产主义最终会被贬为“历史的灰堆”。

里根对苏联的批评至少部分是真实的。但是所有的国家和政府都执行了包括美国在内的政策。虽然苏联的公民可能已经生活在恐惧之中，但苏联的学校制度却是世界上识字率最高的国家之一。虽然美国人享有“人权法”保障的自由，但我们也忍受着巨大的种族主义。

显然，没有一个国家是完美的，但是特别是共产主义和苏联有什么特别的错误吗？如果里根总统在历史上的这个地点和时间触及了一些真相吗？苏联究竟是不是帝国呢？

KITCHEN DEBATES

During the Cold War, Americans and Soviets typically faced off militarily. They had relatively few chances to directly debate the merits of their two ways of life. One exception was the Kitchen Debates.

In 1959, the Soviets and Americans had agreed to hold exhibits in each other's countries as a cultural exchange to promote understanding. The Soviet exhibit in New York opened in June 1959, and the following month then-Vice President Nixon was on hand to open the American exhibit in Moscow. Nixon took Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev on a tour of the exhibit. There were multiple displays of consumer goods provided by over 450 American companies. A centerpiece of the exhibit was a geodesic dome, which housed scientific and technical experiments.

The **Kitchen Debate** took place in a number of locations at the exhibition but primarily in the kitchen of a model suburban house, cut in half for easy viewing. This was only one of a series of four meetings that occurred between Nixon and Khrushchev during the 1959 exhibition.

During the first meeting, in the Kremlin, Khrushchev dismissed the new consumer technologies of the United States and declared that the Soviets would have all of the same things in a few years. He satirically asked if there was a machine that “puts food into the mouth and pushes it down.” Nixon responded by saying at least the competition was technological, rather than military.

The second visit occurred in a television studio inside the American exhibit. At the end, Khrushchev stated that everything he had said in their debate should be translated into English and broadcast in the United States. Nixon responded, “Certainly it will, and everything I say is to be translated into Russian and broadcast across the Soviet Union. That's a fair bargain.” To this proposal, he and Khrushchev shook hands vigorously.

The exchange between Khrushchev and Nixon is interesting because while they were discussing which country was superior, they did not compare nuclear weapons, political influence, or control of territories. They were using the technological innovations set up in the exhibit. Nixon argued that the Americans built to take advantage of new techniques, while Khrushchev argued that the Soviets built for future generations.

It is certainly true that the United States was developing a more consumer-driven economy in which new technologies were being replaced regularly. Just think of the pace at which companies like Apple or Samsung produce phones that make last year's model obsolete. However, the Soviet model of building for the future often meant dreary, grey concrete buildings and technologies that were considered old-fashioned in the West.

厨房辩论

在冷战时期，美国人和苏联人通常面临军事上的问题。他们直接辩论两种生活方式的优点的机会相对较少。厨房辩论是一个例外。

1959年，苏联和美国人同意在对方国家举办展览，作为促进了解的文化交流。苏联在纽约的展览于1959年6月开幕，随后的一个月，尼克松副总统在莫斯科正式开幕。尼克松带着苏联总理赫鲁晓夫参观了展览。有450多家美国公司提供了多种消费品展示。展览的核心是一个测地圆顶，进行科学技术实验。

厨房辩论发生在展览的许多地点，但主要是在一个模型郊区的房子的厨房，切成两半，方便观看。这只是1959年展览期间尼克松和赫鲁晓夫之间发生的四次系列会议之一。

在第一次会议上，在克里姆林宫，赫鲁晓夫驳斥了美国新的消费技术，并宣称苏联在几年内也会有同样的东西。他讽刺地问道，是否有一台机器“把食物放入口中并将其推倒”。尼克松回答说，至少竞争是技术性的，而不是军事性的。

第二次访问发生在美国展厅内的电视演播室。最后，赫鲁晓夫说，他在辩论中所说的一切都应该翻译成英文，并在美国播出。尼克松回答说：“当然会，而且我所说的一切都是翻译成俄文，并在整个苏联播出。这是一个公平的交易。”对于这个建议，他和赫鲁晓夫有力地握了握手。

赫鲁晓夫和尼克松之间的交流很有意思，因为在他们讨论哪个国家比较优越的时候，他们并没有比较核武器，政治影响力或控制领土。他们正在使用展览中设置的技术创新。尼克松认为，美国人是为了利用新技术而建立起来的，而赫鲁晓夫则认为苏联人为子孙后代而建。

当然，美国正在发展更多的消费驱动型经济，其中新技术正在被定期取代。只要想想像苹果或三星这样的公司生产手机的速度，使去年的模型已经过时了。然而，苏联的未来建筑模式往往意味着沉重的灰色混凝土建筑和技术在西方被认为是过时的。

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The third visit occurred inside the kitchen of the cutaway model home. The kitchen was furnished with a dishwasher, refrigerator, and cooktop and oven. It was designed to represent a \$14,000 home that a typical American worker could afford in 1959.

In front of the cameras and in front of the wealth that the free market system had created for the everyday American housewife, Nixon tried to convince Khrushchev that the free market system was not terrible in the way Soviet propaganda portrayed it. Nixon said that he should “not be afraid of ideas. After all, you don’t know everything.” The Soviet leader replied, “You don’t know anything about communism, except fear of it.”



第三次访问发生在剖面模型家的厨房里面。厨房配有洗碗机，冰箱，炉灶和烤箱。它的目的是为了代表一个典型的美国工人在 1959 年可以负担的 14000 美元的房屋。

尼克松在摄影机前，面对自由市场体系为美国日常家庭主妇创造的财富，试图说服赫鲁晓夫自由市场体系并不像苏联宣传所描绘的那样糟糕。尼克松说，他应该“不要害怕思想。毕竟，你什么都不懂。”苏联领导人回答说，“除了害怕共产主义，你什么都不知道。”

Primary Source: Photograph

Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and Vice President Richard Nixon engage in the Kitchen Debate.

主要来源：照片

苏联总理赫鲁晓夫和副总统尼克松参与了厨房辩论。

In the United States, three major television networks broadcast the kitchen debate. American reaction was initially mixed, with The New York Times calling it “an exchange that emphasized the gulf between east and west but had little bearing on the substantive issue” and portrayed it as a political stunt. On the other hand, Time Magazine, also covering the exhibition, praised Nixon, saying he “managed in a unique way to personify a national character proud of peaceful accomplishment, sure of its way of life, confident of its power under threat.”

Because of the informal nature of the exchange, Nixon gained popularity. He also impressed Mr. Khrushchev. The reporter William Safire who was present at the debates recalled “the shrewd Khrushchev came away from his personal duel of words with Nixon persuaded that the advocate of capitalism was not just tough-minded but strong-willed.”

The trip raised Nixon's profile as a public statesman, greatly improving his chances for receiving the Republican presidential nomination the

在美国，三大电视网播出了厨房辩论。美国的反应最初是混合在一起的，“纽约时报”称这是“强调东西方差距的交流，但对实质性问题影响不大”，并将其描绘成政治噱头。另一方面，“时代周刊”也对这个展览赞不绝口，称赞尼克松说：“他以一种独特的方式来管理一个以和平成就为荣的国家人物，肯定它的生活方式，并且有信心威胁自己的权力。”

由于交换的非正式性质，尼克松获得了普及。他还对赫鲁晓夫先生印象深刻。出席辩论的记者威廉·萨菲尔回忆说：“精明的赫鲁晓夫从与尼克松的私人决斗中走出来，相信资本主义的倡导者不仅是强硬的，而且意志坚强的。”

这次旅行提高了尼克松作为公共政治家的形象，大大提高了他在次年接受共和党总统提

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following year. Khrushchev claimed that following his confrontation with Nixon he did all he could to bring about Nixon's defeat in his 1960 presidential campaign.

In the end the Kitchen Debate did not change the opinions of leaders on either side of the Iron Curtain. It did, however, demonstrate the enormous gulf between free market and communist ideology. Although leaders in the Soviet Union were not about to embrace a market economy or democracy, the same could not be said for the people of Eastern Europe. Their discontent was strikingly manifested in open rebellions in both Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

HUNGARY

Soviet premier Josef Stalin had said “Everyone imposes his own system as far as his army can reach.” When the Soviet Army marched across Eastern Europe at the end of World War II, Stalin’s dream of expanding communism became reality. When the war ended, the Soviets set up communist governments in the puppet states of the Eastern Bloc. Like the American military, which remained stationed in West Germany, Great Britain, and Italy, Soviet troops stayed on in East Germany and the Warsaw Pact states of the East. The presence of the Soviets did not, however, mean that the people of the Eastern Bloc were content.

The **Hungarian Uprising** of 1956 was a nationwide revolt against the government of the Hungarian People’s Republic and its Soviet-imposed policies, lasting from October 23 until November 10, 1956. Though leaderless when it first began, it was the first major threat to Soviet control since the Red Army drove Nazi Germany from its territory at the end of World War II.

The revolt began as a student demonstration, which attracted thousands who marched through central Budapest to the Parliament building. When a delegation of the students entered the radio building to try to broadcast the students’ demands, the State Security Police (ÁVH) attacked from within the building. One student was killed and as the news of the shooting swept through the streets, disorder and violence erupted throughout the capital.

The revolt spread quickly across Hungary and the government collapsed. Thousands organized into militias, battling the ÁVH and Soviet troops. Pro-Soviet communists and ÁVH members captured by the militias were imprisoned or executed. A new government formally disbanded the ÁVH, declared its intention to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact, and pledged to re-establish free elections. By the end of October, fighting had almost ceased as the remnants of the communist dictatorship were swept away. A sense of normality began to return.

名的机会。赫鲁晓夫说，在与尼克松对抗之后，他尽其所能在尼克松 1960 年的总统竞选中失败。

最后，厨房辩论并没有改变铁幕两边领导人的意见。但是，它确实显示了自由市场与共产主义意识形态之间的巨大鸿沟。尽管苏联的领导人并不是要拥护市场经济或民主，但对于东欧人来说却不是这样。匈牙利和捷克斯洛伐克的公开叛乱显示了他们的不满。

匈牙利

苏联总理斯大林（Josef Stalin）曾经说过，“只要他的军队能够达到，每个人都有自己的制度”。当苏联军队在二战结束时穿越东欧时，斯大林扩大共产主义的梦想成为现实。战争结束后，苏联人在东欧傀儡州建立了共产党政府。像驻留在西德，英国和意大利的美国军队一样，苏联的军队留在东德和东方的华沙条约国。然而，苏维埃的存在并不意味着东方集团的人民满意。

1956 年的匈牙利起义是对匈牙利人民共和国政府及其苏联政策的全国性反抗，持续时间为 1956 年 10 月 23 日至 11 月 10 日。尽管无产阶级初起，但这是苏联控制的第一大威胁因为红军在二战结束时驱赶纳粹德国。

起义是一次学生示威游行，吸引了成千上万人通过布达佩斯市中心进入议会大楼。当一个学生代表团进入无线电大楼试图播放学生的要求时，国家安全警察局（ÁVH）从大楼内进行袭击。一名学生遇害，随着枪击事件席卷全街，整个首都爆发了骚乱和暴力事件。

匈牙利的反抗迅速蔓延，政府崩溃。数千人组织成民兵，与维和部队和苏联部队作战。被民兵俘虏的亲苏共分子和 ÁVH 成员被囚禁或处决。一个新政府正式解散了维和部队，宣布有意退出华沙条约，并承诺重新举行自由选举。到十月底，当共产主义专政的残余被清除时，战斗几乎停止了。正常感开始回归。

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Primary Source: Photograph

A Soviet T-54 tank on the streets of Budapest during the crackdown against the Hungarian Uprising.

主要来源：照片

在匈牙利起义的镇压期间，在布达佩斯街道上的苏联 T-54 坦克。

Initially the Soviet leadership announced a willingness to negotiate a withdrawal of its troops, but the Soviet politburo changed its mind and moved to crush the revolution. On November 4, a large Soviet force invaded Budapest and other regions of the country. The Hungarians resisted for a week before being crushed by the overwhelming Soviet force. Over 2,500 Hungarians and 700 Soviet troops were killed in the conflict, and 200,000 Hungarians fled as refugees. Mass arrests and denunciations continued for months afterward as the newly reinstalled, Soviet-backed, communist government suppressed all public opposition. Public discussion of the revolution was banned in Hungary for more than 30 years.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Roughly ten years after the failed Hungarian Revolution, the government of another member of the Eastern Bloc briefly resisted Soviet domination. The Czechoslovakian government began a series of reforms to open up the economy and political system. This brief period was called the **Prague Spring**, named for the nation's capital city.

The reforms, especially the decentralization of administrative authority, were not received well by the Soviets, who, after failed negotiations, sent half a million Warsaw Pact troops and tanks to occupy the country. A spirited non-violent resistance was mounted throughout the country, including painting over and turning street signs to confuse the invaders. On one occasion an entire invasion force from Poland was routed back out of the country after a day's wandering. The Czechoslovakians defied curfews and one protestor, Jan Palach set himself on fire in Prague's Wenceslas Square to protest renewed restrictions on freedom of speech.

苏联领导层最初表示愿意谈判撤军，但苏联政治局改变了主意，开始镇压革命。11月4日，一支大型苏维埃部队入侵布达佩斯和该国其他地区。匈牙利人在被压倒性的苏维埃力量压制之前一个星期没有反抗。冲突中有2500名匈牙利人和700名苏维埃士兵死亡，20万匈牙利人逃难。苏联支持的新共产主义政府刚刚重新安置，压制了所有的公众反对派，几个月后，大规模的逮捕和谴责一直持续下去。匈牙利禁止公开讨论革命30多年。

捷克斯洛伐克

在匈牙利革命失败后的大约十年之后，东欧集团的另一个成员政府一度反对苏维埃统治。捷克政府开始了一系列改革，开放经济和政治体制。这个短暂的时期被称为布拉格之春，被命名为首都。

这些改革，特别是行政权力下放，并没有得到苏联的好评。苏联在谈判失败后，派遣了五十万华约的部队和坦克占领该国。全国各地纷纷发起了烈性的非暴力抵抗，包括在街头涂鸦和转弯路牌以混淆侵略者。有一次，来自波兰的整个入侵部队在一天的游荡之后被排回国外。捷克斯洛伐克人藐视宵禁和一名抗议者，扬·帕拉赫在布拉格的瓦茨拉夫广场自焚，抗议重新限制言论自由。虽然苏联

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While the Soviet military had predicted that it would take four days to subdue the country, the resistance held out for eight months.

In the end, however, the hope for significant reform was crushed by the force of the Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops. By the end of 1968 central control of the economy and restrictions on civil liberties had been restored. It would be another 20 years before the people of Czechoslovakia enjoyed basic civil rights.

THE POLICE STATE

In the case of the uprisings in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union had to use its army on a massive scale to put down widespread rebellion. Normally, however, in the Soviet Union and the world's other communist nations, order was maintained by establishing a continuous level of fear and extensive surveillance of citizens.

In most dictatorships, both communist and otherwise, the normal police forces are supplemented by a secret police. In the Soviet Union, the **KGB** served this role. In East Germany, they were known as the **Stasi**, in China as the **Juntong**, and in North Korea as the **State Security Department**. Regardless of their name, they all used the same tactics. The people of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, China, Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea knew they were being watched, that the secret police were listening to their phone calls, reading their mail, and monitoring where they travelled, where they shopped, and who they associated with. In an effort to protect themselves from suspicion, people promised the secret police that they would serve as spies to keep an eye on their neighbors. After the Cold War ended, historians read the Stasi's files and found that nearly every East German had been so afraid of persecution that they had promised to be informants for the secret police.

If the secret police suspected that someone was planning a protest, spreading information that would harm the government or trying to flee the country, that person would be arrested, tortured, exiled or killed. People in the communist world feared the infamous "midnight knock of the secret police" and family members, friends, and acquaintances simply disappeared. Most secret police forces operated a system of clandestine camps to house these political prisoners. In China, this system was called **Laogai**, the abbreviation for **Láodòng Gǎizào**, which means "reform through labor." In reality, reform meant punishment. Prisoners who were released served as a warning to their friends and family of the power of the government. The most infamous of all labor camps in the communist world, however, were the **Gulags** of the Soviet Union.

THE GULAG ARCHEPELEGO

军方曾经预言要用四天的时间来征服这个国家，但这个抵抗力持续了八个月。

但最后，苏联和华沙条约部队的力量打压了重大改革的希望。到 1968 年底，经济的中央控制和公民自由的限制已经恢复。捷克斯洛伐克人民享有基本的公民权利还需要 20 年的时间。

警察状态

就匈牙利和捷克斯洛伐克的起义而言，苏联不得不大规模地使用其军队来镇压广泛的叛乱。然而，通常情况下，在苏联和其他共产主义国家，通过对公民持续的恐惧和广泛的监视来维持秩序。

在大多数独裁统治中，无论是共产主义还是其他民主派，正常的警察都由秘密警察来补充。在苏联，克格勃扮演了这个角色。在东德，他们被称为斯塔西，在中国被称为军方，在北韩被称为国家安全部门。不管他们的名字，他们都用同样的手段。苏联，东欧，中国，越南，古巴和北韩的人们都知道他们正在被监视，秘密的警察正在聆听他们的电话，阅读他们的邮件，并监测他们去哪里旅游，他们在哪里购物，他们与谁联系。为了保护自己免受怀疑，人们向秘密警察保证，他们将作为间谍来监视邻居。冷战结束后，历史学家们阅读了斯塔西的档案，发现几乎每一个东德人都害怕受到迫害，所以他们答应是秘密警察的线人。

如果秘密警察怀疑有人策划抗议，传播有害政府或企图逃离国家的信息，那么这个人将被逮捕，拷打，流亡或被杀害。共产主义世界的人们害怕臭名昭著的“秘密警察半夜敲门”，家人，朋友和熟人简直失踪了。大多数秘密警察部队都设有秘密营地，收容这些政治犯。在中国，这个系统被称为劳改，劳改是劳改的缩写，意思是“劳改”。实际上，改革就是惩罚。被释放的囚犯向政府权力的朋友和家人发出警告。然而，共产主义世界中最臭名昭著的所有劳教所都是苏联的古拉格斯。

古拉格群岛

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The **Gulag** was the government agency created under Vladimir Lenin immediately after the founding of the Soviet Union that operated a system of forced labor camps. The camps housed a wide range of convicts, from petty criminals to political opponents. Large numbers were convicted by simplified procedures, such as **troikas**, three man panels who proclaimed their judgement without a trial. The entire system reached its peak during Josef Stalin's rule from the 1930s through the 1950s when more than 100,000 people were imprisoned in the Gulag system. The camps remained in operation until the 1980s.



