

PAX AMERICANA



KEEPING THE PEACE



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Video Page



Pax Americana Teacher's Guide

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Pax Americana

Suggested Lesson Plan

These materials may be used in a variety of ways. For maximum benefit, we suggest the following lesson plan:

- As a class, discuss the Preview Questions and Key Terms.
- Distribute copies of the Viewing Guide for students to use as a note-taking tool during the video.
- Play the video, pausing if needed to facilitate understanding and note-taking.
- Review and discuss answers to the Viewing Guide using Answer Key as a guide.
- Use Discussion Questions to spark class discussion, or assign these questions as homework.
- As a class or in small groups, complete the Who Chooses Activity.
- Replay the video as preparation for the Quiz.
- Administer and grade the Quiz using Answer Key as a guide.
- Optional: Assign one or more Enrichment Activities as homework.

You'll find additional lessons with complete plans in this guide as well, for you to pick and choose from. Use the Navigation Pane to easily see all the options, or review the Table of Contents.

Pax Americana

Preview Questions

(These are meant to be read aloud by the teacher.)

1. Locate Ukraine, Crimea, Russia, and the Baltic countries (Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia) on a map.
2. Why do you think there hasn't been a World War III? Do you think there might be?
3. Why does the U.S. have such a large military?
4. What should America's role in the world be?

Pax Americana

Key Terms and Definitions

Alliance – a formal agreement or treaty between two or more nations to cooperate for specific purposes

Ambiguous – capable of being understood in two or more possible senses or ways

Communism – a system of government in which a single party controls all industry and the production and distribution of goods and services

Decolonization – a process by which colonies become independent of the colonizing country

Deterrent – something that discourages or is intended to discourage someone from doing something

Isolationism – the belief that a nation should stay out of the disputes and affairs of other nations

Pluralism – a state of society in which members of diverse ethnic, racial, religious, or social groups maintain and develop their traditional culture or special interest within the confines of a common civilization

Prowess – exceptional or superior ability, skill, or strength, especially in combat or battle

Separatist – an advocate of independence or autonomy for a part of a political unit (such as a nation)

Subjugate – to defeat and gain control of someone or something by force

Name: _____

Date: _____

Pax Americana **Viewing Guide**

1. This era which has persisted since the end of _____ is sometimes called “Pax Americana.”
2. When there is one major power acting as a sort of global policeman there are fewer large-scale _____.
3. The U.S. spends more money on defense than the _____ next biggest spenders combined, nearly \$600 billion.
4. NATO stands for North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is a _____ that has existed since 1949.
5. In 2014, fierce fighting broke out in eastern _____, between government forces and Russian-backed separatists.
6. When World War II ended in Europe...many Americans expected to return to relative _____.
7. Truman’s position was that the _____ could not ignore the Soviet Union’s forced expansion into independent nations.
8. _____ has violated international law in annexing Crimea, in attacking the Ukraine.
9. Operation Saber Strike is an annual military exercise in the _____ states led by the U.S. Army.
10. The words of our leaders going back to President Truman have been that the United States is the guarantor, along with our allies, of _____.
11. America is not a society that’s organized for war, conquest, and _____ policy.
12. The United States has been the world’s policeman for just over _____ years.

Pax Americana
Viewing Guide Answer Key

1. World War II
2. conflicts
3. seven
4. military alliance
5. Ukraine
6. isolation
7. U.S.
8. Russia
9. Baltic
10. Peace
11. Foreign
12. 70

Pax Americana

Discussion Questions

1. Explain in your own words what Pax Americana is. (Why do you think we use a Latin phrase for it? Look it up online to see if your guess is correct.)
2. When and why did the United States take on the role of world policeman?
3. What is the Truman Doctrine? What was it in response to?
4. What is meant by “relative peace”?
5. Besides relative peace, what are some of the other conditions that have existed in the world during the Pax Americana period?
6. How have these conditions enabled not only peace, but also global economic growth, technological progress, and prosperity?
7. Why does the United States spend so much on defense compared to other countries? How do other countries benefit from this economically?
8. What is NATO? Who was it organized to defend against?
9. What happened in Ukraine in 2014?
10. Did Russia’s military intervention in Ukraine threaten conflict with NATO? (Ukraine applied for NATO membership in 2008 but is not a member.)
11. Why did some in Ukraine expect and want the United States to intervene when fighting broke out there in 2014?
12. Why did Russia’s actions in Crimea and Ukraine concern the Baltic countries?
13. What is the basis of Russia’s claim of the right to intervene in Georgia, Crimea, and – potentially – the Baltics? Is this a legitimate claim? Explain.
14. Why is the United States allied with Estonia? What benefit – if any – does the United States achieve from this alliance?
15. Why is the United States obligated to defend Estonia?

16. How could preparing for war – conducting military exercises with allies – help keep the peace? How could it provoke war?
17. Based on the information in the video, what do you think would happen if Russia invaded Estonia or another NATO member nation? Would the U.S. defend the country militarily? Why/why not?
18. Bret Stephens sees the reaction to Russian intervention in Crimea and Ukraine as evidence of America retreating from its role as world policeman, thereby inviting further Russian aggression. Do you agree? Why/why not?
19. Is the Truman Doctrine still in effect? Should it be? Explain.
20. Does the U.S. have an obligation to continue as the world’s policeman? What if the U.S. reduced military spending and retreated from this role? How might our allies, large and small, respond? What about Russia and China?
21. Should we try to craft a new global system? If peaceful order is not maintained by the United States, who will do it instead?
22. “Pax Americana is a world in which values like openness, tolerance, and pluralism are values towards which most of the world aspires.” What are some examples of ways in which the world may be starting to move away from these values? What are some possible forces or influences behind this shift?
23. What does James Melville mean when he says the U.S. has always had a tension between the forces that want to collaborate in the world and those who are isolationist? What are some examples of times in our history when the isolationists have won out? When have the interventionists gotten their way? Which side are you on, and why?
24. Walter Russell Mead calls the Pax Americana a great success. In what ways has it been a success? What has been achieved during this period? How did Pax Americana make these things possible?
25. Why would the world’s most powerful country want to enforce order and stability in the world?
26. What has made the United States so powerful?

Pax Americana

Activity:

Who chooses? Who benefits? Who pays? What's fair?