古拉格是在苏联成立后，立即在列宁领导下建立的政府机构，经营着一个劳教所。这些难民营里有各种各样的犯人，从小罪犯到政治对手。很多人被简化的程序定罪，例如 troikas，三人小组宣判他们的判决没有审判。整个制度在 1930 年代至 1950 年代的约瑟夫·斯大林统治期间达到顶峰，当时有超过 10 万人被关进古拉格体系。直到 20 世纪 80 年代，这些难民营仍在运作。

Primary Source: Photograph

Prisoners in the gulag system work to build a canal.

主要来源：照片

古拉格体系的囚犯正在建造一条运河。

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, winner of the 1970 Nobel Prize in Literature, survived eight years of Gulag incarceration and gave the term its international reput with the publication of his book "**The Gulag Archipelago**" in 1973. The author likened the scattered camps to an archipelago, a chain of islands, and as an eyewitness, he described the Gulag as a system where people were worked to death. Some scholars support this view, though this claim is controversial, given that the vast majority of people who entered the Gulag came out alive. Being alive, however, did not mean a return to normal life. Former prisoners who had been sent away to the Gulag prisons for criticizing the communist regime were usually prohibited from moving into large cities where their ideas might infect others. Being convicted of opposing communism in the Soviet Union meant at best a life of banishment from society, and at worst, death.

1970 年诺贝尔文学奖得主亚历山大·索尔仁尼琴 (Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn) 经过八年的古拉格监禁，并于 1973 年出版了他的著作“古拉格群岛” (The Gulag Archipelago)，使这个词成为国际声誉。作者将散居的营地比作群岛，作为目击者，他把古拉格形容为一个人们被杀死的制度。有学者支持这一观点，虽然这个说法是有争议的，因为进入古拉格的绝大多数人活着出来了。然而，活着并不意味着恢复正常的生活。被送往古拉格监狱批判共产党政权的前囚犯通常被禁止进入大城市，他们的想法可能会传染给他人。在苏联被判反对共产主义，至多只是一种流放社会的生活，最坏的情况是死亡。

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DÉTENTE

After the Cuban Missile Crisis, the United States and the Soviet Union took a step back from the brink of war and leaders on both sides decided that the ever escalation arms race, space race, and brinksmanship was unwise. By the early 1970s, the two nations had initiated a series of steps to reduce the risk of war and demonstrate cooperation in science and culture. This era was known by the French word **détente**.

The leaders most associated with détente were President Richard Nixon and his National Security Advisory **Dr. Henry Kissinger**. Both of them viewed the world and the conflict between the United States and Soviet Union in terms of **realpolitik**, not as a moral struggle between competing ideologies. That is, they saw conflict in practical, rather than ideological terms. Both superpowers had needs – security, access to ports and raw materials, allies, prestige – and the East and West could coexist so long as leaders found ways for both sides to get what they needed.

The most obvious manifestation of détente was the series of summits held between the leaders of the two superpowers and the treaties that resulted from these meetings. On August 5, 1963, even before the era that has come to be known as détente, the **Partial Test Ban Treaty** was signed ending all nuclear tests in the atmosphere, underwater or in outer space. Only tests conducted underground were permitted. Later in the decade, the **Outer Space Treaty**, signed in January 1967, and the **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty** signed in July 1968, were two of the first building blocks of détente. These early treaties were signed all over the globe and are important steps in limiting the distribution of nuclear weapons. They effectively turned back the dangerous spread of weapons of mass destruction, containing their deployment and testing.

While Kennedy and Johnson in the 1960s did their part to deescalate the Cold War, most of the treaties associated with détente were not developed until the Nixon Administration came into office in 1969. After a series of negotiations, the United States and Soviet Union signed the **Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I)** in 1972. This treaty limited each power's nuclear arsenal, effectively bringing an end to the arms race. In the same year that SALT I was signed, the **Biological Weapons Convention** and the **Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty** were also concluded. To follow up on their work, the two nations began working on a second arms limitation treaty, known as **SALT II**.

In 1975, the leaders of the major nations in both the East and West met and produced the **Helsinki Accords**, a wide-ranging series of agreements on economic, political, and human rights issues. The agreements were initiated by the Soviet Union, and were signed by 35 nations throughout Europe and North America. The accords were a major political victory of

缓和

古巴导弹危机后，美国和苏联退出了战争的边缘，双方领导人决定不断升级的军备竞赛，太空竞赛和边缘战争是不明智的。到二十世纪七十年代初，两国开始了一系列降低战争风险和科学文化合作的步骤。这个时代被法国的“延缓”这个词所认识。

与缓和最相关的领导人是尼克松总统和他的国家安全咨询亨利·基辛格博士。他们两个都以现实政治的眼光来看待世界和美苏之间的冲突，而不是在竞争意识形态之间的道德斗争。也就是说，他们看到的是实际的冲突，而不是意识形态的冲突。这两个超级大国都需要 - 只要领导人找到了双方都能得到所需要的东西的方法，安全，进入港口和原材料，盟国，声望和东西方都可以共存。

缓和最明显的表现是两个超级大国领导人举行的一系列峰会和这些会议产生的条约。1963年8月5日，即使在这个被称为缓和的时代之前，签署了“部分禁止核试验条约”，结束了在大气层，水下或在外层空间的所有核试验。只允许在地下进行的测试。后来的十年中，1967年1月签署的“外层空间条约”和1968年7月签署的“不扩散核武器条约”是缓和的第一个积木。这些早期的条约是在全球签署的，是限制核武器分配的重要步骤。它们有效地扭转了大规模毁灭性武器的危险蔓延，包含了它们的部署和试验。

尽管肯尼迪和约翰逊在二十世纪六十年代为冷战所做出的贡献，但是与延缓有关的条约大部分都是在1969年尼克松政府执政之前才发展起来的。经过一系列的谈判，美苏签署战略武器限制条约”（SALT I）。这个条约限制了每个国家的核武库，有效地结束了军备竞赛。同一年，我签署了“禁止生物武器公约”和“反弹道导弹条约”。为了跟进他们的工作，两国开始制定第二个武器限制条约，称为SALT II。

1975年，东西方主要国家领导人会晤并制定了“赫尔辛基协议”，就经济，政治和人权问题达成了一系列广泛的协议。这些协议是由苏联发起的，由欧洲和北美的35个国家签署。协议是苏联总理勃列日涅夫的重大政治胜

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Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet premier, because they affirmed respect for the boundaries of Europe, effectively cementing the communist satellite states the Soviets had fought so hard to create at the end of the Second World War. However, the accords also guaranteed human rights, something the communists were not know for, and the West often used the agreement as grounds to criticize the activities of the secret police in the Soviet Union and its allies.

Détente extended beyond politics and arms control. In July of 1975, the **Apollo-Soyuz Test Project** became the first international space mission when three American astronauts and two Soviet cosmonauts docked their spacecraft in outer space and conducted joint experiments. This mission had been preceded by five years of political negotiation and technical co-operation, including exchanges of American and Soviet engineers between NASA and the Soviet space agency.



利，因为他们肯定了对欧洲边界的尊重，有力地巩固了苏联在第二次世界大战结束时为打造的共产卫星国家所作的努力。然而，这些协议也保障了人权，这是共产党人所不知道的，而西方常常以这个协议为理由来批评苏联及其盟国的秘密警察的活动。

迪滕特超越了政治和军备控制。1975年7月，阿波罗-联盟号测试项目成为第一个国际太空飞行任务，当时三名美国宇航员和两名苏联宇航员将太空船停靠在太空，并进行了联合试验。这个任务之前已经进行了五年的政治谈判和技术合作，包括在美国宇航局和苏联空间机构之间交换美国和苏联工程师。

Primary Source: Photograph

The famous handshake between American astronaut Gibson and Soviet cosmonaut Dezhurov after their two capsules successfully docked in orbit.

主要来源：照片

美国宇航员吉布森和苏联宇航员德祖罗夫之间的著名握手，两颗胶囊成功地停靠在轨道上。

Trade relations between the two blocs increased substantially during the era of détente. Most significant were the vast shipments of grain sent from the West to the Soviet Union each year, which helped make up for the failure of kolkhoz, Soviet collectivized agriculture. Even as the United States stood ready with nuclear weapons to defend against Soviet attack, American farmers were feeding the people of their most bitter rival.

President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger were eager to find ways to manage the Cold War, but in the Soviet Union, détente was often seen differently. Leonid Brezhnev, the leader of the Soviet Union from 1964 to 1982 was intent on using the period of relaxed tensions to prepare for Soviet

两个集团之间的贸易关系在缓和时期大幅增加。最为重要的是每年从西方发往苏联的大量粮食，这有助于弥补苏联集体农业科尔霍兹的失败。就在美国准备用核武器防御苏联进攻的时候，美国农民也在为最激烈的竞争对手提供食物。

尼克松总统和基辛格博士急于想方设法管理冷战，但在苏联，缓和往往是不同的。苏联领导人列昂尼德·勃列日涅夫从1964年到1982年，打算利用缓和的紧张时期来为苏联的扩

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expansion. In 1979, he ordered an **invasion of Afghanistan**, one of the Soviet Union's southern neighbors. Like all other foreign incursions into this vast, mountainous nation, the Soviet effort failed, but the invasion was a major reason President Ronald Reagan, elected in 1980, chose to end détente and resume a more confrontational relationship.



张作准备。1979年，他下令入侵阿富汗，这是苏联南部的一个邻国。像所有其他外国入侵这个浩大的山区国家一样，苏联的努力失败了，但入侵是1980年当选的里根总统选择结束缓和并恢复更为对抗关系的主要原因。

Primary Source: Photograph

Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev and President Richard Nixon

主要来源：照片

苏联引物列昂尼德·勃列日涅夫和尼克松总统

THE THIRD WORLD

As the British and French Empires slowly yielded to independence movements after World War II, a new Third World emerged. This became a major battleground of the Cold War as the United States and the Soviet Union struggled to bring new nations into their respective orbits. Across the Third World, the two superpowers squared off in a series of **proxy wars**.

The United States had a long and often contentious relationship with its southern neighbors going back to its founding. The Monroe Doctrine demanded that European nations not interfere in Latin America while the Roosevelt Corollary specifically stated that the United States would. America had taken half of the territory of Mexico at the conclusion of the Mexican-American War of the 1840s, taken control of Puerto Rico after the Spanish-American War, and interfered in the affairs of Cuba, Panama, and the various banana republics of Central America even before the Cold War began.

The driving factor in each of these earlier relationships was economic. Americans wanted land, or access to land in the cases of the Panama Canal or the coffee, sugar and fruit plantations of Central America and the Caribbean. The Cold War changed the rules of the game. The United States no longer needed to support governments that would be amenable

第三世界

随着英法两国在二战后逐渐屈服于独立运动，出现了一个新的第三世界。美苏正在努力把新的国家带入各自的轨道，成为冷战的主要战场。在第三世界，两个超级大国通过一系列的代理战争取得了胜利。

美国与其南部邻国建立关系长久而且经常存在争议。门罗主义要求欧洲国家不要干涉拉美，而罗斯福推论明确表示美国会这样做。美洲在十九世纪四十年代的墨西哥战争结束时占领了墨西哥一半的领土，在美西战争之后控制了波多黎各，干涉了古巴，巴拿马和各个香蕉共和国的事务中美甚至在冷战开始之前。

这些早期关系中的驱动因素是经济的。美国人想要巴拿马运河或中美洲和加勒比地区的咖啡，糖和水果种植园的土地或土地。冷战改变了游戏的规则。美国不再需要支持符合美国商业利益的政府。现在，拉美领导人最

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to American business interests. Now, the most important characteristic of Latin American leaders was their willingness to stand up to communism.

The United States lent its support to a variety of despotic **strongmen** who oppressed their people, violated human rights and enriched themselves – Fulgencio Bautista of Cuba and Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic stand out as particularly egregious examples. While there was opposition at home to these unsavory alliances, experts in Washington who were adherents to the policy in containment and the Domino Theory believed they were necessary.

CHILE AND PANAMA

For generations Chile had been a model in South America of stable, democratic government. A succession of elected presidents had held office and turned over power peacefully when their terms ended. The army stayed out of politics.

That changed in 1973. The new president, **Salvador Allende** promoted reforms that were strikingly similar to changes advocated by other communist leaders. Cuba's Fidel Castro visited Chile and commended Allende. But Allende was different in that he did not want a revolution. He believed in working slowly through the democratic process. This may have been enough reassurance in normal times, but in the pressure cooker of the Cold War, the CIA saw Allende as a dangerous example. If Chile took a peaceful path away from capitalism, other nations might be inspired to do the same.

Augusto Pinochet, the commander-in-chief of the Chilean army organized a coup and overthrew Allende. Although the United States was not directly involved, CIA agents knew what Pinochet was planning. Pinochet correctly assumed that if the CIA did not try to stop him, they were in favor of removing Allende.

Allende shot himself just before being taken prisoner by Pinochet's forces. Pinochet went on to rule Chile as a dictator for the next 17 years. He was staunchly anti-communist, but his secret police forces murdered over 2,000 people.

In Panama, support for anti-Communist regimes was more covert. **Manuel Noriega**, the future dictator of Panama, was on the payroll of the CIA beginning in 1967. By 1971, his involvement in the drug trade was well known to the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). However, he was an important asset of the CIA and was well protected. The Carter Administration dropped Noriega from its payroll, but he was reinstated by the Reagan Administration. His salary peaked in 1985 at \$200,000 per year. In return, Noriega allowed the CIA to set up listening stations in his country and provide funding for anti-communists in Nicaragua.

重要的特点就是他们愿意挺身而出出共产主义。

美国支持各种压迫人民，侵犯人权和丰富自己的暴虐强人 - 古巴的富尔亨西奥·巴蒂斯塔和多米尼加共和国的拉斐尔·特鲁希略脱颖而出，是一个特别令人震惊的例子。虽然国内反对这些不负责任的联盟，但是在遏制政策和多米诺骨牌理论的支持下，华盛顿专家认为这是必要的。

智利和巴拿马

几代以来，智利一直是南美稳定民主政府的典范。一连串当选总统已经任职，并在任期届满时和平移交权力。军队不参加政治。

1973 年改变了。新任总统阿尔萨德推行的改革与其他共产主义领导人所倡导的改革非常相似。古巴的菲德尔·卡斯特罗访问了智利，并赞扬了阿连德。但是阿连德不同，他不想革命。他相信通过民主进程慢慢工作。这在正常情况下可能足以让人安心，但在冷战压力锅中，中央情报局认为阿连德是一个危险的例子。如果智利走出了一条远离资本主义的和平道路，其他国家也会受到启发。

智利军队总司令奥古斯托·皮诺切特组织政变，推翻了阿连德。虽然美国没有直接参与，但中情局的特工知道皮诺切特正在计划什么。皮诺切特正确地认为，如果中央情报局不想阻止他，他们赞成将阿连德消灭。

在被皮诺切特部队俘虏之前，阿连德开枪自杀。皮诺切特继续统治智利，作为未来 17 年的独裁者。他坚决反共，但他的秘密警察部队谋杀了二千多人。

在巴拿马，反共政权的支持更为隐蔽。巴拿马未来的独裁者曼努埃尔·诺列加（Manuel Noriega）从 1967 年开始担任中央情报局的工资。到 1971 年，他参与毒品交易的情况在缉毒局（DEA）中是众所周知的。不过，他是中央情报局的重要资产，受到很好的保护。卡特政府将诺列加从工资中扣除，但他被里根政府恢复了工作。他的工资在 1985 年达到顶峰，每年 20 万美元。作为回报，诺列

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CENTRAL AMERICA

The violent civil wars in Central America that took place in the 1970s and 1980s were rooted in unjust distribution of land and power created during the Spanish colonial era. It is possible that these wars would have happened regardless of outside influences. However, the United States and Soviet Union viewed each of these small wars as microcosms of their herculean struggle. Like pouring fuel on a fire, weapons, money, advisors, and pressure provided by the superpowers made the wars much longer and more deadly. The wars were especially hard on the poor who, like pawns on a chessboard, were used by the combatants as both shields and scapegoats. The local problems that gave rise to social unrest had nothing to do with communism, but the Cold War intensified and gave undue significance to the civil wars in Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua.

In an effort to help prevent communist infiltration in Latin America, the CIA and the military's **School of the Americas** trained Latin American army officers in torture and assassination techniques. The School of the Americas has widely been criticized for the human rights violations performed by its graduates. On September 20, 1996, the Pentagon was forced to release training manuals that were used at the U.S. Army School of the Americas, and distributed to thousands of military officers from 11 South and Central American countries, including Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Panama, where the United States military was heavily involved in counterinsurgency. These manuals advocated targeting civilians, extrajudicial executions, torture, false imprisonment, and extortion. War crimes and human rights violations such as these horrified the American public, but in the effort to prevent the spread of communism, some felt that the ends justified the means.

In 1999, a report on the Guatemalan Civil War from the Commission for Historical Clarification, sponsored by the United Nations, stated that, "the United States demonstrated that it was willing to provide support for strong military regimes in its strategic backyard. In the case of Guatemala, military assistance was directed towards reinforcing the national intelligence apparatus, and for training the officer corps in counterinsurgency techniques, key factors which had significant bearing on... acts of genocide." According to the Commission, between 1981 and 1983, the Guatemalan security apparatus – financed, armed, trained, and advised by the United States – destroyed 400 indigenous Mayan villages and butchered 200,000 people. The majority of the victims were political activists, students, trade unionists, priests, human rights advocates, and poor peasants.