The four questions above can be a useful tool for evaluating any policy or system. Posing the questions is a great way to stimulate critical thinking. As a class, or in small groups, discuss the following:

(For each question, think broadly about all the possible people or groups of people who may be affected, and remember there may be non-monetary costs and benefits.)

1. What is the purpose of the money the U.S. spends on its military? Who chooses to spend this money? What other countries benefit from our military strength? Who pays the costs?
2. In what ways does the U.S. benefit from the Pax Americana?
3. What choices has America made that have led to us bearing the costs of maintaining order in the world? Why have we made these choices?
4. Throughout the Pax Americana, the U.S. could have chosen to tell other countries they must bear more of the costs of their own defense, or they're on their own. Why hasn't it made this choice?
5. Have U.S. enemies known for sure what choices America would make about going to war as part of its "world policeman" role? Have U.S. allies known? How could they try to determine this? How could these predictions affect their decisions?
6. What countries are hurt by America's military power, or are deterred or prevented from doing things they would otherwise want to do?

Name: _____

Date: _____

Pax Americana Quiz

1. The era since the end of _____ is sometimes called “Pax Americana.”
 - A) the American Revolution
 - B) the Civil War
 - C) World War I
 - D) World War II
2. The United States led the effort to halt the advance of _____.
 - A) colonialism
 - B) communism
 - C) capitalism
 - D) globalism
3. Today, the U.S. spends _____ annually on defense.
 - A) \$6 billion
 - B) \$60 billion
 - C) \$600 billion
 - D) \$6 trillion
4. According to the Truman Doctrine, the U.S. must _____.
 - A) support free peoples against armed subjugation
 - B) return to its pre-war policy of isolationism
 - C) bring down the Communist government in the Soviet Union
 - D) allow the Soviet Union to expand its influence in Europe
5. NATO is a _____ that has existed since 1949.
 - A) trade agreement
 - B) peace treaty
 - C) system of global governance
 - D) military alliance

6. In 2014, fighting broke out in _____, between government forces and Russian-backed separatists.
- A) Ukraine
 - B) Estonia
 - C) Britain
 - D) Latvia
7. When there is one major power acting as global policeman, _____.
- A) there will be absolute peace
 - B) there are fewer large-scale conflicts
 - C) there are more large-scale conflicts
 - D) there will be complete world domination by that power
8. During the Pax Americana, _____ has been the language of trade and diplomacy.
- A) Latin
 - B) Russian
 - C) English
 - D) French
9. Russia claims the right to _____.
- A) protect Russian speakers living anywhere in the world
 - B) invade any country in Europe
 - C) join NATO
 - D) none of the above
10. Operation Saber Strike is an annual military exercise led by the U.S. Army in _____.
- A) Crimea
 - B) Ukraine
 - C) the Baltic states
 - D) Russia

Pax Americana

Quiz Answer Key

Quiz

1. D) World War II
2. B) communism
3. C) \$600 billion
4. A) support free peoples against armed subjugation
5. D) military alliance
6. A) Ukraine
7. B) there are fewer large-scale conflicts
8. C) English
9. A) protect Russian speakers living anywhere in the world
10. C) the Baltic states

Pax Americana

Enrichment and Integration Activities

Background: During WWII, the Soviet Union drove out the Nazis and chased them back into Germany from the East, while the Western Allies drove them out of France and pushed into Germany from the West. That left the U.S., France and Britain in control of the Western part of Germany, with the USSR in control of eastern Germany and much of Eastern Europe, including Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The USSR imposed puppet governments in the countries it controlled.

By themselves, West Germany, France and Italy, weakened economically and militarily by the war, would have had a hard time defending themselves if the Soviets had decided to expand their control further west. Britain, as we saw in the film, was also nearly bankrupt and was unable to save Western Europe from such an invasion.

When the Soviets made aggressive moves toward Greece, Turkey and Iran, Western Europe seemed vulnerable, and the Soviet Union seemed bent on expanding its power. The U.S. decided it had to counter this danger. The resulting Cold War had the U.S. and USSR competing worldwide for power and influence for over 40 years. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 ended the Cold War, leaving the U.S. as the world's only superpower, able to police the world without any real competition.

Research Projects: Work independently or in small groups. Choose one or more of the topics below to learn more about. Gather information from multiple sources to help answer the questions. Create a report that includes both written and visual elements such as pictures, charts, maps, and graphs. Be sure to cite your sources. Share your findings with the class in a presentation.

- A. Ukraine – NATO. When did Ukraine gain independence from the Soviet Union? When and why did Ukraine apply for NATO membership? Why did Russia oppose this? When and why was the application withdrawn? Does Ukraine currently align itself more with NATO or with Russia?
- B. Russia – Ukraine. Why did Russia intervene in Ukraine in 2014? How did America and its allies respond? What was the result of the intervention? What is Russia's current involvement in the country?
- C. Cold War. What was life like during these years? Where did the battles take place? Where did the Soviet Union gain influence? Where was the U.S. able to keep the USSR in check? Create a timeline showing the most important events of this era. What finally brought the Cold War to an end? Who won?
- D. Estonia. The Baltic countries have been dominated by Russia and other outside powers for much of their history. How did the Estonians endure as a distinct people and culture?

How did Estonia eventually regain its sovereignty? How stable and secure is Estonia today?

- E. Battle Casualties. Look up all the wars since WWII, and note the number of casualties. Why might the Pax Americana have been more peaceful in some regions than others?
- F. Global Reach of Pax Americana. During the Suez Crisis in 1956, Britain, France and Israel wanted to fight Egypt after it seized control of the Suez Canal from Britain. President Eisenhower forced them to call off the war, taking advantage of U.S. economic dominance by threatening Britain with trade sanctions.

There have been wars between China and India, and between India and Pakistan, since WWII. Clearly, the global peace under Pax Americana did not extend to these countries. Why did the U.S. play “world policeman” in the case of Suez and other conflicts but not in these wars? In what ways did the U.S. get involved when these Asian countries went to war? What was America’s relationship with each of these three countries?

- G. Internationalism vs. Isolationism. During which periods in U.S. history did one or the other of these ideas prevail, and why? What were the consequences?

Writing Activities

- I. The U.S. spends nearly \$600 billion per year on its military. Write a letter to the editor (persuasive writing) arguing either in favor of these expenses or against them. Be sure to include data and solid reasoning to support your position.
- II. Imagine you were an American during the aftermath of World War II. Would you feel secure if the Soviet Union took control of all Europe? What if the Soviets and their allies controlled all of Europe and Asia? What if they controlled every country in the world except for the U.S.? From your knowledge of history, what reasons can you think of that the U.S. thought Western Europe was a particularly important place to hold the line?
- III. Walter Russell Mead mentioned the end of “great power wars” in Europe. For many centuries, there were routinely major wars between very powerful countries in Europe, such as England and France, or France and Germany. Why do you think this hasn’t been the case since WWII? Sometimes, wars happen because a country fears that its neighbor is becoming too powerful. Why might countries have less reason to worry about each other if they think the U.S. is taking care of things?

- IV. The film lists wars the U.S. has fought or intervened in during the Pax Americana. (Besides these, there were other wars not involving the U.S.) Consider two of the wars on the list, the Korean War and the Gulf War. In the Korean War, North Korea invaded South Korea and occupied most of it, but the U.S. forced the North out. In the Gulf War, Iraq conquered Kuwait, and the U.S. forced Iraq out. Were these wars exceptions to the Pax Americana, or cases of the U.S. enforcing the Pax Americana? Explain your reasoning.
- V. “Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty.” – John F. Kennedy
- a. Write an essay explaining what President Kennedy meant in this quote. Is this still true? Was it true at the time? What did JFK mean by liberty? Are those values still important in the U.S.? How can we tell whether the Pax Americana is coming to an end?
 - b. What hardships are faced today in support of liberty? What burdens? What prices are paid?

PAX AMERICANA LESSON PLAN – GRAPHIC ORGANIZER

Graphic Organizer Lesson Plan

Name: _____

Date: _____

Instructor: _____

Time to complete: Materials/ Technology/ Resources:	60 minutes * The <i>Pax Americana</i> video (DVD format, or can be streamed from izzit.org with no login required.) * Presentation Method (smartboard, projector, etc.) * Viewing Guide
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Standards:	Use our free and easy-to-use Standard Alignment tool to align this lesson with the standards in your school district.
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Learning Objective(s):	<i>Students will explain the political, geographic, military, and economic rationales of the Soviet Union, United States, and China. They will describe ways each country's various actions and or plans align with Pax Americana and the influence on Soviet / U.S. / Chinese relationships. Students will also give examples of post-Cold War actions by Russia, the United States, and China that illustrate efforts to usher in a new superpower era.</i>
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Topics: Cold War, Soviet Union, Russia, China, United States, U.S. Foreign Policy

Absorb: (13.35 minutes)	Watch: <i>Pax Americana</i> video in DVD format, or can be streamed from izzit.org with no login required.
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Overall guiding question(s):	What are examples and influences of America's role as a global superpower? Should the U.S. continue to act as the global police officer? Why/why not?
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Lesson Procedures: (30 minutes)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Watch video: <i>Pax Americana</i> 2. PROCEDURES: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A. ACTIVITY: Complete the Pax Americana Organizer
Summary & Assessment: (15 minutes)	<p>Assessment is based on accuracy and relevance of content added to the organizer.</p> <p>Bring students back together to discuss their contributions to the organizer. Encourage the students to discuss the significance of each completed section on the Cold War and America's role as a global superpower.</p>
Reflection: (5 minutes)	<p>Select a current event, either from izzit.org or a news site. Discuss how the events during the era of Pax Americana are still influencing U.S. policy.</p>

Name _____

Pax Americana Organizer

Define: **Pax Americana**

Explain: **Rationale of Soviet Union, United States, and China**

U.S.S.R.	U.S.	China
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Political• Geographic• Military• Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Political• Geographic• Military• Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Political• Geographic• Military• Economic

Describe: In what ways did each of the following align with Pax Americana? How did they influence the Soviet / U.S. / Chinese relationships?

Truman Doctrine	Marshall Plan
Creation of NATO	Korean War
Vietnam War	Gulf War (1st)

Give examples: **What are some examples of post-Cold War actions by Russia, the United States, and China that illustrate efforts to usher in a new superpower era?**

PAX AMERICANA LESSON PLAN – MAPS

Maps Lesson Plan

Name: _____

Date: _____

Instructor: _____

Time to complete:	60 Minutes
Materials/ Technology/ Resources:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">* The <i>Pax Americana</i> video (DVD format, or can be streamed from izzit.org with no login required.)* Presentation Method (smartboard, projector, etc.)* Viewing Guide* Discussion Questions – one set for teacher only

Standards:	Use our free and easy-to-use Standard Alignment tool to align this lesson with the standards in your school district.
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Learning Objective(s):	<i>Students will identify NATO and Warsaw Pact countries on a map. They will also identify Soviet Union Republics that became independent after the end of the Cold War.</i>
Topics: NATO, Warsaw Pact, Soviet Union, Europe, Crimea	

Absorb: (13.35 minutes)	<u>Watch:</u> <i>Pax Americana</i> video in DVD format, or can be streamed from izzit.org with no login required.
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Overall guiding question(s):	How did countries align with the two primary superpowers during the Cold War? What do Europe and the former Soviet Republics look like today?
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Lesson Procedures: (45 minutes)	<p>3. Watch video: <i>Pax Americana</i></p> <p>4. PROCEDURES: B. ACTIVITY: Hand out maps and ask students to locate and identify the countries at various points during and after the Cold War. A particular emphasis on the post-Cold War should be the disputed Crimean territory.</p>
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Summary & Assessment:	Completed maps.
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Reflection: (5 minutes)	Select a current event, either from izzit.org or a news site. Discuss how the events during the era of Pax Americana are still influencing U.S. policy.
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Maps Follow on Next Pages



Europe – Cold War era. Shade NATO nations one color and Warsaw Pact nations another. Number countries on the map, then list countries here by number:



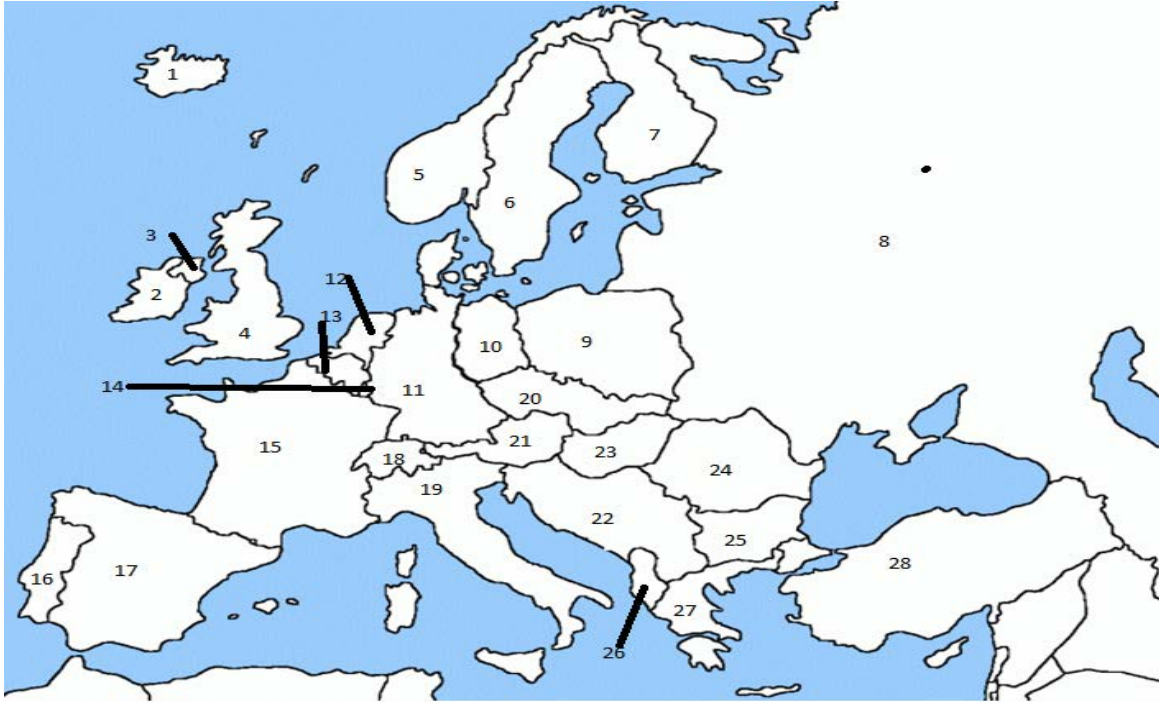
List former Soviet Republics here by number:



Europe and former Soviet Republics today. Number countries on the map, then list countries here by number:

Locate Crimea on the map and designate as a disputed territory.

Maps Answer Key



Europe – Cold War era. Shade NATO nations one color and Warsaw Pact nations another. Number countries on the map, then list countries here by number:

1 – Iceland (NATO)	11 – West Germany (NATO)	21 – Austria
2 – Ireland	12 – The Netherlands (NATO)	22 - Yugoslavia
3 – N. Ireland (NATO)	13 – Belgium (NATO)	23 – Hungary (Warsaw Pact)
4 – United Kingdom (NATO)	14 – Luxembourg (NATO)	24 – Romania (Warsaw Pact)
5 – Norway (NATO)	15 – France (NATO)	25 – Bulgaria (Warsaw Pact)
6 – Sweden	16 – Portugal (NATO)	26 – Albania (Warsaw Pact)
7 - Finland	17 – Spain	27 – Greece (NATO)
8 – Soviet Union (Warsaw Pact)	18 – Switzerland	28 - Turkey (NATO)
9 – Poland (Warsaw Pact)	19 – Italy (NATO)	
10 – East Germany (Warsaw Pact)	20 – Czechoslovakia (Warsaw Pact)	



List Soviet Republics here by number:

1 – Armenian SSR	6 – Kazakh SSR	11 – Russian SFSR
2 – Azerbaijan SSR	7 – Kirghiz SSR	12 – Tajikistan
3 – Byelorussian SSR	8 – Latvian SSR	13 – Turkmen SSR
4 – Estonian SSR	9 – Lithuanian SSR	14 – Ukrainian SSR
5 – Georgian SSR	10 – Moldavian SSR	15 – Uzbek SSR



Europe and former Soviet Republics today. List countries here by number:

1 - Ireland	9 - Latvia	17 - Hungary	25 - Belgium	33 - Croatia
2 - N. Ireland	10 - Lithuania	18 - Slovakia	26 - Luxembourg	34 - Slovenia
3 - United Kingdom	11 - Belarus	19 - Poland	27 - France	35 - Bosnia & Herzegovina
4 - Norway	12 - Ukraine	20 - Germany	28 - Spain	36 - Montenegro
5 - Sweden	13 - Moldavia	21 - Czech Republic	29 - Portugal	37 - Macedonia
6 - Finland	14 - Romania	22 - Austria	30 - Italy	38 - Georgia
7 - Russia	15 - Bulgaria	23 - Switzerland	31 - Greece	39 - Armenia
8 - Estonia	16 - Serbia	24 - The Netherlands	32 - Turkey	40 - Azerbaijan

Locate Crimea on the map and designate as a disputed territory.
Crimea is #41

PAX AMERICANA LESSON PLAN - TIMELINE

Timeline Lesson Plan

Name: _____

Date: _____

Instructor: _____

Time to complete:	120 minutes, or two 60-minute periods
Materials/ Technology/ Resources:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">* The <i>Pax Americana</i> video (DVD format, or can be streamed from izzit.org with no login required.)* Presentation Method (smartboard, projector, etc.)* Viewing Guide

Standards:	Use our free and easy-to-use Standard Alignment tool to align this lesson with the standards in your school district.
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Learning Objective(s):	<i>Students will develop a timeline of American involvement in Cold War and post-Cold War. They will also relate each event to America's role as a superpower.</i>
Topics: Cold War, Soviet Union, Russia, China, United States, U.S. Foreign Policy	