加允许中央情报局在他的国家设立监听站，并为尼加拉瓜的反共分子提供资金。

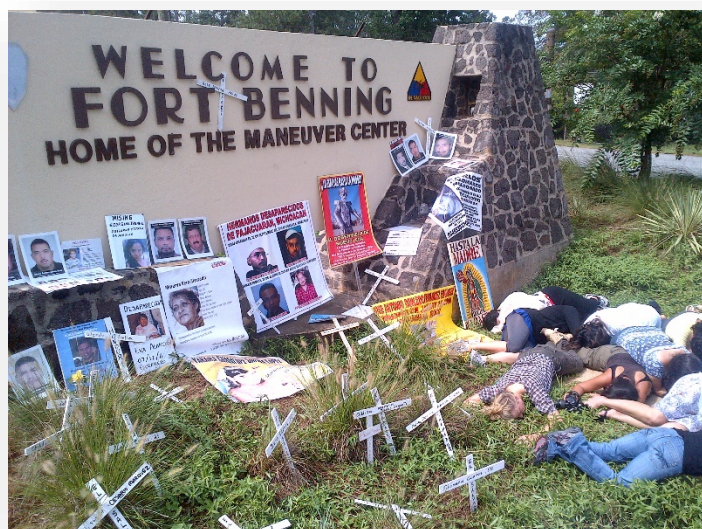
中美洲

七十年代和八十年代发生在中美洲的暴力内战源于西班牙殖民时期所造成的不公正的土地和权力分配。不管外界的影响，这些战争都有可能发生。但是，美苏把这些小战争看作是各自的艰苦奋斗的缩影。像燃烧的燃料一样，超级大国提供的武器，金钱，顾问和压力使得战争更长，更致命。对穷人来说，战争尤其严重，他们像棋盘上的棋子一样被战斗员当作盾牌和替罪羊。造成社会动荡的地方性问题与共产主义毫无关系，但冷战愈演愈烈，对危地马拉，萨尔瓦多和尼加拉瓜的内战意义重大。

为了帮助防止拉丁美洲的共产主义渗透，中央情报局和美国军事学院对拉美军官进行了酷刑和暗杀手段的培训。美洲学校因毕业生侵犯人权而受到广泛的批评。1996年9月20日，五角大楼被迫发布了在美洲陆军学校使用的训练手册，并向包括危地马拉，萨尔瓦多，洪都拉斯在内的11个南美和中美洲国家的数千名军官分发。巴拿马，那里的美国军队大量参与反叛乱。这些手册主张针对平民，法外处决，酷刑，非法拘禁和勒索。战争罪和侵犯人权等事件使美国公众感到震惊，但是为了防止共产主义的蔓延，一些人认为这样做的目的是正当的。

1999年，由联合国主办的“历史真相调查委员会危地马拉内战报告”指出，“美国表示愿意在战略后院为强大的军事政权提供支持。在危地马拉的情况下，军事援助的目的是加强国家情报机构，训练反军事武装的军官，这是对种族灭绝行为有重大影响的关键因素。”根据委员会的说法，1981年至1983年期间，危地马拉的安全机构 - 资助，武装，训练和美国的建议 - 摧毁了400个玛雅人的土着村庄，并屠杀了20万人。大部分遇难者是政治活动家，学生，工会会员，教士，维权人士和贫农。

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Primary Source: Photograph

Photos, crosses, and protesters laying outside the entrance to Fort Benning, the home of the School of the Americas, to remember the victims of violence in Central America perpetrated by graduates of the school.

主要来源：照片

照片，十字架和示威者在美洲学校之家本宁堡入口外面，记住学校毕业生犯下的中美洲暴力事件的受害者。

America's involvement in neighboring Nicaragua was just as deadly. Beginning in 1936, three generations of the Somoza Family had ruled Nicaragua. The United States had directly paid the Samozas in return for favorable business relations, but in 1979, the FSLN, a group of revolutionaries overthrew his regime.

The Frente Nacionalista de Liberacion Nacional (FSLN), or **Sandinistas**, were committed to Marxist ideology, and many of their leaders had long-standing relationships with the Soviet Union and Cuba. President Carter initially hoped that continued American aid to the new government would keep the Sandinistas from aligning with the Soviet Bloc, but the Carter Administration allotted the Sandinistas minimal funding and the Sandinistas resolutely turned away from the United States. Instead, Cuban and East European assistance was turned into a new army of 75,000. The buildup included Soviet T-55 heavy tanks, heavy artillery and Soviet HIND attack helicopters, an unprecedented military expansion that made the Sandinista Army more powerful than all of its neighbors combined.

The first challenge to the powerful new army came from the **Contras**, groups of Somoza's old National Guard who had fled to Honduras. There they had been organized, trained and funded by CIA operatives using money they made by cocaine trafficking. They engaged in a systematic campaign of terror amongst the rural Nicaraguan population in order to disrupt the social reform projects of the Sandinistas.

The Reagan Administration insisted that the Sandinistas posed a "communist threat," particularly because of the support provided to the

美国参与邻国尼加拉瓜也是致命的。从 1936 年开始，三代索摩查家族统治了尼加拉瓜。美国直接支付了萨莫萨州，以换取有利的商业关系，但是在 1979 年，一群革命党人破坏了他的政权。

全国民族解放阵线（FSLN）或桑地诺主义者致力于马克思主义的意识形态，许多领导人与苏联和古巴有着长期的关系。卡特总统最初希望继续美国对新政府的援助将使桑地诺分子与苏联集团保持一致，但是卡特政府将最小的资金分配给了桑地诺分子，而桑地诺分子坚决地从美国转向。相反，古巴和东欧的援助变成了新的 75000 人的军队。其中包括苏联的 T-55 重型坦克，重型火炮和苏联 HIND 攻击直升机，这是前所未有的军事扩张，使得桑地诺军队比其所有邻国加起来更为强大。

强大的新军队面临的第一个挑战来自反抗军，索摩萨的老国民警卫队逃往洪都拉斯。在那里，他们是由中情局工作人员组织，培训和资助的，他们使用可卡因贩运所赚的钱。他们在尼加拉瓜农村人口中进行有系统的恐怖活动，以破坏桑地诺的社会改革项目。

里根政府坚持认为，桑地诺建立了“共产主义威胁”，特别是由于古巴总统菲德尔·卡斯特罗

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Sandinistas by Cuban president Fidel Castro. The Reagan Administration suspended aid to Nicaragua and expanded the supply of arms and training to the Contras in neighboring Honduras, as well as allied groups based to the south in Costa Rica. President Reagan called the Contras “the moral equivalent of our Founding Fathers.”

Congress disagreed. The Contras engaged in the same human rights violations as their counterparts in other Central American nations. Since the largest base of support for the Sandinistas was with the poor peasants of the countryside, the Contras destroyed the health centers, schools and cooperatives these people relied on. Large-scale murder, rape and torture also occurred in Contra-dominated areas. In 1982, Congress responded to public outrage about the situation by prohibiting Reagan for sending further aid to the Contras.

President Reagan also provided controversial support to the right-wing government of El Salvador and all branches of the security apparatus. Reagan and the CIA feared a takeover by the communist-leaning Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) during the Salvadorian Civil War, which had begun in 1979. The war left 75,000 people dead, 8,000 missing, and one million homeless. A million Salvadorans, fleeing the war and American-backed right-wing armed forces, tried to immigrate to the United States but were denied asylum. As was the case in Guatemala, the vast majority of the victims were peasants, trade unionists, teachers, students, human rights advocates, journalist, priests, nuns, and anyone working in the interests of the poor majority.

OSCAR ROMERO

Of all the voices in opposition to the violence perpetrated against innocent civilians, **Oscar Romero**, the Archbishop of San Salvador spoke with the most conviction, clarity, and moral authority.

In 1977, the same year that Romero became archbishop, his friend Rutilio Grande was assassinated by government soldiers. Grande was a Jesuit priest who had been working in the countryside and his death had a profound impact on Romero, who later said, “When I looked at Rutilio lying there dead I thought, ‘If they have killed him for doing what he did, then I too have to walk the same path.’” Romero urged the government to investigate, but they ignored his request. Romero began speaking out against poverty, social injustice, assassinations and torture.

Romero also criticized the United States for helping fuel the violence in El Salvador and wrote to President Jimmy Carter in February 1980, warning that increased American military aid would “undoubtedly sharpen the injustice and the political repression inflicted on the organized people,

向桑地诺提供的支持。里根政府暂停了对尼加拉瓜的援助，并扩大了向邻近的洪都拉斯的反政府武装以及哥斯达黎加南部的盟国集团提供武器和训练。里根总统称反对派是“我们的开国先贤的道德等同物”。

国会不同意。反政府武装同其他中美洲国家的同行进行同样的侵犯人权行为。由于对桑地诺的支持最大的基础是农村的贫苦农民，因此，这些反对者摧毁了这些人所依靠的保健中心，学校和合作社。大规模的谋杀，强奸和酷刑也发生在以反叛为主的地区。1982年，国会通过禁止里根向对方进一步提供援助来回应公众的愤慨。

里根总统还向萨尔瓦多右翼政府和安全机构的所有部门提供了有争议的支持。里根和中央情报局担心，在1979年开始的萨尔瓦多内战期间，靠着共产主义的法拉本多·马蒂民族解放阵线（FMLN）接管了这场战争。这场战争造成75000人死亡，8000人失踪，100万人无家可归。一百万萨尔瓦多人逃离战争和美国支持的右翼武装力量，试图移民到美国，但被拒绝庇护。与危地马拉的情况一样，绝大多数受害者是农民，工会会员，教师，学生，维权人士，记者，司铎，尼姑以及为穷人多数利益工作的任何人。

OSCAR ROMERO

在所有反对无辜平民暴力的声音中，圣萨尔瓦多的大主教奥斯卡·罗梅罗用最坚定的信念，清晰的道德权威说话。

1977年，罗梅罗成为大主教的同一年，他的朋友Rutilio Grande被政府士兵暗杀。格兰德是一个在农村工作的耶稣会牧师，他的死对罗梅罗产生了深远的影响，罗梅罗后来说：“当我看着躺在那里死去的鲁蒂略时，我想：‘如果他们为了做他所做的事而杀了他，那么我也必须走同样的道路。’”罗梅罗敦促政府进行调查，但他们忽视了他的要求。罗梅罗开始反对贫穷，社会不公正，暗杀和酷刑。

罗梅罗还批评美国援助萨尔瓦多的暴力事件，并于1980年2月写信给卡特总统，警告说增加美国的军事援助“无疑会加剧对有组织的人民的不公正和政治压制，是为了他们最

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whose struggle has often been for their most basic human rights.” Carter ignored Romero's pleas and military aid to the Salvadoran government continued.

On March 23, 1980, Romero delivered a sermon in which he called on Salvadoran soldiers, as Christians, to obey God's higher order and to stop carrying out the government's repression and violations of basic human rights. The next evening, Romero celebrated mass at a small chapel at Hospital de la Divina Providencia. As he finished his sermon, a car came to a stop on the street in front of the chapel. A gunman emerged from the vehicle, stepped to the door of the chapel, and fired. Romero was struck in the heart, and the vehicle sped off. **The archbishop died instantly.**



Romero was buried in the Metropolitan Cathedral of San Salvador. The funeral mass was attended by more than 250,000 mourners from all over the world. At the funeral, Cardinal Ernesto Corripio y Ahumada, speaking as the personal delegate of Pope John Paul II, eulogized Romero as a “beloved, peacemaking man of God,” and stated that “his blood will give fruit to brotherhood, love and peace.”

基本的人权。“卡特忽略了罗梅罗的请求，对萨尔瓦多政府的军事援助仍在继续。

1980年3月23日，罗梅罗发表讲话，呼吁萨尔瓦多士兵，作为基督徒，服从上帝的上级，停止执行政府镇压和侵犯基本人权的行。第二天晚上，罗梅罗在德拉迪维纳普罗维登西亚医院的一个小教堂里庆祝弥撒。当他讲完讲道时，一辆汽车停在教堂前的街道上。一名枪手从车上走出来，走到教堂的门口，开枪射击。罗梅罗心中一震，车开走了。大主教立即死亡。

Primary Source: Photograph

Monsignor Oscar Romero

主要来源：照片

主教奥斯卡罗梅罗

罗梅罗被埋葬在圣萨尔瓦多大都会大教堂。来自世界各地的二十五万名哀悼者出席了葬礼。在葬礼上，作为教皇约翰·保罗二世个人代表的红衣主教埃内斯托·科里皮奥·阿胡马达（Ernesto Corripio y Ahumada）颂扬了罗梅罗作为“上帝所爱的，造就和平的人”，并表示“他的血将为兄弟，爱与和平结出宝贵的果实。”

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During the ceremony, smoke bombs exploded on the streets near the cathedral and there were rifle shots from surrounding buildings, including the National Palace. Some 30 to 50 of the mourners were killed by gunfire and in the ensuing stampede of fleeing people. Some witnesses claimed government forces had fired the shots, but there are contradictory accounts as to the course of events. The truth will probably never be known.

As the gunfire continued, Romero's body was buried in a crypt beneath the sanctuary. Even after the burial, people continued to line up to pay homage to their martyred prelate.



仪式期间，大教堂附近街道上的烟雾爆炸，周围的建筑物，包括国家宫殿，还有步枪射击。大约三十到五十名哀悼者被枪杀以及随之而来的逃亡人员的死亡。一些目击者声称政府部队已经开枪，但是对于事件的过程却有矛盾的说法。事实可能永远不会被人知道。

随着枪声的继续，罗梅罗的尸体被埋在圣殿下的一个地下。即使在埋葬之后，人们仍然排队向他们的殉教高僧表示敬意。

Primary Source: Photograph

Young soldiers in El Salvador in 1990.

主要来源：照片

1990年在萨尔瓦多的年轻士兵。

The wars of Central America were long, brutal struggles made worse by the circumstances of the Cold War. Today, most people look back with sadness and regret the involvement that the great powers played in prolonging the bloodshed. In El Salvador, Oscar Romero stood up to powerful forces to demand peace and basic human rights in the same way that Gandhi had done three decades before. He remains a beloved hero for common people across Latin America and an international symbol of the harm the Cold War did in the Third World.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The Middle East posed numerous challenges for the United States during the Cold War, just as it continues to do today. At the center of America's

中美洲的战争是长期的，残酷的斗争在冷战的情况下变得更糟。今天，大多数人都悲伤地回头看看大国在延长流血事件中所扮演的角色。在萨尔瓦多，奥斯卡·罗梅罗以与甘地三十年前一样的方式，挺身而出，要求和平与基本人权。他仍然是拉美地区普通百姓心爱的英雄，也是冷战在第三世界造成危害的国际象征。

中东地区

中东在冷战时期给美国带来了无数挑战，就像今天继续这样做。美国在这个地区担忧的

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concerns in this part of the world are the security of the nation of Israel and access to the oil in and around the Persian Gulf.

Israel was carved out of Palestine at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea after World War II as a homeland for the Jewish people. The United States' recognition of Israel in 1948 created a strong new ally, but also created many enemies. The United Nations had tried to negotiate borders for the new nation, but the non-Jewish Palestinians who had lived there for generations rejected the plan. The Jewish settlers went to war and millions of Arabs were forced into exile. Enraged that the Americas supported the new Jewish state, Israel's Arab neighbors found supportive ears in the Soviet Union.

When Egyptian President **Gamal Abdel Nasser** sought to strengthen ties with the Soviet Bloc, the United States withdrew its pledge to help Nasser construct the all-important Aswan Dam on the Nile River. Nasser responded by nationalizing the Suez Canal in 1956. The canal is an important trade link between Europe and Asia for everyone, but it was essential for Britain and France, who joined with Israel to invade Egypt.

In the first real Cold War test of the alliance between Western Europe and the United States, President Dwight Eisenhower called upon Britain and France to show restraint. When it seemed like they might refuse, he threatened to stop selling them American treasury bonds, a move which would have devastated their economies. They backed down. In the end, The **Suez Crisis** led to the creation of a United Nations peacekeeping operation to police the border between Egypt and Israel. The rift between the allies may also have emboldened Stalin in his crackdowns on dissent in Hungary.

The Soviets might have believed the Suez Crisis was a sign that Americans did not want to get involved in the Middle East, but they were mistaken. With Soviet influence growing in the oil-rich region, the president issued the Eisenhower Doctrine, which pledged American support to any government fighting communist insurgencies in the Middle East. Making good on that promise, he sent over 5,000 marines to Lebanon to forestall an anti-Western takeover.

Over time, the United States became more and more deeply involved in the Middle East. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, the Americans provided weapons to the Afghan resistance movement. When Iran and Iraq went to war, the Americans gave support to Iran while the Soviets supported Iraq. In 1983, the radical group Hezbollah set off a bomb at the marine barracks in Beirut, Lebanon, killing 241 American marines. Presumably the attack was in retaliation for America's presence in the region.

中心是以色列国家的安全以及波斯湾内外的石油。

第二次世界大战后，以色列从地中海东端的巴勒斯坦被割作为犹太人的家园。1948年美国对以色列的承认创造了一个强大的新盟友，也造成了许多敌人。联合国曾试图为新国家进行边界谈判，但曾经在那里居住过的非犹太人巴勒斯坦人拒绝了这一计划。犹太人定居者参战，数百万阿拉伯人被迫流亡。激怒美洲支持这个新的犹太国家，以色列的阿拉伯邻国在苏联找到支持的耳朵。

当埃及总统纳赛尔试图加强与苏联集团的联系时，美国撤回了保证帮助纳赛尔建造尼罗河上最重要的阿斯旺大坝的承诺。纳赛尔在1956年把苏伊士运河国有化作为回应。运河是所有人都在欧洲和亚洲之间重要的贸易纽带，但对于与以色列一起入侵埃及的英国和法国来说，运河是必不可少的。

德国艾森豪威尔总统在西欧和美国联盟首次真正的冷战考验中呼吁英法两国保持克制。当他们似乎可能拒绝的时候，他威胁要停止向他们出售美国国债，这将会摧毁他们的经济。他们退缩了。苏伊士危机最终导致了联合国维和行动的成立，以此来监督埃及与以色列之间的边界。盟国之间的裂痕也可能使斯大林对匈牙利的异见人士镇压。

苏联人可能认为苏伊士危机是美国人不想介入中东的一个标志，但是他们错了。随着苏联在石油丰富地区的影响日益扩大，总统发表了艾森豪威尔主义，承诺美国支持任何反政府分子在中东的叛乱。为了履行这个承诺，他派出了5000多名海军陆战队员前往黎巴嫩，以防止反西方收购。

随着时间的推移，美国越来越深入地介入中东。当苏联入侵阿富汗时，美国人向阿富汗抵抗运动提供武器。当伊朗和伊拉克开战时，美国人支持伊朗，而苏联支持伊拉克。1983年，真主党激进组织在黎巴嫩贝鲁特的海上营房炸弹，炸死241名美国海军陆战队员。据推测，这次袭击是为了报复美国在该地区的存在。

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However, over time it has also become clear that America's fundamental interests in the Middle East were Israel and oil, not the containment of communism. After the Cold War ended, the Middle East was the first place the United States went to war and more Americans have died fighting in the Middle East in the past thirty years than every other corner of the globe combined.

CONCLUSION

There remains little doubt today that communism as an economic system and dictatorship as a form of government are both evil, insofar as they restrict individual liberty. The Soviet Union, as the world's foremost exporter of communist ideology may well have deserved Reagan's disparaging nickname the "Evil Empire." That Soviet leaders, their armies and secret police murdered thousands of people in their quest to free the masses from the rule of capitalists is undeniable.

Like the fabled City Upon a Hill, the United States stood firmly throughout the Cold War as a beacon of freedom and hope in the face of communism. However, to maintain the freedom of the world, especially of the Third World, Americans perpetrated and supported enormous injustice and violence of their own.

The republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater said once that "moderation in the protection of liberty is no virtue; extremism in the defense of freedom is no vice." What do you think? If defeating communism was a noble cause, did it excuse the means? Was the Soviet Union "evil" in a way that the United States was not?