Absorb: (13.35 minutes)	<u>Watch:</u> <i>Pax Americana</i> video in DVD format, or can be streamed from izzit.org with no login required.
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Overall guiding question(s):	What are the significant events of America's role as a global superpower?
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<p>Lesson Procedures:</p>	<p>5. Watch video: <i>Pax Americana</i></p> <p>6. PROCEDURES:</p> <p>C. ACTIVITY: Have students navigate to the Smithsonian's Price of Freedom: Americans at war website: http://amhistory.si.edu/militaryhistory/exhibition/flash.html Next, ask them to explore the events on the timeline from World War II to the present.</p> <p>D. Students will next navigate to Time Graphics https://time.graphics/ to create their own timeline of significant events during and after the Cold War.</p>
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<p>Summary & Assessment: (15 minutes)</p>	<p>Assessment can be on the completed timeline and any class discussions regarding what students can connect to America's role as a superpower during and after the Cold War.</p> <p>Bring students back together to discuss their timelines and insight they gained while completing it. Encourage the students to discuss the significance of each event of the Cold War/post-Cold War in the context of America's role as a global superpower.</p>
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<p>Reflection: (5 minutes)</p>	<p>Select a current event, either from izzit.org or a news site. Discuss how the events during the era of Pax Americana are still influencing U.S. policy.</p>
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Primary Documents Activity Lesson Plan

Name: _____

Date: _____

Instructor: _____

Time to complete:	60 minutes
Materials/Technology/Resources:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">* The <i>Pax Americana</i> video (DVD format, or can be streamed from izzit.org with no login required.)* Presentation Method (smartboard, projector, etc.)* Viewing Guide* Discussion Questions – one set for teacher only

Standards:	Use our free and easy-to-use Standards Alignment tool to align this lesson with the standards in your school district.
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Learning Objective(s):	<i>Students will examine speeches by American presidents during and after the Cold War. They will summarize the main points and effects of the speeches and will discuss the implications of them.</i>
Topics: NATO, Peace, Soviet Union, Truman Doctrine, U.S. Foreign Policy, U.S. Military	

Absorb: (13.35 minutes)	<u>Watch:</u> <i>Pax Americana</i> video in DVD format, or can be streamed from izzit.org with no login required.
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Overall guiding question(s):	What ideas and beliefs shaped America's role as a global superpower?
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<p>Lesson Procedures: (45 minutes)</p>	<p>9. Watch video: <i>Pax Americana</i></p> <p>10. PROCEDURES:</p> <p>A. ACTIVITY: Divide the class into four groups and distribute the four speeches (Truman Doctrine, Cuban Missile Crisis, Berlin Wall, and Tbilisi), one to each group.</p> <p>B. Students will use the organizers to note specific themes in the speech they are assigned.</p> <p>C. Assign each group a question related to their speech:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. What was the main point President Truman made during the 1947 speech to congress regarding Greece and Turkey? b. President Kennedy addressed the United States citizens regarding the missile threat in Cuba. What was the importance of this speech to Americans? How does President Kennedy express his policy views of this event and what effect did it have on the Cold War? c. President Reagan provided a timeline of events from 1945 to the time of the speech regarding West Berlin and its interactions with the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries. How does President Reagan justify tearing down the wall using this history? What effect did this speech have on the Cold War? d. President Bush, in his 2005 speech to Tbilis, refers to several revolutions that took place in Georgia (2003), Ukraine (2004), and other countries. What was the role of the United States during these revolutions?
<p>Summary & Assessment: (15 minutes)</p>	<p>Bring students back together to discuss their response to the assigned question and any themes they noted. Encourage the students to discuss the significance of their assigned speech on the Cold War and America's role as a global superpower.</p>
<p>Reflection: (5 minutes)</p>	<p>Select a current event, either from izzit.org or a news site. Discuss how the events during the era of Pax Americana are still influencing U.S. policy.</p>

Truman Doctrine Primary Document

Name: _____ Date: _____

Recommendation for the Assistance to Greece and Turkey

President Harry Truman

Before a Joint Session of the Senate and House of Representatives, Recommending Assistance to Greece.

March 12, 1947

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress of the United States:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government.

Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. Since 1940, this industrious and peace loving country has suffered invasion, four years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, port facilities, communications,

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and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five per cent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings.

As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.

Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security, so essential for economic and political recovery.

The Greek Government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A Commission appointed by the United Nations security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other.

Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the government throughout Greek territory. Greece must have assistance if it is to

become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate.

There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.

No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.

The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece, and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece; in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting, and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The Government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless it represents eighty-five per cent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done or will do. We

have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention.

The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece. And during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid.

Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

The British government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey.

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations, The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom

and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo

in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those

countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious. The United States contributed \$341,000,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace.

The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than 1 tenth of 1 per cent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world -- and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

Cuban Missile Crisis Address Primary Document

Name: _____ Date: _____

Cuban Missile Crisis Address to the Nation	NOTES
<p>President John F. Kennedy</p> <p>October 22, 1962</p> <p>Podcast available at: http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/jfkubanmissilecrisis.html</p> <hr/> <p>Good evening, my fellow citizens:</p> <p>This Government, as promised, has maintained the closest surveillance of the Soviet military buildup on the island of Cuba. Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on that imprisoned island. The purpose of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere.</p> <p>Upon receiving the first preliminary hard information of this nature last Tuesday morning at 9 A.M., I directed that our surveillance be stepped up. And having now confirmed and completed our evaluation of the evidence and our decision on a course of action, this Government feels obliged to report this new crisis to you in fullest detail.</p> <p>The characteristics of these new missile sites indicate two distinct types of installations. Several of them include medium range ballistic missiles, capable of carrying a nuclear warhead for a distance of more than 1,000 nautical miles. Each of these missiles, in short, is capable of striking Washington, D. C., the Panama Canal, Cape Canaveral, Mexico City, or any other city in the southeastern part of the United States, in Central America, or in the Caribbean area.</p> <p>Additional sites not yet completed appear to be designed for intermediate range ballistic missiles -- capable of traveling more than twice as far -- and thus capable of striking most of the major cities in the</p>	

Western Hemisphere, ranging as far north as Hudson Bay, Canada, and as far south as Lima, Peru. In addition, jet bombers, capable of carrying nuclear weapons, are now being uncrated and assembled in Cuba, while the necessary air bases are being prepared.

This urgent transformation of Cuba into an important strategic base -- by the presence of these large, long-range, and clearly offensive weapons of sudden mass destruction -- constitutes an explicit threat to the peace and security of all the Americas, in flagrant and deliberate defiance of the Rio Pact of 1947, the traditions of this nation and hemisphere, the joint resolution of the 87th Congress, the Charter of the United Nations, and my own public warnings to the Soviets on September 4 and 13. This action also contradicts the repeated assurances of Soviet spokesmen, both publicly and privately delivered, that the arms buildup in Cuba would retain its original defensive character, and that the Soviet Union had no need or desire to station strategic missiles on the territory of any other nation.

The size of this undertaking makes clear that it has been planned for some months. Yet, only last month, after I had made clear the distinction between any introduction of ground-to-ground missiles and the existence of defensive antiaircraft missiles, the Soviet Government publicly stated on September 11 that, and I quote, "the armaments and military equipment sent to Cuba are designed exclusively for defensive purposes," that there is, and I quote the Soviet Government, "there is no need for the Soviet Government to shift its weapons for a retaliatory blow to any other country, for instance Cuba," and that, and I quote their government, "the Soviet Union has so powerful rockets to carry these nuclear warheads that there is no need to search for sites for them beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union."

That statement was false.

Only last Thursday, as evidence of this rapid offensive buildup was already in my hand, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko told me in my office that he was instructed to make it clear once again, as he said his government had already done, that Soviet assistance

to Cuba, and I quote, "pursued solely the purpose of contributing to the defense capabilities of Cuba," that, and I quote him, "training by Soviet specialists of Cuban nationals in handling defensive armaments was by no means offensive, and if it were otherwise," Mr. Gromyko went on, "the Soviet Government would never become involved in rendering such assistance."

That statement also was false.

Neither the United States of America nor the world community of nations can tolerate deliberate deception and offensive threats on the part of any nation, large or small. We no longer live in a world where only the actual firing of weapons represents a sufficient challenge to a nation's security to constitute maximum peril. Nuclear weapons are so destructive and ballistic missiles are so swift, that any substantially increased possibility of their use or any sudden change in their deployment may well be regarded as a definite threat to peace.

For many years, both the Soviet Union and the United States, recognizing this fact, have deployed strategic nuclear weapons with great care, never upsetting the precarious status quo which insured that these weapons would not be used in the absence of some vital challenge. Our own strategic missiles have never been transferred to the territory of any other nation under a cloak of secrecy and deception; and our history -- unlike that of the Soviets since the end of World War II -- demonstrates that we have no desire to dominate or conquer any other nation or impose our system upon its people. Nevertheless, American citizens have become adjusted to living daily on the bull's-eye of Soviet missiles located inside the U.S.S.R. or in submarines.

In that sense, missiles in Cuba add to an already clear and present danger -- although it should be noted the nations of Latin America have never previously been subjected to a potential nuclear threat. But this secret, swift, extraordinary buildup of Communist missiles -- in an area well known to have a special and historical relationship to the United States and the nations of the Western Hemisphere, in violation of Soviet assurances, and in defiance of American and hemispheric policy -- this sudden, clandestine

decision to station strategic weapons for the first time outside of Soviet soil -- is a deliberately provocative and unjustified change in the status quo which cannot be accepted by this country, if our courage and our commitments are ever to be trusted again by either friend or foe.

The 1930's taught us a clear lesson: aggressive conduct, if allowed to go unchecked and unchallenged, ultimately leads to war. This nation is opposed to war. We are also true to our word. Our unswerving objective, therefore, must be to prevent the use of these missiles against this or any other country, and to secure their withdrawal or elimination from the Western Hemisphere.

Our policy has been one of patience and restraint, as befits a peaceful and powerful nation which leads a worldwide alliance. We have been determined not to be diverted from our central concerns by mere irritants and fanatics. But now further action is required, and it is under way; and these actions may only be the beginning. We will not prematurely or unnecessarily risk the costs of worldwide nuclear war in which even the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouth; but neither will we shrink from that risk at any time it must be faced.

Acting, therefore, in the defense of our own security and of the entire Western Hemisphere, and under the authority entrusted to me by the Constitution as endorsed by the Resolution of the Congress, I have directed that the following initial steps be taken immediately:

First: To halt this offensive buildup a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated. All ships of any kind bound for Cuba from whatever nation or port will, if found to contain cargoes of offensive weapons, be turned back. This quarantine will be extended, if needed, to other types of cargo and carriers. We are not at this time, however, denying the necessities of life as the Soviets attempted to do in their Berlin blockade of 1948.

Second: I have directed the continued and increased close surveillance of Cuba and its military buildup. The foreign ministers of the OAS [Organization of

American States], in their communiqué' of October 6, rejected secrecy on such matters in this hemisphere. Should these offensive military preparations continue, thus increasing the threat to the hemisphere, further action will be justified. I have directed the Armed Forces to prepare for any eventualities; and I trust that in the interest of both the Cuban people and the Soviet technicians at the sites, the hazards to all concerned of continuing this threat will be recognized.

Third: It shall be the policy of this nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.

Fourth: As a necessary military precaution, I have reinforced our base at Guantanamo, evacuated today the dependents of our personnel there, and ordered additional military units to be on a standby alert basis.

Fifth: We are calling tonight for an immediate meeting of the Organ[ization] of Consultation under the Organization of American States, to consider this threat to hemispheric security and to invoke articles 6 and 8 of the Rio Treaty in support of all necessary action. The United Nations Charter allows for regional security arrangements, and the nations of this hemisphere decided long ago against the military presence of outside powers. Our other allies around the world have also been alerted.

Sixth: Under the Charter of the United Nations, we are asking tonight that an emergency meeting of the Security Council be convoked without delay to take action against this latest Soviet threat to world peace. Our resolution will call for the prompt dismantling and withdrawal of all offensive weapons in Cuba, under the supervision of U.N. observers, before the quarantine can be lifted.

Seventh and finally: I call upon Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless, and provocative threat to world peace and to stable relations between our two nations. I call upon him further to abandon this course of world domination, and to join in an historic effort to end the perilous arms race and to transform the history of man. He has

an opportunity now to move the world back from the abyss of destruction by returning to his government's own words that it had no need to station missiles outside its own territory, and withdrawing these weapons from Cuba by refraining from any action which will widen or deepen the present crisis, and then by participating in a search for peaceful and permanent solutions.

This nation is prepared to present its case against the Soviet threat to peace, and our own proposals for a peaceful world, at any time and in any forum -- in the OAS, in the United Nations, or in any other meeting that could be useful -- without limiting our freedom of action. We have in the past made strenuous efforts to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. We have proposed the elimination of all arms and military bases in a fair and effective disarmament treaty. We are prepared to discuss new proposals for the removal of tensions on both sides, including the possibilities of a genuinely independent Cuba, free to determine its own destiny. We have no wish to war with the Soviet Union -- for we are a peaceful people who desire to live in peace with all other peoples.