Perhaps it is also worth looking at the question from the perspective of the people of the Third World who were the pawns in the global game. Was the Soviet Union any more evil or more of an empire than the United States?

Of course, the story of the people who suffered in the great struggles of the Cold War is tragic. How senseless it seems now that the Cold War is over that so many perished over ideology. However, knowing both the noble ideals that drove the struggle as well as the people who paid the price for freedom's eventual victory helps us understand that good and evil is rarely black and white. As Archbishop Oscar Romero said, "there are many things that can only be seen through eyes that have cried."

What do you think? Was President Reagan right? Was the Soviet Union an evil empire?

然而，随着时间的推移，美国在中东的根本利益也是显而易见的：以色列和石油，而不是遏制共产主义。冷战结束后，中东是美国第一个参战的国家，过去三十年来中东地区有更多的美国人战死在地球上，

结论

今天，共产主义作为一种经济制度和专政作为一种政府形式，在限制个人自由的同时也是邪恶的，这一点毫无疑问。苏联作为世界上最重要的共产主义思想出口国，可能是里根贬低的“邪恶帝国”的绰号。苏联领导人，他们的军队和秘密警察谋杀了成千上万的人，试图从资本家的统治中解放群众是不可否认的。

就像传说中的山城一样，美国在整个冷战期间坚定地站在共产主义面前，作为自由和希望的灯塔。但是，为了维护世界，特别是第三世界的自由，美国人犯下了自己的巨大的不公正和暴力。

共和党总统候选人巴里·戈德沃特曾经说过，“适度保护自由不是美德，保卫自由的极端主义不是恶习。”你怎么看？如果击败共产主义是一个崇高的事业，那么是否有借口的办法呢？苏联“邪恶”是不是美国？

从第三世界人民的角度来看，也许值得从这个问题上来看这个问题。苏联是否比美国更邪恶或更多的帝国呢？

当然，在冷战的大斗争中遭受苦难的人的故事是悲惨的。现在看来，冷战已经结束了，意识形态的这么多人灭亡了，这是多么的无知。但是，既知道推动斗争的崇高理想，也为了争取自由最终胜利的人们，帮助我们理解善恶非常黑白。正如奥斯卡·梅罗罗大主教所说，“只有通过哭泣的眼睛才能看到很多东西。”

你怎么看？里根总统是对的吗？苏联是一个邪恶的帝国吗？

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Watch video from the
Kitchen Debates



Read the Gulag Archipelago



Watch video of the
Apollo-Soyuz handshake



Watch video from the
funeral of Oscar Romero



PEOPLE & GROUPS

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn: Russian political dissident and author of “The Gulag Archipelago”

Dr. Henry Kissinger: National Security Advisor to President Nixon. He believed in realpolitik and was instrumental in the negotiations with the Soviet Union and China that were part of the détente policy.

Strongman: A leader, often from the military, that rules a country as a dictator. The United States often supported these leaders in Third World nations because they opposed communism.

Salvador Allende: Democratically elected president of Chile who proposed communist-like policies and was deposed in 1973. The CIA is seen as complicit in his overthrow.

Augusto Pinochet: Military general in Chile who led a coup against democratically elected Salvador Allende. He ruled Chile for 17 years and murdered more than 2,000 people. The US supported him because he opposed communism.

Manuel Noriega: Panamanian strongman who was supported by the CIA. He was involved in the drug trade and was eventually removed in a US military invasion and put on trial for drug trafficking.

Sandinistas: Communist revolutionaries in Nicaragua who took control in the 1970s and were opposed by the American-backed Contras.

Contras: Anti-communist guerrilla group who were supported by the CIA and fought against the communist Sandinistas in Nicaragua. They were known for human rights violations and using drug trafficking as a means of financial support.

FMLN: Communist revolutionary group in El Salvador in the 1970s and 1980s. They were opposed by the United States.

Oscar Romero: Catholic archbishop in El Salvador who spoke out against violence during his country’s civil war. He was assassinated by right-wing militants.

Gamal Abdel Nasser: Nationalist leader of Egypt who was supported by the Soviet Union and led his country during the Suez Crisis.

人和组

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn: 俄罗斯政治异议人士, “古拉格群岛”

亨利·基辛格博士: 尼克松总统的国家安全顾问。他相信现实政治, 是与苏联和中国谈判的一部分, 这是缓和政策的一部分。

强人: 一个常常来自军方的领导人, 统治着一个独裁者。美国常常支持这些第三世界国家的领导人, 因为他们反对共产主义。

萨尔瓦多·阿连德 (Salvador Allende): 民主选举的智利总统, 提出类似共产主义的政策, 并于 1973 年被废 The。中央情报局被视为共谋被推翻。

奥古斯托·皮诺切特: 智利军事将领谁发动政变反对民主选举萨尔瓦多·阿连德。他统治智利 17 年, 谋杀了 2000 多人。美国支持他是因为他反对共产主义。

曼努埃尔·诺列加: 巴拿马强人, 得到中央情报局的支持。他参与了毒品交易, 最终在美国的军事入侵中被移走, 并因贩毒而受审。

桑地诺: 二十世纪七十年代在尼加拉瓜的共产主义革命者, 接受美国支持的反政府武装反对。

对抗: 反共产主义游击队得到了中央情报局的支持, 并与尼加拉瓜的共产党桑迪尼亚斯进行了斗争。他们以侵犯人权和利用贩毒作为财政支持手段而闻名。

马解阵线: 七十年代和八十年代在萨尔瓦多的共产革命集团。他们遭到美国的反对。

奥斯卡·罗梅罗 (Oscar Romero): 萨尔瓦多的天主教大主教在国内外战期间反对暴力。他被右翼武装人员暗杀。

贾迈勒·阿卜杜勒·纳赛尔: 在苏伊士危机期间, 由苏联支持并率领他的国家的埃及民族主义领袖。

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TEXTS

The Gulag Archipelago: Book by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn recounting his experiences as a political prisoner in the Soviet Union's gulags.

古拉格群岛 (Gulag Archipelago)：由亚历山大·索尔仁尼琴 (Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn) 所著，讲述了他作为苏联古拉格政治犯的经历。



POLICIES & TREATIES

Partial Test Ban Treaty: 1963 treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water and in space.

Out Space Treaty: 1967 treaty stating that space would only be used for peaceful purposes.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty: A treaty signed in 1968 by all but four countries in the world. Nations promise not to acquire nuclear weapons (if they don't already possess them) and in exchange they may use nuclear technology for civilian purposes.

SALT I & SALT II: Treaties signed between the United States and Soviet Union in 1972 and 1979 agreeing to reduce the number of nuclear warheads in their arsenals.

Biological Weapons Convention: Treaty signed by almost every nation in the world agreeing to eliminate all biological weapons.

Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty: 1972 treaty between the United States and Soviet Union agreeing to limit the development of missiles that could intercept incoming ICBMs.

Helsinki Accords: 1975 agreement between the major nations of the Free and Communist Worlds. It guaranteed respect for boundaries, thus cementing the communist takeover of Eastern Europe, but also committed nations to respect human rights.

Détente: A policy of engaging the Soviet Union in negotiations used by Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter in the 1970s. It assumed that the end of the Cold War was not imminent so negotiation rather than confrontation was the best policy.

案文

政策和条约

部分禁试条约：1963 年禁止在大气层，水下和太空中进行核试验的条约。

“外空条约”：1967 年的条约，指出空间只能用于和平目的。

“不扩散核武器条约”：1968 年世界上所有四个国家签署的条约。国家保证不会获得核武器（如果他们还没有拥有核武器的话），作为交换，他们可能将核技术用于民用目的。

一，盐与盐二：1972 年和 1979 年美苏签署的条约同意减少其核武库中的核弹头数量。

“生物武器公约”：世界上几乎每个国家签署的条约都同意消除所有生物武器。

反弹道导弹条约：1972 年美苏之间的条约同意限制可能拦截入侵洲际弹道导弹的发展。

赫尔辛基协议：1975 年自由和共产主义世界主要国家之间的协议。它保证了对边界的尊重，从而巩固了共产主义对东欧的接管，也使各国尊重人权。

迪内特：在二十世纪七十年代，尼克松，福特和卡特总统参与了苏联的谈判。它认为冷战的结束不是迫在眉睫，所以谈判而不是对抗是最好的政策。



KEY CONCEPTS

Realpolitik: Policies based on practical rather than moral or ideological goals.

Proxy Wars: Wars that were not fought between the United States and Soviet Union. However, the superpowers supported either side and the wars were viewed as a stand-in for real face-to-face conflict.

关键概念

现实政策：基于实践而非道德或意识形态目标的政策。

代理人战争：美苏之间没有战争的战争。然而，超级大国支持任何一方，战争被视为真正的面对面冲突的替身。



LOCATIONS

Israel: Nation in the Middle East created in 1948 largely by Jews who escaped the Holocaust. It is a strong ally of the United States but has a violent history with its Arab neighbors.

地点

以色列：中东地区的国家在 1948 年大部分是由逃脱大屠杀的犹太人造成的。它是美国的强大盟友，但与阿拉伯邻国有着暴力的历史。

5 WAS THE SOVIET UNION ACTUALLY AN EVIL EMPIRE?



EVENTS

Kitchen Debate: A series of debates between Vice-President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in Moscow about the relative merits of communism and capitalism.

Hungarian Uprising: Revolution by Hungarians in 1956 against Soviet domination. The uprising was crushed when forces from the Soviet Union invaded Hungary.

Prague Spring: An uprising in Czechoslovakia in 1968 in which the government and citizens attempted to reform the economy and political system. The uprising was ended when the Soviet Union sent in its military to restore communists to power.

Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan: Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. The Soviets failed, partially due to support the United States gave to Afghan freedom fighters.

Assassination of Oscar Romero: 1980 assassination of Oscar Romero while he was celebrating mass. He had recently urged militants to stop committing human rights violations.

Suez Crisis: 1956 conflict between Egypt and the combined forces of Israel, France and the United Kingdom after Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal. President Eisenhower refused to support France and the UK.

活动

厨房辩论：尼克松副总统和苏联总理赫鲁晓夫在莫斯科就共产主义和资本主义的相对优点进行的一系列辩论。

匈牙利起义：1956 年匈牙利人反对苏维埃统治的革命。苏联军队侵略匈牙利时，起义就被打压了。

布拉格之春：1968 年捷克斯洛伐克的一次起义，政府和公民试图改革经济和政治制度。当苏联派军队恢复共产党的掌权时，起义就結束了。

苏联入侵阿富汗：1979 年苏联入侵阿富汗。苏联失败了，部分原因是由于美国给予阿富汗自由战士的支持。

暗杀奥斯卡·罗梅罗：1980 年暗杀奥斯卡·罗梅罗时，他正在庆祝弥撒。他最近敦促武装分子停止侵犯人权。

苏伊士危机：1956 年埃及与以色列，法国和联合王国的联合部队之间的冲突，在埃及把苏伊士运河国有化之后。艾森豪威尔总统拒绝支持法国和英国。



GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS

KGB: The spy organization and secret police of the Soviet Union

Stasi: The secret police of East Germany

Juntong: The secret police of communist China

State Security Department: The secret police of North Korea

Gulag: The prison system in the Soviet Union based on labor camps which housed thousands of political prisoners

Troika: A group of three judges. The troikas in the Soviet Union provided a quick way to convict political prisoners without allowing for fair trials.

Apollo-Soyuz Test Project: A Soviet and American project to launch satellites that would link up in orbit. The project culminated in 1975 and represented progress in scientific cooperation.

School of the Americas: School run by the US Army to train Latin American military leaders. Some of the school's graduates have gone on to commit human rights violations in their home countries or lead drug trafficking organizations.

政府组织

克格勃：苏联的间谍组织和秘密警察

斯塔西：东德的秘密警察

军通：共产中国的秘密警察

国家安全部：北韓的秘密警察

古拉格：苏联的监狱系统是以数千名政治犯所在的劳教所为基础的

三驾马车：一组三名法官。苏联的“三驾马车”提供了一个快速的方式，让政治犯不被允许公平的审判。

阿波罗 - 联盟号测试项目：一个苏联和美国的项目发射卫星，将轨道连接起来。该项目于 1975 年达到高潮，代表了科学合作的进展。

美洲学校：由美国军队管理的学校，培训拉美军事领导人。一些学校的毕业生继续在本国犯下侵犯人权的行为，或是领导贩毒组织。

6

S I X T H Q U E S T I O N WHY DID THE COLD WAR END?



INTRODUCTION

Every war ends. Even the wars we are currently engaged in will eventually end. And so, the Cold War ended, some four decades after it began. But why? Without ever fighting out their differences on the battlefield, the United States and our NATO allies and the Soviet Union and the other communist nations of the world gave up their nuclear faceoff.

It's hard to imagine that after all the money spent, and lives lost, that the two great superpowers would simply hang it up and walk away. Indeed, it is not that simple, but from a distance, it is clear that the Cold War deserves that name. It ended without the Herculean war that everyone spent all that time preparing for.

How is that possible? We couldn't stop Hitler without a war. We didn't prevent the Cold War from starting? So how is it that it ended with such a whimper? Why did the Cold War end?

介绍

每场战争都结束即使我们目前正在进行的战争最终也会结束。所以，冷战在大约四十年后就结束了。但为什么？美国和我们的北约盟友，世界上其他的共产主义国家如果不在战场上争斗，就放弃了核战争。

很难想象，所有的钱花掉了，生命都消失了，两个超级大国只是挂断电话而走开了。事实上，这并不是那么简单，但从远处看，冷战就是这个名字。它结束了没有每个人花费所有时间准备的艰苦战争。

这怎么可能？我们不能在没有战争的情况下阻止希特勒。我们并没有阻止冷战开始？那么它怎么会以这样的呜咽声结束呢？为什么冷战结束？



NIXON AND CHINA

When the communists took control in China in 1949 created the **People's Republic of China (PRC)** and exiled the nationalists to the island of Taiwan, the United States allied with, and recognized, the nationalist **Republic of China (ROC)** on Taiwan as the sole government of all of China. But early in his first term, Nixon began sending subtle overtures hinting at warmer relations with the communist government on the mainland. After a series of these overtures by both countries, Nixon's national security advisor, Dr. Henry Kissinger flew on secret diplomatic missions to Beijing, where he met with Premier Zhou Enlai.

On July 15, 1971, Nixon himself shocked the world by announcing on live television that he would visit the PRC the following year. While most politicians would have been criticized as being soft on communism for visiting mainland China or normalizing the relationship, Nixon was different. As a veteran of HUAC, Nixon's reputation as a cold warrior gave him the political cover to make a change in America's policy toward Beijing.

The week-long visit, from February 21 to 28, 1972, allowed the American public to view images of China for the first time in over two decades. Throughout the week, the President and his senior advisers engaged in substantive discussions with the PRC leadership, including a meeting with Chairman Mao Zedong, while First Lady Pat Nixon toured schools, factories and hospitals in the cities of Beijing, Hangzhou and Shanghai with the large American press corps in tow.

American President **Richard Nixon's 1972 visit to communist China** was an important strategic and diplomatic overture that marked the culmination of the Nixon administration's **rapprochement** between the United States and China. The seven-day official visit to three Chinese cities was the first time an American president had visited the PRC. Nixon's arrival in Beijing ended a 25-year gap in communication and diplomatic ties between the two countries and was the key step in normalizing relations between the United States and communist China.

Nixon didn't decide to go to China because he suddenly believed that communism was acceptable. The reason for opening up China was for the United States to gain more leverage over relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviets in Moscow and the communists in China viewed each other with suspicion and had even fought a minor war over their shared border. By normalizing relations with the Chinese, Nixon was able to play the two communist powers off one another.

Kissinger and Nixon also wanted to get help in resolving the Vietnam War. By dealing with both Russia and China, they hoped to put pressure on Ho Chi Minh's government in Hanoi to negotiate seriously. At a minimum,

尼克松和中国

当1949年共产党在中国控制了中华人民共和国（中华人民共和国），把民族主义者流放到台湾岛的时候，美国与台湾的民族主义中华民国（台湾）结盟并承认为唯一全中国的政府。但尼克松第一任初期就开始暗示与大陆共产党政府的关系温和。尼克松的国家安全顾问亨利·基辛格博士经过两国的一系列示威后，秘密外交使团前往北京，会见了周恩来总理。

1971年7月15日，尼克松亲自在电视上宣布他将在次年访问中国，震惊世界。虽然大多数政客都被批评为对中共大陆的共产主义态度温和，或者把两国关系正常化，但是尼克松是不同的。作为华侨华人的老兵，尼克松作为冷战的名声给了他政治上的掩护，改变美国对北京的政策。

1972年2月21日至28日，为期一周的访问，让美国公众在二十多年来第一次看到中国的形象。整个一周，总统及其高级顾问与中国领导层进行了实质性的讨论，包括与毛泽东主席的会晤，而尼克松第一夫人参观了北京，杭州和上海等地的学校，工厂和医院，美国新闻队在拖曳。

美国总统尼克松1972年访问中国共产党是尼克松政府与美国和解之间达成高潮的重要战略和外交序幕。对中国三个城市进行为期七天的正式访问是美国总统第一次访问中国。尼克松抵达北京，结束了两国沟通和外交关系25年的差距，是中美关系正常化的关键一步。

尼克松没有决定去中国，因为他突然认为共产主义是可以接受的。开放中国的原因是美国在与苏联的关系上获得更多的杠杆作用。莫斯科的苏维埃和中国的共产党人之间相互猜疑，甚至在共同的边界上进行了小规模战争。尼克松通过与中国人的关系正常化，能够把两个共产主义势力相互击垮。

基辛格和尼克松也希望得到帮助解决越南战争。他们同俄罗斯和中国打交道，希望对胡志明政府在河内的压力进行认真的谈判。尼克松

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Nixon wanted Russia and China to encourage Hanoi to make a deal with the United States and give Hanoi a sense of isolation as their two patrons were dealing directly with the Americans. Indeed, by their willingness to engage in summit meetings with Nixon, the Russians and Chinese demonstrated that bilateral relations with the United States was a higher priority than their support for Vietnam.

Unknown to Nixon and the rest of the American diplomats at the time, Mao Zedong was in poor health and he had been hospitalized for several weeks before Nixon's arrival. Nevertheless, Mao felt well enough to meet with Nixon. Upon being introduced to Nixon for the first time, Mao, speaking through his translator, joked with him: "I believe our old friend Chiang Kai-shek would not approve of this."



In contrast, Nixon held many meetings with Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai during the trip, which included visits to the Great Wall, Hangzhou, and Shanghai. At the conclusion of his trip, the United States and the PRC governments issued the **Shanghai Communiqué**, a statement of their foreign policy views and a document that has remained the basis of Sino-American bilateral relations. Kissinger stated that the United States also intended to pull all its forces out of the island of Taiwan. In the communiqué, both nations pledged to work toward the full normalization of diplomatic policy.