But it is difficult to settle or even discuss these problems in an atmosphere of intimidation. That is why this latest Soviet threat -- or any other threat which is made either independently or in response to our actions this week-- must and will be met with determination. Any hostile move anywhere in the world against the safety and freedom of peoples to whom we are committed, including in particular the brave people of West Berlin, will be met by whatever action is needed.

Finally, I want to say a few words to the captive people of Cuba, to whom this speech is being directly carried by special radio facilities. I speak to you as a friend, as one who knows of your deep attachment to your fatherland, as one who shares your aspirations for liberty and justice for all. And I have watched and the American people have watched with deep sorrow how your nationalist revolution was betrayed -- and how your fatherland fell under foreign domination. Now your leaders are no longer Cuban leaders inspired by Cuban ideals. They are puppets and agents

of an international conspiracy which has turned Cuba against your friends and neighbors in the Americas, and turned it into the first Latin American country to become a target for nuclear war -- the first Latin American country to have these weapons on its soil.

These new weapons are not in your interest. They contribute nothing to your peace and well-being. They can only undermine it. But this country has no wish to cause you to suffer or to impose any system upon you. We know that your lives and land are being used as pawns by those who deny your freedom. Many times in the past, the Cuban people have risen to throw out tyrants who destroyed their liberty. And I have no doubt that most Cubans today look forward to the time when they will be truly free -- free from foreign domination, free to choose their own leaders, free to select their own system, free to own their own land, free to speak and write and worship without fear or degradation. And then shall Cuba be welcomed back to the society of free nations and to the associations of this hemisphere.

My fellow citizens, let no one doubt that this is a difficult and dangerous effort on which we have set out. No one can foresee precisely what course it will take or what costs or casualties will be incurred. Many months of sacrifice and self-discipline lie ahead -- months in which both our patience and our will will be tested, months in which many threats and denunciations will keep us aware of our dangers. But the greatest danger of all would be to do nothing.

The path we have chosen for the present is full of hazards, as all paths are; but it is the one most consistent with our character and courage as a nation and our commitments around the world. The cost of freedom is always high, but Americans have always paid it. And one path we shall never choose, and that is the path of surrender or submission.

Our goal is not the victory of might, but the vindication of right; not peace at the expense of freedom, but both peace and freedom, here in this hemisphere, and, we hope, around the world. God willing, that goal will be achieved.

Thank you and good night.

Reagan Berlin Wall 1987 Speech Primary Document

Name: _____ Date: _____

Speech to West Germans at the Berlin Wall

President Ronald Reagan

June 12, 1987

[Podcast available](#) at:

<http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/reagan-tear-down.htm>

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the City Hall. Well, since then two other presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. And today I, myself, make my second visit to your city.

We come to Berlin, we American presidents, because it's our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we're drawn here by other things as well: by the feeling of history in this city, more than 500 years older than our own nation; by the beauty of the Grunewald and the Tiergarten; most of all, by your courage and determination. Perhaps the composer Paul Lincke understood something about American presidents. You see, like so many presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do: Ich hab noch einen Koffer in Berlin. [I still have a suitcase in Berlin.]

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. I understand that it is being seen and heard as well in the East. To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, a special word: Although I cannot be with you, I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you, as I join your fellow countrymen in the West, in this firm, this unalterable belief: Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

Behind me stands a wall that encircles the free sectors of this city, part of a vast system of barriers that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic, south, those barriers cut across Germany in a gash of barbed wire,

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concrete, dog runs, and guard towers. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same--still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state. Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the news photo and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, every man is a German, separated from his fellow men. Every man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

President von Weizsacker has said, "The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed." Today I say: As long as the gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind. Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope, even in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. And in 1947 Secretary of State--as you've been told--George Marshall announced the creation of what would become known as the Marshall Plan. Speaking precisely 40 years ago this month, he said: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan is helping here to strengthen the free world." A strong, free world in the West, that dream became real. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium--virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth; the European Community was founded.

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the Wirtschaftswunder. Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the

practical importance of liberty--that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin doubled.

Where four decades ago there was rubble, today in West Berlin there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany--busy office blocks, fine homes and apartments, proud avenues, and the spreading lawns of parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two great universities, orchestras and an opera, countless theaters, and museums. Where there was want, today there's abundance--food, clothing, automobiles--the wonderful goods of the Ku'damm. From devastation, from utter ruin, you Berliners have, in freedom, rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But my friends, there were a few things the Soviets didn't count on--Berliner Herz, Berliner Humor, ja, und Berliner Schnauze. [Berliner heart, Berliner humor, yes, and a Berliner Schnauze.]

In the 1950s, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure, technological backwardness, declining standards of health, even want of the most basic kind--too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion: Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds among the nations with comity and peace. Freedom is the victor.

And now the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to

raise false hopes in the West, or to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace. 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!

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent-- and I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. To be sure, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet we seek peace; so we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western alliance with a grave new threat, hundreds of new and more deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution; namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the alliance, in turn, prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days--days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city--and the Soviets later walked away from the table.

But through it all, the alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then-- I invite those who protest today--to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came back to the table. And because we remained strong, today we have within reach the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the earth.

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for eliminating these weapons. At the talks in Geneva, we have also proposed deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons. And the Western allies have likewise made far-reaching

proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our allies, the United States is pursuing the Strategic Defense Initiative--research to base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will not target populations, but shield them. By these means we seek to increase the safety of Europe and all the world. But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other. And our differences are not about weapons but about liberty. When President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, freedom was encircled, Berlin was under siege. And today, despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines, in South and Central America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place--a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union faces a choice: It must make fundamental changes, or it will become obsolete.

Today thus represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness, to break down barriers that separate people, to create a safe, freer world. And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meeting place of East and West, to make a start. Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four Power Agreement of 1971. Let us use this occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era, to seek a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us maintain and develop the ties

between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, which is permitted by the 1971 agreement.

And I invite Mr. Gorbachev: Let us work to bring the Eastern and Western parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that come with life in one of the great cities of the world.

To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city, finding ways of making commercial air service to Berlin more convenient, more comfortable, and more economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all central Europe.