The relationship between China and the United States is now one of the most important bilateral relationships in the world, and every successive president, with the exception of Jimmy Carter, has visited China. The trip

至少希望俄罗斯和中国鼓励河内与美国达成协议，并给河内一个孤立的感觉，因为他们的两个赞助人直接与美国人打交道。事实上，俄罗斯人和中国人愿意与尼克松进行高峰会议，这表明与美国的双边关系比支持越南更重要。

当时尼克松和其他美国外交官都不了解，毛泽东身体不好，在尼克松抵达前他已经住院了好几个星期。尽管如此，毛泽东感觉很好，可以和尼克松见面。毛泽东在第一次被介绍给尼克松时，通过他的翻译发言，开玩笑说：“我相信我们的老朋友蒋介石不会赞成这个。”

Primary Source: Photograph

President Richard Nixon and First Lady Pat Nixon visiting the Great Wall of China in 1972.

主要来源：照片

尼克松总统和尼克松第一夫人 1972 年访问中国的长城。

相比之下，尼克松在访问期间曾多次与周恩来总理会晤，包括访问长城，杭州和上海。在访问结束时，美国和中国政府发表了“上海公报”，声明了他们的外交政策观点，并且保留了一直是中美双边关系基础的文件。基辛格说，美国也打算把所有的力量都撤出台湾岛。在公报中，两国都承诺为实现外交政策的全面正常化而努力。

中美关系现在是世界上最重要的双边关系之一，除了吉米·卡特之外，历任总统都访问了中国。历史学家、学者和记者一直把这次旅行列

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is consistently ranked by historians, scholars, and journalists as one of the most important, if not the most important, visits by a president anywhere. A “Nixon to China” moment has since become a metaphor for an unexpected, uncharacteristic or especially impactful action by any politician.

By formally recognizing the government of mainland China, Nixon initiated an enormous shift in global power. The communists took over China’s seat at the Security Council of the United Nations. The United States moved its embassy from Taipei to Beijing. However, formal recognition did not end American support for Taiwan. To this day, the government of the Republic of China remains an important American ally in Asia. The American military conducts joint operations with their Taiwanese counterparts and, much to Beijing’s disapproval, the United States sells advanced weapons systems and aircraft to Taiwan.

为总统任何地方最重要，甚至最重要的访问之一。一个“尼克松到中国”的时刻已经成为任何政治家意想不到的，不寻常的或特别有影响力的行为的隐喻。

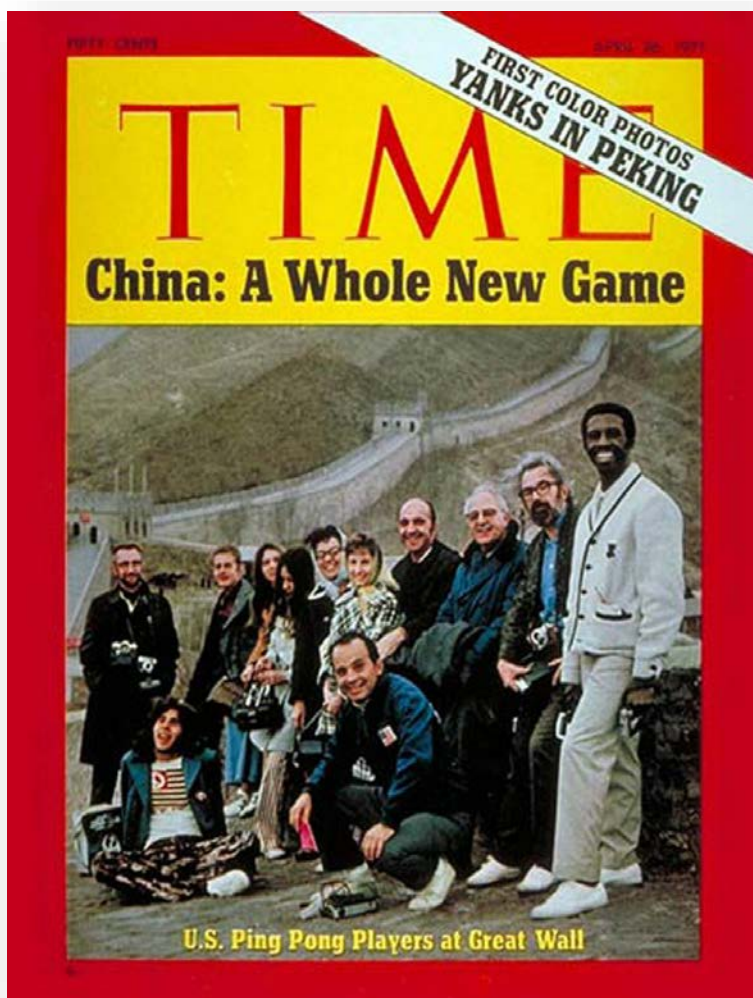
尼克松通过正式承认中国大陆政府，发起了全球力量的巨大转变。共产党接管了中国在联合国安理会的席位。美国把使馆从台北迁到北京。但是，正式承认并没有结束美国对台湾的支持。到目前为止，中华民国政府仍然是亚洲重要的美国盟友。美国军方与台湾同行进行联合行动，而且北京方面不赞成的是，美国向台湾出售先进的武器系统和飞机。

Primary Source: Document

The cover of Time Magazine in which the new relationship between the United States and communist China was a feature story.

主要来源：文件

“时代周刊”的封面是美国与共产主义中国新关系的一个特色故事。



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The United States and China wanted to hold public demonstrations of their new friendship. One of the most obvious of these was a series of ping pong matches between Chinese and Americans. The friendly competitions showed that the two nations could be both patriotic and competitive in ways that were not dangerous. In fact, **Ping Pong Diplomacy** became a synonym for the cultural exchanges between competing nations that were designed to foster better relationships. Additionally, the government of China gave a gift of two pandas to the National Zoo in Washington, DC. Ling-Ling and Hsing-Hsing were the first giant pandas to live in the United States and were beloved symbols of friendship.



美国和中国想举行新的友谊的公开示威。其中最明显的是中美之间的一系列乒乓球比赛。友好的比赛表明，两国可以以不危险的方式成为爱国主义者和竞争者。事实上，乒乓外交成为了旨在促进良好关系的竞争国家之间文化交流的代名词。此外，中国政府赠送了两只熊猫给华盛顿国家动物园。玲玲和兴兴是第一个生活在美国的大熊猫，是友谊的象征。

Primary Source: Photograph

Ling-Ling and Hsing-Hsing at the National Zoo in Washington, DC. They were a gift from the People's Republic of China to the United States after Nixon's visit in 1972.

主要来源：照片

玲玲和兴兴在华盛顿国家动物园。尼克松 1972 年访问之后，他们是中华人民共和国送给美国的礼物。

Officially, the United States holds a **One China Policy** – that is, the government believes the mainland and Taiwan should be united under one government, but in reality, while doing business with both, Americans are as dedicated to preventing a communist takeover of Taiwan now as they were in 1949.

RONALD REAGAN

When he was elected in 1980, **Ronald Reagan** was the nation's oldest president. As a former movie star, Reagan was already well known in the United States. He had tried to root out communists in Hollywood during the Red Scare of the 1950s and had served as governor of California. He even ran against President Gerald Ford for the republican nomination in 1976.

Unlike Nixon and Kissinger, Reagan did not believe *détente* and coexistence with the Soviet Union was possible. He did not trust

美国方面正式持有一个中国政策，那就是政府认为大陆和台湾应该统一在一个政府之下，但是实际上在做这两个事情的时候，美国人现在都在致力于防止共产主义收购台湾就像 1949 年那样

RONALD REAGAN

罗纳德·里根在 1980 年当选时，是美国历史最悠久的总统。作为一个前电影明星，里根在美国已经很有名了。在 50 年代的红色恐慌期间，他试图根除好莱坞的共产主义者，并曾担任过加利福尼亚州州长。他甚至在 1976 年与共和党提名的杰拉尔德·福特总统竞选。

不像尼克松和基辛格，里根不相信和苏联的和解和共处是可能的。他不信任共产主义者，相信冷战无限期地继续下去是不可接受的。

communists and believed that allowing the Cold War to go on indefinitely was unacceptable.

Angered by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Reagan ordered a massive buildup of the armed forces and implemented new policies toward the Soviet Union. He revived the B-1 bomber program that had been canceled by the Carter Administration, and began producing the MX Peacekeeper missile. These MIRV missiles each had multiple warheads that could be directed at different targets. In response to Soviet deployment of short-range nuclear missiles, Reagan oversaw NATO's deployment of Pershing short-range nuclear missiles in West Germany. Reagan also ordered the development of a defensive system that would be able to shoot down incoming Soviet missiles.

Reagan's struggle against the Soviet Union was more than just about military strength. Together with Prime Minister **Margaret Thatcher** of the United Kingdom, Reagan denounced the Soviet Union in ideological terms. In a famous address given on June 8, 1982 to the British Parliament at Westminster Palace, Reagan said, "the forward march of freedom and democracy will leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash-heap of history." On March 3, 1983, he predicted that communism would collapse, stating, "communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in human history, whose last pages even now are being written." A few days later in a speech to the National Association of Evangelicals Reagan, called the Soviet Union "**an evil empire.**"

Unlike Nixon and Kissinger who wanted to manage the Soviet Union and find ways for the superpowers to coexist, Reagan and his aids sought to confront Soviet power everywhere in the world. Reagan was also desperate to put to rest **Vietnam Syndrome** (the reluctance to use military force in foreign countries for fear of suffering another embarrassing defeat), which had influenced American foreign policy since the mid-1970s. Under a policy that came to be known as the **Reagan Doctrine**, Reagan and his administration provided overt and covert aid to anti-communist resistance movements in an effort to manipulate governments in Africa, Asia, and Latin America away from communism and toward capitalism. Sometimes this meant supporting authoritarian regimes who were not supporters of freedom just to keep them "safe" from Soviet influence.

Reagan deployed the CIA's Special Activities Division to Afghanistan and Pakistan where they trained, equipped, and lead Mujahidin forces against the Soviet Army. Many historians believe the support from the United States was critical to ending the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, although the American weapons that were provided in the 1980s were later used against American troops during the war in Afghanistan in the 2000s.

苏联入侵阿富汗激怒了里根，下令大规模建设武装力量，实行新的苏联政策。他恢复了被卡特政府取消的B-1轰炸机计划，并开始生产MX 维和导弹。这些 MIRV 导弹每个都有多个可以针对不同目标的弹头。为了应对苏联部署短程核导弹，里根监督北约在西德部署潘兴短程核导弹。里根还下令开发一种能够击落苏联飞弹的防御系统。

里根与苏联的斗争不仅仅是军事力量。里根同英国首相玛格丽特·撒切尔一起，在思想上谴责了苏联。里根 1982 年 6 月 8 日在威斯敏斯特宫向英国议会发表的一个著名讲话中说：“自由和民主的前进将把马克思列宁主义置于历史的灰堆上”。1983 年 3 月 3 日，预言共产主义将崩溃，说：“共产主义是人类历史上另一个悲惨的，奇异的篇章，其最后一页甚至现在正在写。”几天后，在全国福音派协会里根的一次演讲中，苏联称“一个邪恶的帝国”。

不像尼克松和基辛格想要管理苏联，想方设法让超级大国共存，里根和他的援助试图在世界各地对抗苏维埃政权。里根也迫不及待地把越南综合症（不愿意在国外使用武力，害怕又一次尴尬失败）从 1970 年代中期以来影响了美国的外交政策。在被称为“里根主义”的政策下，里根及其政府为反共反抗运动提供了明显的，隐蔽的援助，力图把非洲，亚洲和拉丁美洲的政府从共产主义转向资本主义。有时这意味着支持那些不是自由支持者的专制政权，只是为了保持他们对苏联影响的“安全”。

里根将中央情报局的特别活动部署到阿富汗和巴基斯坦，在那里训练，装备和领导穆加希丁部队反对苏联军队。许多历史学家认为，美国的支持对于结束苏联对阿富汗的占领是至关重要的，尽管 20 世纪 80 年代提供的美国武器后来在阿富汗战争期间被用来对付美军。

The end of détente and the confrontational tone set by President Reagan did not last forever. In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev, a young, charismatic leader took over in the Soviet Union and sensing opportunity, Reagan began to change his rhetoric and thinking.

THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE

In March of 1983, Reagan introduced the **Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)**, a project that would use ground and space-based systems to protect the United States from attack by strategic nuclear ballistic missiles. In short, Reagan wanted to be able to shoot down incoming nuclear missiles. He believed that this defensive shield would make nuclear war impossible. However, disbelief that the technology could ever work led opponents to nickname the project “Star Wars,” in a reference to the popular science fiction trilogy in theaters at the time. The Soviets were highly critical of the SDI program since it would seriously unbalance the power relationship. If the Americans could intercept Soviet missiles, the Soviet Union would lose its deterrent power.

The technological challenges proved to be daunting and Reagan’s dream of a missile shield never became a reality during his presidency or even his lifetime. However, in the years since 1983, the SDI program has continued. Today, the **Missile Defense Agency** continues to work to perfect missiles that could be used to shoot down incoming ballistic missiles from North Korea.



THE IRAN-CONTRA SCANDAL

缓和的结束和里根总统的对抗性语气并不是永远持续下去的。1985年，一位年轻而富有魅力的领导人米卡尔·戈尔巴乔夫（Mikhail Gorbachev）接管了苏联，感受到了机会，里根开始改变他的言辞和思想。

战略防御手段

1983年3月，里根介绍了战略防御计划（SDI），这个计划将使用地基和空基系统来保护美国免受战略核弹道导弹的攻击。总之，里根希望能够击落来袭的核导弹。他相信这个防御性的盾牌会使核战争变得不可能。然而，由于不相信这项技术能够奏效，所以引用了当时在影院中流行的科幻小说“三部曲”的对手，将其称为“星球大战”。苏联人对SDI计划高度批评，因为这会严重影响权力关系。如果美国人能够拦截苏联的导弹，苏联就会失去威慑力量。

技术上的挑战被证明是令人生畏的，里根的导弹盾牌的梦想在他担任总统期间甚至一生中从未成为现实。然而，自1983年以来，SDI计划仍在继续。今天，导弹防御局继续努力完善可用于击落来自北韩的弹道导弹的导弹。

Primary Source: Editorial Cartoon

Many critics of Reagan’s Strategic Defense Initiative used the Star Wars movies to emphasize the technological challenges of making the system work.

主要来源：编辑卡通

里根“战略防御计划”的许多批评者都使用“星球大战”的电影强调了使系统工作的技术挑战。

伊朗 - 反对丑闻



The American public was supportive of Reagan and his approach to fighting the Cold War. In 1984 they returned him to the White House for a second term with one of the largest landslide victories in presidential history. In his second term, however, his efforts to confront communism nearly brought down his administration.

The **Iran-Contra Scandal** came to light in November of 1986. During the Reagan Administration, senior officials had secretly facilitated the sale of weapons to Iran, which at the time was the subject of an arms embargo. The administration then used the funds from the sales to finance the anti-Sandinista Contras in Nicaragua.

While President Reagan was a supporter of the Contra cause, the evidence is unclear as to whether he authorized the diversion of the money raised by the Iranian arms sales to the Contras. Investigating Reagan's role in the affair, the Tower Commission found no evidence of the president's involvement. However, they deemed Reagan negligent for not monitoring and managing his staff, and indicted 14 administration officials, 11 of whom were convicted.

President Reagan addressed the public, accepting full responsibility for the crisis and maintaining his ignorance of the affair. The Iran-Contra Scandal cut Reagan's approval ratings from 67% to 46% in November 1986, the largest single drop for any president in history, though this rating had climbed back to 64% by the end of his term, the highest rating ever recorded for a departing President.

Although Reagan survived the scandal and finished his second term, the public had a new awareness of the extent of their government's efforts to fight communism in the Third World and began to question much more carefully America's involvement in proxy wars.

GORBACHEV

The Soviet Union's large military expenses, in combination with collectivized agriculture and inefficient planned manufacturing, were a heavy burden for the Soviet economy. By the time **Mikhail Gorbachev** had ascended to power in 1985, the Soviets suffered from an economic growth rate close to zero percent. At the same time, Saudi Arabia increased oil production, which resulted in a drop of oil prices in 1985 to one-third of the previous level. Petroleum exports made up approximately 60% of the Soviet Union's total export earnings. The Soviet Union was on the verge of economic collapse.

To restructure the Soviet economy before catastrophe, Gorbachev announced an agenda of rapid reform based on what he called **perestroika**

美国民众支持里根及其对抗冷战的态度。1984 年，他们回到白宫，连任总统史上最大的滑坡胜利之一。然而，在他的第二个任期中，他对付共产主义的努力几乎使他的行政失败了。

伊朗 - 反犹太主义丑闻于 1986 年 11 月曝光。里根政府期间，高级官员秘密协助向伊朗出售武器，当时伊朗是武器禁运的对象。然后，行政当局利用销售资金为尼加拉瓜的反桑地诺对比提供资金。

虽然里根总统是反政府武装的支持者，但是他是否授权将伊朗的军售所筹集的资金转移给反政府武装的证据尚不明确。调查里根在事件中的角色，塔委员会没有发现总统参与的证据。不过，他们认为里根疏于监督和管理他的工作人员，并起诉了 14 名行政官员，其中 11 人被定罪。

里根总统向公众发表讲话，承担全面的危机责任，并保持对事件的无知。在 1986 年 11 月，“伊朗 - 对抗丑闻”将里根的支持率从 67% 降至 46%，这是历史上任何总统的最大单笔下降，尽管这一评级在任期结束时已经攀升至 64%，创下了有史以来最高的评级为离任的总统。

尽管里根在丑闻中幸存下来并完成了第二任期，但公众已经意识到他们政府在第三世界打击共产主义的努力程度，并开始质疑美国参与代理权战争的情况。

戈尔巴乔夫

苏联庞大的军费，集体化农业和低效率的计划生产，对苏联经济来说是沉重的负担。到 1985 年米哈伊尔·戈尔巴乔夫上台时，苏联的经济增长率接近零。与此同时，沙特阿拉伯增加石油产量，导致 1985 年的石油价格下降到原来的三分之一。石油出口占苏联出口总额的 60% 左右。苏联正处于经济崩溃的边缘。

为了在灾难发生前重组苏联经济，戈尔巴乔夫宣布了一个以他所谓的改革（开放）和开

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(restructuring) and **glasnost** (liberalization, openness). Gorbachev needed money to implement these changes. In order to redirect the country's resources from costly Cold War military commitments, he offered major concessions to the United States on the levels of conventional forces, nuclear weapons, and policy in Eastern Europe.

Many of Reagan's advisors doubted that Gorbachev was serious about winding down the arms race. Reagan, however, recognized the real change in the direction of the Soviet leadership and shifted to diplomacy in order to give Gorbachev an opportunity to further with his reforms. Reagan sincerely believed that if he could persuade the Soviets to examine the prosperous American economy, they too would embrace free market capitalism.



放（开放）为基础的快速改革议程。戈尔巴乔夫需要钱来实施这些改变。为了将国家的资源从昂贵的冷战时期的军事承诺中转移出去，他在常规力量，核武器和东欧政策方面向美国提供了重大让步。

里根的许多顾问都怀疑戈尔巴乔夫是否认真解决了军备竞赛问题。然而，里根认识到苏联领导方向的真正转变，并转向外交，以便给戈尔巴乔夫进一步改革的机会。里根真诚地相信，如果说苏联人考察美国经济的繁荣，他们也会拥抱自由市场资本主义。

Primary Source: Photograph

President Reagan and Gorbachev in Geneva, Switzerland. The two leaders had a good personal relationship.

主要来源：照片

里根总统和戈尔巴乔夫在瑞士日内瓦。这两位领导人有着良好的私人关系。

In all, Reagan and Gorbachev met face-to-face five times. Gorbachev visited New York and Reagan toured Moscow. Most famously, **they met in Reykjavik**, Iceland in 1985 to discuss a nuclear missile treaty. During the summit, they had a chance to sit down together and, finding that they both wished to see a world free from nuclear weapons, promised that they would eliminate their entire nuclear arsenals. Quickly, however, aids to both leaders pointed out that such a move would be politically impossible, and they settled for a much less extensive agreement. Despite the tremendous differences between their two nations, Reagan and Gorbachev got along well personally and their working relationship is still seen as a model of how diplomacy and mutual respect can advance peace in the world.

Reagan's approach to the Soviet Union was not entirely friendly during his second term however. Reagan was determined that the United States

总的来说，里根和戈尔巴乔夫面对面见了五次。戈尔巴乔夫访问纽约，里根访问莫斯科。最著名的是，他们于1985年在冰岛雷克雅未克会面，讨论了一个核导弹条约。在峰会期间，他们有机会一起坐下来，发现他们都希望看到一个没有核武器的世界，承诺会消除整个核武库。然而，很快，两位领导人的援助就指出，这样的举动在政治上是不可可能的，他们达成的协议要少得多。尽管两国之间存在巨大分歧，但里根和戈尔巴乔夫亲自相处融洽，他们的工作关系仍被看作是外交和相互尊重如何促进世界和平的典范。

然而，里根对苏联的态度在第二任期并不完全友好。里根认定美国将继续是自由世界的

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would remain the leader of the free world, and as such, he believed that it was his responsibility to continue to speak out against the evils of the communist system. Against the advice of his aids, Reagan decided to visit Berlin and to speak in front of the Berlin Wall. Much like Kennedy years before, Reagan forcefully reaffirmed America's commitment to maintaining West Berlin's freedom and personally challenged Gorbachev to allow Easterners to travel to the West. In what has become one of the most well remembered lines from the Cold War, at the conclusion of his speech he said, "There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace. General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization, come here to this gate. Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate. **Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!**"



领导者，因此他认为有责任继续反对共产主义制度的弊端。根据他的帮助，里根决定访问柏林，在柏林墙前讲话。就像多年前肯尼迪一样，里根强烈重申了美国维护西柏林自由的承诺，并亲自挑战戈尔巴乔夫允许东方人前往西方。这是冷战时期最好记住的一句话，他在发言结束时说：“苏维埃能够做出的一个标志是明白无误的，它将大大推进自由与和平的事业。戈尔巴乔夫总书记，如果你们寻求和平，如果你们为苏东东欧谋求繁荣，如果你们想自由化，就到这里来。戈尔巴乔夫先生，打开这扇门。戈尔巴乔夫先生，推倒这堵墙！”

Primary Source: Photograph

President Reagan delivering his Tear Down this Wall Speech in front of the Berlin Wall. A bullet proof glass wall was erected behind the podium so that the Brandenburg Gate would be clearly visible behind him.

主要来源：照片

里根总统在柏林墙前撕下这堵墙。在讲台后面竖立了一个防弹玻璃墙，使勃兰登堡门在他身后清晰可见。

SOLIDARITY

Despite all the posturing, the tremendous arms race, and all the lives lost in the proxy wars of the Third World, communism and the Cold War ultimately came to an end peacefully. In fact, communism ended because the people of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union rose up against it.

The first clear sign that the people of the communist world were tired of living with their failed system was the **Solidarity** movement in Poland. Begun by shipbuilders in 1980, Solidarity was a labor union. Typically in communist nations the government thought of all workers as part of one great union which, of course, the government controlled. For workers this meant that being part of the people's union was worthless. Solidarity was a challenge to the status quo.

团结

尽管在第三世界的代理人战争中，所有的姿态，巨大的军备竞赛和所有的生命，共产主义和冷战最终达到了和平的终点。实际上，共产主义是因为东欧和苏联的人民起而反抗的。

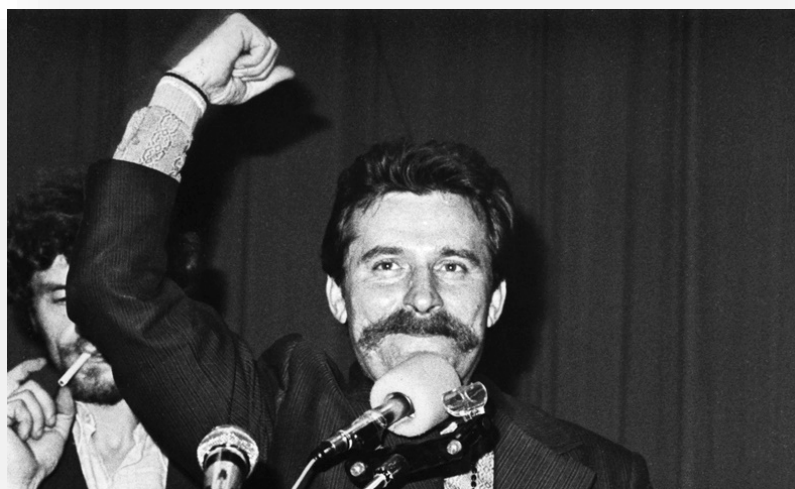
波兰的团结运动是共产主义世界人民厌倦了他们的失败体系的第一个明显迹象。团结工会于 1980 年开始成立工会。通常在共产主义国家，政府认为所有工人都是一个伟大的工会的一部分，当然这是政府控制的。对于工人来说，这意味着成为人民工会的一部分是毫无价值的。团结一致是对现状的挑战。

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Led by **Lech Walesa**, the shipbuilders went on strike. Although Poland's government fought back against Solidarity with violence on numerous occasions, in the end it agreed to allow the workers to form their own union. By 1982, one third of all the workers in Poland had joined Solidarity and the government was forced to recognize the first non-government labor union in the communist world.

Walesa was hailed as a hero by the suffering people of Poland and by the West. In 1983 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his non-violent movement.



Walesa could not have achieved all he did without moral and financial support. One particularly influential voice of support was **Pope John Paul II**. John Paul II was the first non-Italian pope in hundreds of years. In fact, he was from Poland. Like Archbishop Oscar Romero, the pope believed that religious leaders had an obligation to stand up for suffering people. As leader of the Catholic Church, John Paul II was a reformer. He gave churches permission to hold services in the languages of the people instead of Latin, which even few priests understood.

由莱赫·瓦文萨 (Lech Walesa) 领导，造船商进行罢工。虽然波兰政府多次反抗暴力，但最终同意允许工人组建自己的工会。到 1982 年，波兰全体工人中有三分之一加入团结，政府被迫承认共产主义世界上第一个非政府工会。

瓦文萨被波兰和西方的苦难人士誉为英雄。1983 年因非暴力运动获诺贝尔和平奖。

Primary Source: Photograph

Lech Walesa, leader of the Solidarity movement and first president of Poland after the fall of communism.

主要来源：照片

共产主义运动的领导人，波兰的第一任总统瓦文萨 (Lech Walesa)。

在没有道义和财政支持的情况下，瓦文萨无法实现他所做的一切。一位特别有影响力的支持者是教皇约翰·保罗二世。约翰·保罗二世是数百年来第一位非意大利的教皇。事实上，他来自波兰。教皇和奥斯卡罗梅罗大主教一样，教宗认为宗教领袖有义务为受难者站稳脚跟。作为天主教会的领袖，约翰保罗二世是一个改革者。他让教会允许以人民的语言而不是拉丁文来服务，甚至很少有牧师也能理解。

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Primary Source: Photograph

First Lady Nancy Reagan and President Reagan meet with Pope John Paul II.

主要来源：照片

第一夫人南希·里根和里根总统会见了教宗若望保禄二世。

John Paul II also took a special interest in the people of the communist world and spoke out regularly in favor of freedom and democracy. His voice in the struggle against communism was heard around the world and he inspired many people, especially American Catholics, to donate money to support Solidarity. Because he was a religious leader and not the president of a country, the pope was able to present himself as an impartial voice of reason.

TIENNEMEN SQUARE

The changing climate in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe inspired people in communist, mainland China to stand up for civil rights in their own country. In 1989, students across the nation began public demonstrations calling for freedom of speech, assembly and the press. The protests culminated in Tiananmen Square in the heart of Beijing in June, 1989. Known in China as the June Fourth Incident, the protests were forcibly suppressed after the government declared martial law. In what became known in the West as the **Tiananmen Square Massacre**, troops with automatic rifles and tanks killed at least several hundred, and perhaps several thousand demonstrators trying to block the military's advance towards Tiananmen Square.

As the protests developed in April, communist government leaders veered back and forth between conciliatory and hardline tactics, exposing deep divisions within the party leadership. Some advocated for more change and wanted to negotiate with the student leaders. Others saw the protests as a dangerous first step toward civil war and believed the protests should be ended with force.

约翰·保罗二世还特别关心共产主义世界的人民，并经常发表赞成自由民主的言论。他在反对共产主义的斗争中的声音在全世界听到，他激励了许多人，尤其是美国天主教徒，捐款支持团结。因为他是宗教领袖，而不是一个国家的总统，所以教皇能够表现出自己是一个公正的理性之声。

TIENNEMEN SQUARE

苏联和东欧气候的变化，激发了共产主义大陆的人民在本国站起来维护民权。1989年，全国学生开始公开示威，呼吁言论，集会和新闻自由。1989年6月，抗议活动在北京市中心的天安门广场达到顶峰，在中国被称为“六四”事件后，政府宣布戒严后，抗议活动被强制镇压。在西方被称为天安门广场大屠杀的事件中，有自动步枪和坦克的部队至少杀死了几百人，可能还有几千名示威者试图阻止军方前往天安门广场。

随着4月份抗议活动的展开，共产党政府领导人在调解和强硬手段之间来回转移，暴露出党内领导层深刻分歧。一些人提倡更多的改变，并希望与学生领袖进行谈判。其他人则将抗议看作是走向内战的危险的第一步，相信抗议活动应以武力结束。

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By May, a student-led hunger strike galvanized support for the demonstrators around the country and the protests spread to some 400 cities. Ultimately, China's paramount leader Deng Xiaoping resolved to use force. Communist Party authorities declared martial law on May 20, and mobilized as many as 300,000 troops to Beijing.

There, millions of young students and their supporters had concentrated in Tiananmen Square where they had erected a 33 foot tall statue entitled Goddess of Democracy. The statue was constructed in only four days out of foam, papier-mâché and metal and was strikingly similar to the Statue of Liberty. The constructors decided to make the statue as large as possible to try to dissuade the government from destroying it.

On June 3, the leadership had enough and the army marched through the streets toward the square. Met by students who had barricaded the roads with burning busses, the troops opened fire, killing hundreds or protesters. By June 5, the massacre was over. Tiananmen Square was empty. The Goddess of Democracy had been toppled and ground to dust by tanks.



The Chinese government was condemned internationally for the use of force against the protestors. The entire affair had been broadcast live on television and immortalized by photographer Jeff Widener who snapped an unforgettable picture of a lone man standing in the middle of Chang'an Avenue facing down an oncoming column of tanks. Western countries imposed economic sanctions and arms embargoes.

For its part, the communist government made widespread arrests of protesters and their supporters, suppressed other protests around China, expelled foreign journalists, strictly controlled coverage of the events in

到 5 月份, 学生领导的绝食活动为全国各地的示威者提供了支持, 抗议活动蔓延到大约 400 个城市。最终, 中国最重要的领导人邓小平决定动用武力。5 月 20 日, 中共当局宣布戒严, 并向北京动员多达 30 万人。

在那里, 数百万青年学生和他们的支持者集中在天安门广场, 竖起了一座 33 英尺高的“民主女神像”。这座雕像只用了四天的时间, 用泡沫, 纸质和金属制成, 与自由女神像非常相似。施工人员决定尽可能使雕像尽量阻止政府摧毁它。

6 月 3 日, 领导已经够了, 军队通过街道走向广场。遇到烧毁公共汽车的路障的学生, 部队开火, 造成数百人或抗议者死亡。6 月 5 日, 屠杀已经结束。天安门广场是空的。民主之神已经被坦克倒塌并粉碎成灰尘。

Primary Source: Photograph

The infamous “Tank Man” photograph from the Tiananmen Square Massacre.

主要来源: 照片

天安门广场大屠杀中的臭名昭著的“坦克人”照片。

中国政府因为对抗议者使用武力而受到国际谴责。整个事件已经在电视上直播, 并由摄影师杰夫·威德纳永生, 谁拍摄了一个孤立的男子站在长安大道中间的一个令人难忘的图片面临向下的坦克列。西方国家实行经济制裁和武器禁运。

共产党政府方面对示威者及其支持者进行了广泛的逮捕, 镇压了中国其他抗议活动, 驱逐了外国记者, 严格控制了国内报刊上的报



the domestic press, strengthened the police and internal security forces, and demoted or purged officials it deemed sympathetic to the protests.

The protests also led the government to set limits on political expression in China that have endured well into the 21st Century. Discussion of the Tiananmen Square protests is forbidden and textbooks have little, if any, information about the events. After the protests, officials banned controversial films and books, and shut down many newspapers. The government also announced it had seized 32 million contraband books and 2.4 million video and audio cassettes. Internet searches of “June 4” or “Tiananmen Square” made within China return censored results. Specific web pages with select keywords are censored, while other websites such as those of overseas Chinese democracy movements are blocked entirely. The censorship, however, has been inconsistent. Many sites have been blocked, unblocked, and re-blocked over the years, including YouTube, Wikipedia, and Flickr. The policy is much more stringent with Chinese-language sites than foreign-language ones. Social media censorship is more stringent during anniversaries. Even oblique references to the protests are usually deleted by government censors within hours. While the Chinese government allows a certain measure of freedom of speech and criticism of the government online, freedom of assembly is strictly controlled. Since 1989, there have been no major public demonstrations.

The massacre has not been forgotten outside of China. Since its destruction, numerous replicas and memorials of the Goddess of Democracy have been erected around the world, including in Hong Kong and Washington, D.C.

THE SINATRA DOCTRINE

Although political change did not come to China, massive political change was underway in the Moscow, and especially in the Soviet Union’s policy toward Eastern Europe.

The **Sinatra Doctrine** was a major break with the earlier **Brezhnev Doctrine**, under which the internal affairs of satellite states were tightly controlled by Moscow. The Brezhnev Doctrine had been used to justify the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, as well as the invasion of the non-Warsaw Pact nation of Afghanistan in 1979. By the late 1980s, structural flaws within the Soviet system, growing economic problems, the rise of anti-communist sentiment and the effects of the Soviet-Afghan War made it increasingly impractical for the Soviet Union to impose its will on its neighbors.

道，加强了警察和内部安全力量，它认为同情抗议。

这些抗议活动也使得政府在中国的政治表现设置了极限，进入 21 世纪。禁止讨论天安门广场的抗议活动，教科书中关于事件的信息甚少。抗议之后，官员禁止了有争议的电影和书籍，并关闭了许多报纸。政府还宣布，已经查获了三千二百万本违禁书和二百四十万只录像带。中国境内的“六四”或“天安门广场”的网络搜索还没有完成。具有选择关键字的特定网页被审查，而诸如华侨民主运动等其他网站被完全阻止。然而，审查制度并不一致。多年来，许多网站都被封锁，解封，重新封锁，包括 YouTube，维基百科和 Flickr。中文网站的政策比外语网站严格得多。周年纪念期间，社交媒体审查更为严格。即使是对抗议的倾斜通常也会在几个小时内被政府审查员删除。中国政府允许一定程度的言论自由和对政府的网上批评，但是集会自由受到严格控制。自 1989 年以来，没有发生过大规模的公开示威活动。

大屠杀在中国以外并没有被人遗忘。自毁灭以来，世界各地，包括香港和华盛顿特区，都建立了许多复制品和民主女神的纪念碑。

SINATRA DOCTRINE

虽然政治上的变化没有来到中国，但莫斯科正在进行大规模的政治变革，特别是苏联对东欧的政策。

西纳特拉主义与早期的勃列日涅夫主义是一个重大的分歧，根据这个主义，卫星国家的内部事务受到莫斯科的严格控制。勃列日涅夫主义被用来为 1956 年的匈牙利革命和华沙条约组织于 1968 年入侵捷克斯洛伐克以及 1979 年入侵非华沙条约国阿富汗提供理由。到 20 世纪 80 年代后期，结构性缺陷在苏联体制内，日益增长的经济问题，反共情绪的抬头和苏阿战争的影响，使苏联把自己的意志强加给邻国越来越不切实际。

6 WHY DID THE COLD WAR END?



In Poland, Solidarity had flourished because of good leadership, international support, and most importantly, because the government of the Soviet Union had decided not to intervene in Poland's internal affairs.

In 1989, Gorbachev's Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze announced that the Soviet Union recognized the freedom of choice of all countries, specifically including the Warsaw Pact nations of Eastern Europe. When pressed about his boss's surprising declaration, Shevardnadze's spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov told an interviewer that, "We now have the Frank Sinatra doctrine. He has a song, 'I Did It My Way'. So every country decides on its own which road to take." When asked if this meant that Moscow would accept the rejection of communist parties in the Soviet Bloc. He replied, "That's for sure... political structures must be decided by the people who live there."

This was an incredible change in global politics. Since 1945, the Soviet Union had maintained total domination over its satellite states. Now, Gorbachev was ready to let them walk away from communism altogether.

In fact, the Eastern Europeans had already acquired greater freedom. A month before Gerasimov's statement, Poland had elected its first non-communist government. The government of Hungary had opened its border with Austria, dismantling the Iron Curtain on its own border. As Hungary was one of the few countries that East Germans could visit, thousands travelled there to flee across the newly opened border into the West. To the great annoyance of the East German government, the Hungarians refused to stop the exodus.

These developments greatly disturbed hardline communists such as the East German leader **Erich Honecker**, who condemned the end of the traditional unity of the Soviet Bloc and appealed to Moscow to rein in the Hungarians. Honecker faced a growing crisis at home, with massive anti-government demonstrations in Leipzig and other East German cities.

Initially, protesters were mostly people wanting to escape to the West, chanting "Wir wollen raus!" (We want out!). Then protestors began to chant "Wir bleiben hier!" (We are staying here!) demanding a change of government. The protest demonstrations grew considerably and neared its height on November 4, 1989, when half a million people gathered to demand political change at the **Alexanderplatz**, East Berlin's large public square and transportation hub.

THE BERLIN WALL

在波兰，由于有良好的领导和国际支持，苏联政府决定不干涉波兰的内政，所以波兰团结一直蓬勃发展。

1989 年，戈尔巴乔夫外长谢瓦尔德纳泽宣布苏联承认所有国家的选择自由，特别是包括东欧华沙条约组织。谢瓦尔德纳泽的发言人根纳季·格拉西莫夫 (Gennadi Gerasimov) 当被问到上司令人惊讶的声明时，对一位采访者说：“我们现在有弗兰克·辛纳屈主义。他有一首歌‘我做了我的路’。所以每个国家自己决定走哪条路。”当问到这是否意味着莫斯科会接受苏联集团拒绝共产党的时候。他回答说：“这是肯定的……政治结构必须由住在那里的人决定。”

这是全球政治中令人难以置信的变化。自 1945 年以来，苏联一直统治着其卫星国家。现在，戈尔巴乔夫准备让他们完全摆脱共产主义。

事实上，东欧人已经获得了更大的自由。在格拉西莫夫的发言前一个月，波兰选出了第一个非共产主义政府。匈牙利政府与奥地利打开了边界，拆除了自己边界的铁幕。由于匈牙利是东德能够访问的为数不多的几个国家之一，因此成千上万的人在那里穿越新开的边境进入西方。对于东德政府的极度烦恼，匈牙利人拒绝停止流亡。

这些事态发展，极大地干扰了强硬的共产主义者，如东德领袖埃里克·胡内克 (Erich Honecker)，他谴责苏维埃集团传统团结的结束，并呼吁莫斯科控制匈牙利人。Honecker 在国内面临越来越大的危机，在莱比锡和其他东德城市举行了大规模的反政府示威活动。

最初，抗议者大多是想逃避西方的人，高喊“Wollen raus!”。(我们想出去!)。然后抗议者开始吟唱“Wir bleiben hier!”(我们住在这里!)要求改变政府。1989 年 11 月 4 日，抗议示威活动大幅增加，接近高峰，当时有五十万人聚集在东柏林广场和交通枢纽亚历山大广场，要求政治变革。

柏林墙

6 WHY DID THE COLD WAR END?



In the middle of the chaos of the fall of 1989, Honecker, resigned. He had predicted that the Berlin Wall would stand for 50 or 100 more years if the conditions that had caused its construction did not change, but conditions were rapidly changing.

To reduce the social unrest, the new East German government decided to allow refugees to exit directly through crossing points between East Germany and West Germany, including between East and West Berlin.

Günter Schabowski, the communist party leader in East Berlin and the spokesperson for government, had the task of announcing the new regulations. However, he had not been involved in the discussions about the new regulations and had not been fully updated. Shortly before a press conference on November 9, he was handed a note announcing the changes, but given no further instructions on how to handle the information. These regulations had only been completed a few hours earlier and were to take effect the following day, so as to allow time to inform the border guards. But this starting time was not communicated to Schabowski.

At the end of the press conference, Schabowski read out loud the note he had been given. One of the reporters, asked when the regulations would take effect. After a few seconds' hesitation, Schabowski assumed it would be the same day based on the wording of the note and replied, "As far as I know, it takes effect immediately, without delay."

Excerpts from Schabowski's press conference were the lead story on West Germany's two main news programs that night. This, of course, meant that the news was broadcast to nearly all of East Germany as well. News anchorman Hanns Joachim Friedrichs proclaimed, "This 9 November is a historic day. The GDR (East Germany) has announced that, starting immediately, its borders are open to everyone. The gates in the Wall stand open wide."

East Germans began gathering at the six checkpoints between East and West Berlin, demanding that border guards immediately open the gates. The surprised and overwhelmed guards began making hectic telephone calls to their superiors to find out what to do.

It soon became clear that no one among the East German government would take personal responsibility for issuing orders to use force against the protesters. The vastly outnumbered soldiers had no way to hold back the huge crowd of East German citizens. Finally, at 10:45 at night, Harald Jäger, the commander of the Bornholmer Straße border crossing yielded, ordering the guards to open the checkpoints and allow people through to West Berlin. As the Easterners swarmed through, they were greeted by Westerners waiting with flowers and champagne amid wild rejoicing. Soon afterward, a crowd of West Berliners jumped on top of the Wall, and

在1989年秋天的混乱中，Honecker辞职了。他曾经预言，如果造成它的建设条件没有改变，那么柏林墙将会维持50年或100年以上，但条件正在迅速改变。

为了减少社会动荡，新东德政府决定允许难民直接通过东德与西德之间的过境点，包括东西柏林之间的出入口出口。

东柏林共产党领导人 Günter Schabowski 和政府发言人宣布了新的规定。但是，他并没有参与有关新规的讨论，也没有完全更新。就在11月9日新闻发布会前不久，他递交了一张便条，宣布了这些变化，但没有进一步指示如何处理这些信息。这些规定只是在几个小时之前才完成的，并将在次日生效，以便有时间通知边防人员。但是这个开始时间并没有传达给沙博夫斯基。

新闻发布会结束时，沙博夫斯基大声朗读了他所发的纸条。其中一名记者问，这个规定何时生效。在几秒钟犹豫后，沙博夫斯基认为这将是同一天根据说明的措辞，并回答说：“据我所知，立即生效，立即生效。”

Schabowski 新闻发布会的摘录是当晚西德两个主要新闻节目的主要故事。这当然意味着这个消息也传播到了东德的几乎所有地方。新闻主播汉斯·约阿希姆·弗里德里希宣称：“今年11月9日是历史性的一天。德意志民主共和国（东德）宣布，立即开始，其边界向所有人开放。墙上的门开着。”

东德人开始在东西柏林的六个检查站集合，要求边防部队立即打开大门。令人惊讶和不知所措的警卫开始向上级打电话，以便找到要做的事情。

很快就清楚，东德政府中没有人会对发布对抗议者使用武力的命令承担个人责任。大批寡不敌众的士兵无法阻挡东德公民的庞大人群。最后，晚上10点45分，Bornholmer Straße 过境点的指挥 Harald Jäger 命令守卫打开检查站，让人们通过西柏林。当东方人涌进来时，西方人在鲜花和香槟中狂欢，等待着迎接。不久之后，一群西柏林人跳上了长城，不久之后东德人

6 WHY DID THE COLD WAR END?



were soon joined by East Germans. They danced together to celebrate their new freedom.



也加入了战斗。他们一起跳舞庆祝新的自由。

Primary Source: Photograph

Berliners climbed onto the Berlin Wall

主要来源：照片

柏林人爬上柏林墙

Television coverage of citizens **demolishing sections of the Wall** that night was soon followed by the East German regime announcing ten new border crossings, including the historically significant locations of Potsdamer Platz, Glienicker Brücke, and Bernauer Straße. Crowds gathered on both sides of the historic crossings, waiting for hours to cheer the bulldozers that tore down portions of the Wall to reconnect roads that had been divided for years, and images of everyday Berliners destroying the wall were broadcast around the world. The end of the Iron Curtain had come without bloodshed. It was an emotional moment for freedom-loving people everywhere.

东德政权紧接着宣布十个新的过境点，包括波茨坦广场，Glienicker Brücke 和 Bernauer Straße 历史上重要的地点，电视报道当天晚上拆除隔离墙的公民。人群聚集在历史悠久的十字路口的两边，等待数小时的时间，为推翻拆除部分长城的推土机而欢呼，重新连接已经分裂多年的道路，柏林人每天摧毁城墙的图像在全世界播出。铁幕的尽头没有流血。对于爱好自由的人来说，这是一个激动人心的时刻。

On Christmas Day, 1989, American conductor Leonard Bernstein led a symphony of East and West German, British, French, American and Soviet musicians in concert in Berlin. He concluded the performance with the great German composer Beethoven's 9th Symphony and in the final movement, Ode to Joy, he asked the chorus to sing *Freiheit* (freedom) instead of *Freude* (joy).

1989 年圣诞节当天，美国指挥家伦纳德·伯恩斯坦 (Leonard Bernstein) 在柏林演奏了东西德、英国、法国、美国和苏联音乐家的交响乐。他以伟大的德国作曲家贝多芬的第九交响曲结束了演出，在最后的乐章颂歌中，他要求合唱团唱 *Freiheit* (自由) 而不是 *Freude* (欢乐)。

In June 1990, the East German military officially began dismantling the Wall. Virtually every road that was severed by the Berlin Wall was reconstructed and reopened by the end of the summer. Today, little is left of the Wall, a scar that has been erased by the Berliners who hated it.

1990 年 6 月，东德军方正式开始拆除隔离墙。几乎每一条被柏林墙隔断的道路都在夏季结束时重建并重新开放。今天，隔壁墙上

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The fall of the Wall marked the first critical step towards German reunification, which formally concluded a mere 339 days later on October 3, 1990 with the dissolution of East Germany and the official **reunification of Germany**.



留下的一道疤痕，被那个讨厌的柏林人所抹去。

长城的倒塌标志着德国统一的第一个关键一步，1990年10月3日，随着东德的解体和德国的正式统一，正式结束了339天。

Primary Source: Photograph

Berliners brought hammers to chip away at the wall.

主要来源：照片

柏林人把铁锤砸在墙上。

FALL OF THE SOVIET UNION

Unlike in China, Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika in the Soviet Union were specifically designed to permit more freedom by allowing a free press and the election of members of the government. Gorbachev had wanted to extend political freedom in order to preserve the communist economic system, but in the end his reforms set in motion events that would break up the nation itself.

Radical reformists were increasingly convinced that Gorbachev should abandon communism and transition to a market economy even if the eventual outcome meant the disintegration of the Soviet Union into several independent states. Boris Yeltsin, the newly elected leader of Russia, the largest and most powerful of the Soviet Union's republics, was also openly critical of the slow pace of Gorbachev's reforms.

But not everyone welcomed change. On August 19, 1991, Gorbachev's vice president, prime minister, defense minister and the head of the KGB put Gorbachev under house arrest and formed a "General Committee on the State Emergency." The **coup** organizers expected some popular support but found that public sympathy in large cities and in the republics was largely against them, manifested by public demonstrations, especially in Moscow.

苏联解体

与中国不同的是，戈尔巴乔夫在苏联的改革和改革政策是专门设计的，允许自由的新闻和政府成员的选举，从而获得更多的自由。戈尔巴乔夫本来想扩大政治自由，以维护共产主义的经济制度，但是最后他的改革开始动摇了这个国家。

激进的改良主义者越来越相信，戈尔巴乔夫应该放弃共产主义，转向市场经济，即使最终的结果意味着苏联解体到几个独立的国家。俄罗斯新当选的领导人鲍里斯·叶利钦也是公开批评戈尔巴乔夫改革进展缓慢的俄罗斯最大和最强大的共和国领导人。

但不是每个人都欢迎改变。1991年8月19日，戈尔巴乔夫的副总统，总理，国防部长和克格勃团长把戈尔巴乔夫软禁起来，成立了“国家紧急事务总务委员会”，政变组织者希望得到一些民众的支持，但是却发现公众的同情在大城市和共和国大体上反对他们，表现为公众示威，特别是在莫斯科。

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Russian President Yeltsin condemned the coup. Thousands of Muscovites came out to defend the White House, the Russian parliament building and Yeltsin's office, the symbolic seat of Russian sovereignty at the time. The organizers tried but ultimately failed to arrest **Yeltsin**, who rallied opposition to the coup with a speech atop a tank. The special forces dispatched by the coup leaders refused to storm the barricaded building. The coup leaders also neglected to jam foreign news broadcasts, so many Russians watched everything unfold live on CNN. Even Gorbachev was able to stay abreast of developments by tuning into the BBC World Service on a small transistor radio.



俄罗斯总统叶利钦谴责这一政变。成千上万的莫斯科人出来捍卫白宫，俄罗斯议会大楼和当时的俄罗斯主权的象征性席位叶利钦办公室。组织者试图但最终未能逮捕叶利钦，他在坦克上面发表演讲，反对政变。政变领导人派出的特种部队拒绝暴风雨袭击这座建筑。政变领导人也忽视了外国的新闻广播，所以很多俄罗斯人都在 CNN 上观看现场直播。即使是戈尔巴乔夫也能够通过在小型晶体管收音机上调整 BBC 世界服务来跟上发展的步伐。

Primary Source: Photograph

Boris Yeltsin (left side holding papers) address a crowd from on top of a tank outside of the Russian parliament building during the coup.

主要来源：照片

俄罗斯议会大楼外的一辆坦克上的一群人 Boris Yeltsin (左边抱着文件) 向政变发表讲话。

After three days, on August 21, 1991, the coup collapsed. The organizers were detained and Gorbachev returned as president, albeit with his influence much depleted. Three days later, Gorbachev dissolved the Central Committee of the Communist Party, resigned as the party's general secretary, and dissolved all party units in the government, effectively ending communist rule in the Soviet Union and dissolving the only remaining unifying force in the country.

The Soviet Union collapsed with dramatic speed in the last quarter of 1991. By the end of September, Gorbachev no longer had the authority to influence events outside of Moscow. He was challenged even there by Yeltsin, who had begun taking over what remained of the Soviet government, including the Kremlin. Between August and December, ten republics declared their independence.

In a nationally televised speech early in the morning of December 25, 1991, Gorbachev resigned as president of the Soviet Union. He declared

三天后，1991年8月21日，政变垮台。组织者被拘留，戈尔巴乔夫回归总统，虽然他的影响力已经很大。三天后，戈尔巴乔夫解散了中共中央，辞去了党的总书记，解散了所有的党政单位，有效地结束了苏联的共产党统治，解散了现在唯一的统一部队。

苏联在 1991 年的最后一个季度以惊人的速度崩溃。到 9 月底，戈尔巴乔夫不再有权去影响莫斯科以外的事件。叶利钦甚至在那里受到了挑战，叶利钦已经开始接管包括克里姆林宫在内的苏维埃政权。8 月至 12 月，共有 10 个共和国宣布独立。

戈尔巴乔夫在 1991 年 12 月 25 日清晨的全国电视讲话中辞去了苏联总统的职务。他宣布



the office extinct, and all of its powers, including control of the nuclear arsenal, were ceded to Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

That night, after his resignation address, Gorbachev left the Kremlin, the Soviet flag was lowered for the last time and the Russian tricolor was raised in its place, symbolically marking the end of the Soviet Union. On that same day, the President of the United States George H.W. Bush held a brief televised speech officially recognizing the independence of the 11 former Soviet republics. The following day Yeltsin moved into Gorbachev's former office.

Following the **collapse of the Soviet Union**, Russia radically transformed from a centrally planned economy to a globally integrated market economy. Corrupt and haphazard privatization processes turned major state-owned firms over to politically connected oligarchs, which left control of Russia's wealth concentrated among a few enormously rich individuals. The result was disastrous, the economy fell more than 40% by 1999, hyperinflation ensued which wiped out personal savings, and crime spread rapidly. Difficulties in collecting taxes amid the collapsing economy and a dependence on short-term borrowing to finance budget deficits led to the 1998 Russian financial crisis. Many Russians began longing for the order and predictability of the old days.

Today, Russia has a free market economy but control of the nation's wealth continues to be in the hands of a few of the world's most wealthy men. The Russian government, like many of the governments of the former soviet republics, looks far more like the dictatorships of the Cold War era than the democracies of the West.

CUBA, VIETNAM AND NORTH KOREA

After the Cold War ended, communism did indeed end up on the "ash heap of history." As an economic system it had failed.

Vietnam's leaders followed the example of China. They opened up the economy, creating a vibrant free-market system, while maintaining strict political control. The United States and Vietnam maintain a positive relationship today.

Cuba's leadership, under the aging Fidel Castro and now his brother Raul, tried to hold on to communism. However, during the Cold War their economy had been supported financially by the Soviet Union. After 1991, they were set adrift and the Cuban economy collapsed. Faced with ever deepening poverty, the Cuban government has begun to allow limited private enterprise. The Castros, however, do not seem to be interested in relinquishing political power any time soon.

Only North Korea remains a Cold War-like opponent of the United States. Now ruled by the third generation of the Kim Family, the North has

办事处已经灭绝，包括控制核武库在内的所有权力都被割让给了俄罗斯总统叶利钦。

那天晚上，在戈尔巴乔夫辞职后，离开了克里姆林宫，苏联国旗最后一次降下，俄罗斯三色升起，象征性地标志着苏联的终结。在同一天，美国总统乔治·布什举行了短暂的电视讲话，正式承认了前苏联 11 个共和国的独立。第二天，叶利钦搬到了戈尔巴乔夫的前任。

苏联解体后，俄罗斯从中央计划经济彻底转变为全球一体化的市场经济。腐败的和随意的私有化进程把主要的国有企业变成了政治上相互联系的寡头，这使俄罗斯财富的控制权集中在几个极其富裕的个人身上。结果是灾难性的，到 1999 年经济下降了 40% 以上，恶性通货膨胀随之消除了个人储蓄，犯罪迅速蔓延。在经济崩溃的情况下征税困难，以及依靠短期借款来弥补预算赤字导致了 1998 年的俄罗斯金融危机。许多俄罗斯人开始渴望旧时代的秩序和可预测性。

今天，俄罗斯有一个自由的市场经济，但控制国家的财富仍然掌握在世界一些最富有的人手中。俄罗斯政府像许多前苏联共和国的政府一样，看起来更像是冷战时期的专政，而不是西方的民主国家。

古巴、越南和朝鲜

冷战结束后，共产主义确实走到了“历史的灰堆”上，作为一个经济体系，失败了。

越南领导人效仿中国的榜样。他们开放经济，创造一个充满活力的自由市场体系，同时保持严格的政治控制。美国和越南今天保持着积极的关系。

在菲德尔·卡斯特罗 (Fidel Castro) 和他的兄弟劳尔 (Raul) 的领导下，古巴的领导层试图坚持共产主义。然而，在冷战时期，苏联的经济得到了财政支持。1991 年之后，它们被搁置，古巴经济崩溃。面对日益加深的贫困，古巴政府开始允许有限的私营企业。不过，卡斯特罗似乎并不想立即放弃政权。

只有朝鲜才是美国的冷战时期的对手。现在由第三代金氏家族统治，北方已经发展出核

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developed nuclear weapons as a deterrent to attack. Its only patron, China, is increasingly fed up with the problems its small neighbor creates. The economy, still based on communism, is in disarray. Without imports of rice, there would be mass starvation. Today, North Korea is one of the world's poorest nations, while on the other side of the DMZ, South Korea is one of the most vibrant. Truly, the two Koreas are proof that Reagan was right: democracy and a free market system are the paths to prosperity.

LEGACY

Although the Cold War ended more than 20 years ago, its legacy continues to be tremendously important.

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the post-Cold War world became unipolar instead of bipolar, with the United States the sole remaining superpower. The Cold War defined the political role of the United States as the leader of the Free World and institutionalized a global commitment to large-scale deployment of American servicemen, as well as a permanent, peacetime military industrial complex. Without the bipolar dynamic, the United States had to find a new role for itself in the world.

During the Cold War, both the United States and the Soviet Union used large portions of their nations' wealth to fund military buildups and wars. In addition to the loss of life by uniformed soldiers, millions died in the superpowers' proxy wars around the globe. Although most of the proxy wars ended along with the Cold War, the fall of the Iron Curtain and the Soviet Union did not bring peace to the world.

The breakdown of the governments in a number former communist nations resulted in new civil and ethnic conflicts, particularly in the former Yugoslavia. In Eastern Europe, the end of the Cold War has ushered in an era of economic growth and a large increase in the number of liberal democracies, while in other parts of the world, such as Afghanistan, independence was accompanied by state failure.

Despite the end of the Cold War, military development and spending has continued, particularly in the deployment of nuclear-armed ballistic missiles and defensive systems. Because there was no formalized treaty ending the Cold War, the former superpowers have continued to maintain and even improve or modify existing nuclear weapons and delivery systems. Moreover, other nations not previously acknowledged as nuclear-weapons states have developed and tested nuclear-explosive devices including India, Pakistan, and North Korea.

Attitudes learned during the Cold War have proven hard to unlearn. Mistrust and rivalry between Americans and Russians is still potent. NATO's expansion into the nations of Eastern Europe is seen by many

武器作为威慑的手段。它唯一的赞助人，中国，越来越厌倦了它的小邻居所造成的问题。仍然基于共产主义的经济混乱。如果没有进口大米，就会出现大规模的饥荒。今天，北韩是世界上最贫穷的国家之一，而在非军事区的另一边，韩国是最有活力的国家之一。实际上，韩朝两国都证明里根是正确的：民主和自由市场体系是走向繁荣的道路。

遗产

尽管 20 多年前冷战结束，但其遗留问题依然非常重要。

苏联解体后，后冷战世界变成了单极而非双极，美国是唯一的超级大国。冷战定义了美国作为自由世界的领导者的政治作用，并将全球承诺大规模部署美国军人以及永久和平时期的军事工业复合体制度化。没有两极的动力，美国就不得不为自己在世界上找到新的角色。

在冷战时期，美国和苏联都用他们大部分的财富来资助军事建设和战争。军装士兵的生命损失之外，还有数百万人死于全球超级大国的代理人战争。尽管大部分代理人战争随着冷战而结束，铁幕和苏联的垮台并没有给世界带来和平。

一些前共产主义国家的政府崩溃导致了新的公民和种族冲突，特别是在前南斯拉夫。在东欧，冷战的结束迎来了经济增长的时代，自由民主国家大量增加，而在阿富汗等世界其他地方，独立则伴随着国家的失败。

尽管冷战结束，军事发展和支出仍在继续，特别是在部署核弹道导弹和防御系统方面。由于没有正式的冷战结束条约，以前的超级大国继续保持甚至改进或修改现有的核武器和运载系统。此外，以前没有被承认为核武器国家的其他国家已经开发和测试了包括印度，巴基斯坦和北韩在内的核爆炸装置。

冷战时期的态度已经证明很难忘记。美国人和俄罗斯人之间的不信任和竞争仍然是有力的。北约扩张到东欧国家被许多俄罗斯人视

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Russians as a threat to their security. While violent conflict between the two Cold War foes may be less likely now than in the past, cyberwar and espionage are still very much alive. In 2016, Russian government agents launched a concerted effort to use social media and the news media to manipulate the American presidential election.

CONCLUSION

The Cold War ended in a series of steps over a few years. In the 1970s America's warming relationship with China opened up the opportunity for China to transition away from a communist economic system. In the 1980s Ronald Reagan correctly deduced that making arms-reduction treaties with Mikael Gorbachev would give the Soviet leader the money he needed to reform his government, leading eventually to political freedom in Eastern Europe and the fall of the Berlin Wall. Two years later the Soviet Union itself disintegrated.

But what made all this happen? Was it the work of political leaders or the people of the nations themselves who were fed up with poverty and political persecution? Why did the Cold War end?

为对其安全的威胁。虽然两个冷战敌人之间的暴力冲突现在可能不如以往，但网络战和间谍活动仍然非常活跃。2016年，俄罗斯政府特工齐心协力，利用社交媒体和新闻媒体操纵美国总统大选。

结论

冷战结束了几年的一系列步骤。二十世纪七十年代，美国与中国的关系升温，为中国摆脱共产主义经济体制提供了机遇。在20世纪80年代，罗纳德·里根正确地推断，与戈尔巴乔夫缔结军备减让条约将给苏联领导人改革政府所需的资金，最终导致东欧的政治自由和柏林墙倒塌。两年后，苏联解体了。

但是，发生了什么呢？难道是饱受贫困和政治迫害的政治领导人或国家人民的工作吗？为什么冷战结束？



Watch the "Tear Down This Wall" Speech



Watch the original "Tank Man" video



Watch raw video from the Tiananmen Square Massacre



Watch video from the fall of the Berlin Wall



Watch the "Ode to Freedom" Performance



Watch a video about how Russia use social media to manipulate the 2016 election



Read the Shanghai Communiqué



Watch a news report about Ping-Pong Diplomacy



Watch the "Evil Empire" Speech

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PEOPLE & GROUPS

Ronald Reagan: American president from 1981-1989. He abandoned détente and supported a more confrontational stance toward the Soviet Union based on an ideological view of the conflict. In his second term he began negotiating with Gorbachev and is credited with helping end the Cold War.

Margaret Thatcher: British Prime Minister in the 1980s. Nicknamed the “Iron Lady”, she was a strong ally of President Reagan.

Mikhail Gorbachev: Last leader of the Soviet Union from 1985-1991. He promoted government reform and negotiated with the United States.

Solidarity: Labor movement in Poland in the 1980s led by Lech Walesa that successfully challenged the communist government.

Lech Walesa: Leader of the Solidarity movement in Poland. He became the first president of Poland after the fall of communism.

Pope John Paul II: Pope from 1978 to 2005. He was an outspoken critic of communism.

Erich Honecker: Communist leader of East Germany from 1971-1989. He opposed reforms and the Sinatra Doctrine. He was forced to resign as protests mounted across East Germany in 1989.

Boris Yeltsin: Russian leader who demanded greater reform during the 1980s. He opposed the 1991 coup and became the first president of independent Russia after the fall of the Soviet Union.

人和组

罗纳德·里根 (Ronald Reagan) : 1981 - 1989 年任美国总统。他以冲突的意识形态观点放弃了缓和, 并支持更加对抗苏联的立场。在他的第二个任期内, 他开始与戈尔巴乔夫进行谈判, 相信帮助结束冷战。

玛格丽特·撒切尔: 八十年代的英国首相。绰号“铁娘子”, 她是里根总统的坚强盟友。

米哈伊尔·戈尔巴乔夫: 1985-1991 年苏联最后一任领导人。他推动政府改革, 并与美国进行谈判。

团结一致: 20 世纪 80 年代波兰的劳动运动成功挑战了共产党政府。

瓦文萨: 波兰团结运动的领导人。共产主义倒台后, 他成为波兰第一任总统。

教皇约翰·保罗二世: 教皇从 1978 年到 2005 年。他是一个直言不讳的共产主义评论家。

Erich Honecker: 1971-1989 年的东德共产党领袖。他反对改革和西纳特拉主义。1989 年, 他被迫辞去东德各地的抗议活动。

鲍里斯·叶利钦: 俄罗斯领导人, 在 20 世纪 80 年代要求更大的改革。他反对 1991 年的政变, 成为苏联解体后第一任独立的俄罗斯总统。



KEY CONCEPTS

Vietnam Syndrome: Reluctance on the part of American politicians and military leaders to use the armed forces due to the loss in Vietnam. Ronald Reagan helped end this.

关键概念

越南综合症: 由于越南的损失, 美国政治家和军事领导人不愿意使用武装力量。罗纳德·里根帮助结束了这一切。



SPEECHES

Evil Empire Speech: 1982 speech by President Ronald Reagan in which he condemned communism and the Soviet Union calling it an “Evil Empire.”

Tear Down This Wall: 1987 speech by Ronald Reagan in West Berlin in which he challenged Gorbachev to open the Iron Curtain.

重要讲话

邪恶的帝国演讲: 1982 年罗纳德·里根总统的讲话, 他谴责共产主义, 苏联称之为“邪恶帝国”。

撕下这堵墙: 罗纳德·里根 1987 年在西柏林的演讲中向戈尔巴乔夫挑战, 打开铁幕。

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POLICIES

Rapprochement: The policy of improving relations with communist China under the Nixon Administration. Similar to détente with the Soviet Union.

Ping Pong Diplomacy: The use of non-governmental exchanges (such as ping pong tournaments) to foster better relationships between competing nations.

One China Policy: American policy to officially recognize only one government of both China and Taiwan. The US maintains an embassy in Beijing and supports China's membership in the UN. However, the US still supports Taiwan.

Reagan Doctrine: President Reagan's policy of supporting anti-communist leaders and organizations everywhere in the world.

Perestroika & Glasnost: Reform programs in the Soviet Union promoted by Gorbachev designed to allow for more electoral freedom in order to save communism. They produced a higher demand for reform which eventually led to the breakup of the Soviet Union.

Sinatra Doctrine: The name that the Soviet government of Mikhail Gorbachev used to describe its policy of allowing neighboring Warsaw Pact states to determine their own internal affairs. The name alluded to the song "My Way" popularized by Frank Sinatra.

Brezhnev Doctrine: Soviet policy under Brezhnev in the 1970s in which the Soviet government used military force to control the governments of the Soviet Bloc.

政策

和解：尼克松政府时期改善与中共关系的政策。类似于与苏联的缓和。

乒乓外交：利用民间交流（如乒乓球锦标赛）促进竞争国家之间更好的关系。

一个中国的政策：美国的政策只是正式承认中国和台湾的一个政府。美国驻北京大使馆支持中国加入联合国。但是，美国仍然支持台湾。

里根主义：里根总统支持世界各地反共领导人和组织的政策。

改革开放：戈尔巴乔夫倡导的苏联改革方案，旨在为了挽救共产主义而允许更多的选举自由。他们对改革提出了更高的要求，最终导致苏联解体。

西纳特拉主义：米哈伊尔·戈尔巴乔夫苏维埃政府用来形容允许邻国华沙条约国家决定自己内政的政策名称。这个名字暗指 Frank Sinatra 推广的歌曲 "My Way"。

勃列日涅夫主义：20 世纪 70 年代勃列日涅夫的苏联政策，苏联政府用武力来控制苏联集团的政府。



GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS & AGENCIES

Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI): Military program championed by President Reagan to develop a system to intercept incoming nuclear missiles. It was nicknamed "Star Wars" by its critics.

Missile Defense Agency: Military organization that develops and operates a system to intercept incoming nuclear missiles. It is the contemporary version of the original SDI.

政府计划和机构

战略防御计划 (SDI)：由里根总统倡导的军事计划，旨在发展一个拦截进入的核导弹的系统。它被评论家昵称为“星球大战”。

导弹防御局 (Missile Defense Agency)：开发和运行拦截进入的核导弹的系统的军事组织。这是原来 SDI 的当代版本。



LOCATIONS

People's Republic of China (PRC): Mainland, communist China. The PRC currently holds China's seat at the United Nations.

Republic of China (ROC): Non-communist Taiwan.

Alexanderplatz: Major public square in East Berlin and site of protests in 1989 that culminated in the fall of the Berlin Wall.

地点

中华人民共和国（中华人民共和国）：大陆共产主义中国。中国目前拥有中国在联合国的席位。

中华民国：非共产主义台湾。

亚历山大广场 (Alexanderplatz)：东柏林的主要公共广场和 1989 年的抗议场所，最终导致柏林墙倒塌。

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EVENTS

Nixon's Visit to China: 1972 visit by President Nixon to the People's Republic of China. This visit officially reopened the diplomatic relationship between the PRC and the US and the US recognized the PRC government as the representatives of China at the United Nations.

Iran-Contra Scandal: Political scandal in 1986 in which officials in the Reagan Administration illegally sold weapons to Iran and used the money to support the Contras in Nicaragua. The scandal called into question Reagan's ability to manage the day-to-day operations of government.

Reykjavik Summit: 1985 summit between President Reagan and Gorbachev held in Reykjavik, Iceland. It was one of five meetings between the two leaders. At their meeting they agreed to eliminate all nuclear weapons but their advisors made them reverse this pledge.

Tiananmen Square Massacre: 1989 confrontation between pro-democracy activists and the communist government in Beijing, China. After protesters occupied Tiananmen Square in the center of the city the government ordered the military to break up the protest resulting in hundreds, possibly thousands of deaths.

Fall of the Berlin Wall: The demonstrations and reverse of East German policy in November, 1989 that led to the opening of crossing points between East and West Berlin, and the subsequent destruction of the Berlin Wall by the people of Berlin.

Reunification of Germany: 1990 joining of East and West Germany. The East German government ceased to exist and the capital of Germany was moved from Bonn to Berlin.

1991 Coup: Attempt to overthrow the Soviet government of Gorbachev by hard line leaders and generals in August 1991. It failed when the military refused to follow orders from the coup leaders. Gorbachev was returned to power but was weakened, leading to the breakup of the Soviet Union.

Fall of the Soviet Union: December 25, 1991. The various republics of the Soviet Union became independent nations and the Soviet government and communism in the former Soviet Union ceased to exist. This was the final end of the Cold War

活动

尼克松访华：1972 年尼克松总统访华。此次访问正式开启了中美之间的外交关系，美方承认中华人民共和国政府是联合国在联合国的代表。

伊朗对抗丑闻：1986 年的政治丑闻，里根政府官员非法向伊朗出售武器，并用这笔钱支持尼加拉瓜境内的对抗。丑闻引起了里根管理政府日常运作的能力。

雷克雅未克首脑会议：1985 年在里约热内卢总统和戈尔巴乔夫在冰岛雷克雅未克举行的首脑会议。这是两位领导人之间的五次会议之一。在他们的会议上，他们同意消除所有的核武器，但是他们的顾问使他们扭转了这一承诺。

天安门广场大屠杀：1989 年中国北京民运人士与共产党政府对抗。抗议者占领了市中心的天安门广场后，政府命令军方分裂抗议，导致数百人死亡，甚至数千人死亡。

柏林墙的倒塌：1989 年 11 月东德政策的示威和逆转导致了东柏林和西柏林之间的过境点的开放以及柏林人随后对柏林墙的破坏。

德国统一：1990 年加入东德和西德。东德政府不复存在，德国首都从波恩迁到柏林。

1991 年政变：试图在 1991 年 8 月由强硬的领导人和将军推翻苏联政府的戈尔巴乔夫。军方拒绝接受政变领导人的命令失败。戈尔巴乔夫重掌权力，但被削弱，导致苏联解体。

苏联解体：1991 年 12 月 25 日。苏联的各个共和国成为独立的国家，前苏联的苏维埃政权和共产主义不复存在。这是冷战的最后结局



TEXTS

Shanghai Communiqué: Joint statement by China and the United States in 1972 as part of Nixon's visit to China. The two nations agreed to normalize relations.

案文

上海公报：1972 年中美两国联合声明尼克松访华。两国同意关系正常化。

DID ANYONE WIN THE C O L D W A R ?

It's hard to say who won the Cold War. On one hand, it seems easy to point the failure and fall of communism as evidence that the United States and our allies in the West were victorious. But, although the communist economic system has vanished, political oppression and dictatorship live on in many of the nations that were our Cold War enemies.

In 1992, American writer Francis Fukuyama published a book entitled "The End of History and the Last Man" in which he argued that, with the end of the Cold War, liberal democracy and the free market system had finally triumphed, marking the end of the evolution of human government. Do you think he is correct? Did our economic system and form of government win the Cold War?

Or perhaps, insightful, calculating leaders are responsible for the victory? Certainly, presidents Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan would fall into this category.

Then again, maybe this is the wrong way to think about victory. Rather than assigning a win to a country or a person, we should think about who benefited most from the outcome. Perhaps we should say that humanity won the Cold War since the threat of nuclear war has fallen and because so many more people enjoy basic freedoms and greater prosperity.

But of course, can anyone really win a war in which there were no face-to-face battles? Can you say that someone won a war if it took more than forty years to achieve victory? With all the suffering that the conflict caused, did anyone win?

What do you think? Who won the Cold War?

谁能赢得冷战是很难说的。一方面，把共产主义的失败和崩溃看作是美国和我们在西方的盟友取得胜利的的证据似乎是容易的。但是，虽然共产主义经济体系已经消失，但是在我们冷战时期的敌人中，许多国家仍然存在着政治压迫和独裁。

1992年，美国作家弗朗西斯·福山出版了一本题为“历史的终结和最后的人”的书，他认为，随着冷战的结束，自由民主和自由市场体系终于取得胜利，标志着人类政府的演变。你认为他是对的吗？我们的经济体系和政府形式是否赢得冷战？

或者，也许有见识的计算领导者为胜利负责？当然，杜鲁门总统，德怀特·艾森豪威尔，肯尼迪，理查德·尼克松和罗纳德·里根的总统都属于这一类。

再说一遍，也许这是思考胜利的错误方法。我们不应该把胜利分配给一个国家或一个人，而应该考虑谁最能从结果中获益。也许应该说，自从核战争威胁下降以来，人类赢得了冷战，因为有更多的人享有基本的自由和更大的繁荣。

但当然，谁能真的赢得一场没有面对面的战争呢？你能说如果有四十年的时间才能取得胜利，那么有人会赢得一场战争吗？随着冲突造成的痛苦，有没有人赢了？

你怎么看？谁赢得了冷战？



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