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to help bring international meetings to Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of United Nations meetings, or world conferences on human rights and arms control or other issues that call for international cooperation.

There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I'm certain, will do the same. And it's my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

One final proposal, one close to my heart: Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you may have noted that the Republic of Korea--South Korea--has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what better way to demonstrate to the world the openness of this city than to offer in some future year to hold the Olympic games here in Berlin, East and West? In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have built a great city. You've done so in spite of threats--the Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark, the blockade. Today the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall. What keeps you here? Certainly there's a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. But I believe there's something deeper, something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life--

not mere sentiment. No one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something instead, that has seen the difficulties of life in Berlin but chose to accept them, that continues to build this good and proud city in contrast to a surrounding totalitarian presence that refuses to release human energies or aspirations. Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation, that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love--love both profound and abiding.

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship. The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love and of worship an affront. Years ago, before the East Germans began rebuilding their churches, they erected a secular structure: the television tower at Alexander Platz. Virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what they view as the tower's one major flaw, treating the glass sphere at the top with paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the sun strikes that sphere--that sphere that towers over all Berlin--the light makes the sign of the cross. There in Berlin, like the city itself, symbols of love, symbols of worship, cannot be suppressed.

As I looked out a moment ago from the Reichstag, that embodiment of German unity, I noticed words crudely spray-painted upon the wall, perhaps by a young Berliner: "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality." Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot withstand faith; it cannot withstand truth. The wall cannot withstand freedom.

And I would like, before I close, to say one word. I have read, and I have been questioned since I've been here about certain demonstrations against my coming. And I would like to say just one thing, and to those who demonstrate so. I wonder if they have ever asked themselves that if they should have the kind of government they apparently seek, no one would ever be able to do what they're doing again.

Thank you and God bless you all.

Bush Tbilisi Speech 2005 Primary Document

Name: _____ Date: _____

Remarks in Freedom Square in Tbilisi, Georgia	NOTES
<p>President George W. Bush</p> <p>May 10, 2005</p> <hr/> <p>Mr. President, thank you for that introduction. Citizens of a free Georgia, Laura and I were in the neighborhood; we thought we'd swing by and say gamarjoba. I am proud to stand beside a President who has shown such spirit, determination, and leadership in the cause of freedom. And Laura and I are proud to stand with the courageous people of Georgia in this place that has earned a proud name, Freedom Square.</p> <p>When Georgians gathered here 16 years ago, this square had a different name. Under Lenin's steely gaze, thousands of Georgians prayed and sang and demanded their independence. The Soviet army crushed that day of protest, but they could not crush the spirit of the Georgian people.</p> <p>The following year, Georgians returned to this square and pulled down the statue of Lenin. And on April 9th, 1991, you declared to the world that Soviet Georgia was no more and that the independent nation of Georgia was born. On that historic day, you reclaimed your sovereignty, but the hopeful start you made was not fulfilled. So 18 months ago, Georgians returned to this square to complete the task you began in 1989. You gathered here armed with nothing but roses and the power of your convictions, and you claimed your liberty. And because you acted, Georgia is today both sovereign and free and a beacon of liberty for this region and the world.</p> <p>The path of freedom you have chosen is not easy, but you will not travel it alone. Americans respect your courageous choice for liberty. And as you build a free and democratic Georgia, the American people will stand with you.</p>	

You are building a free future for your children and grandchildren, and you are helping other nations to do the same. When the Afghan people defied terrorists to vote in that nation's first free Presidential elections, Georgian soldiers were there to provide security. And last year, when terrorist violence in Iraq was escalating, Georgia showed her courage. You increased your troop commitment in Iraq fivefold. The Iraqi people are grateful, and so are your American and coalition allies.

You are making many important contributions to freedom's cause, but your most important contribution is your example. In recent months, the world has marveled at the hopeful changes taking place from Baghdad to Beirut to Bishkek. But before there was a Purple Revolution in Iraq or an Orange Revolution in Ukraine or a Cedar Revolution in Lebanon, there was the Rose Revolution in Georgia. Your courage is inspiring democratic reformers and sending a message that echoes across the world: Freedom will be the future of every nation and every people on Earth.

Building a free society is the work of generations. It took nearly 15 years of struggle before liberty and justice fully took root in this country. Many of the students and workers who gathered here on this square 18 months ago were too young to remember the protests of 1989, but they took up freedom's cause and finished the work that their parents had begun.

Now, across the Caucasus, in Central Asia, and the broader Middle East, we see the same desire for liberty burning in the hearts of young people. They are demanding their freedom, and they will have it.

As free nations, the United States and Georgia have great responsibilities, and together, we will do our duty. Free societies are peaceful societies. And by extending liberty to millions who have not known it, we will advance the cause of freedom and we will advance the cause of peace.

In this global struggle for liberty, our duties begin at home. While peaceful revolutions can bring down repressive regimes, the real changes—the real challenge is to build up free institutions in their place. This is difficult work, and you are undertaking it with dignity and determination. You have taken tough steps to reform

your economy and to crack down on corruption. You are building a democratic society where the rights of minorities are respected, where a free press flourishes, a vigorous opposition is welcome, and unity is achieved through peace. In this new Georgia, the rule of law will prevail and freedom will be the birthright of every citizen.

This was the dream of your late Prime Minister Zhvania, who once said, "It is not by mere chance that we have adopted two very important ideas as our watchwords, freedom and responsibility." Today we pay tribute to this Georgian patriot who became a great leader of the global democratic revolution. In building a free and responsible society, you honor his memory and you carry on his legacy.

As you build free institutions at home, the ties that bind our nations will grow deeper as well. We respect Georgia's desire to join the institutions of Europe. We encourage your closer cooperation with NATO. Georgia's leaders know that the peaceful resolution of conflicts is essential to your integration into the transatlantic community. At the same time, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Georgia must be respected—the territorial [territory] * and sovereignty of Georgia must be respected by all nations.

We are living in historic times when freedom is advancing from the Black Sea to the Caspian to the Persian Gulf and beyond. As you watch free people gathering in squares like this across the world, waving their nations' flags and demanding their God-given rights, you can take pride in this fact: They have been inspired by your example, and they take hope in your success.

As you build freedom in this country, you must know that the seeds of liberty you are planting in Georgian soil are flowering across the globe. I have come here to thank you for your courage. The American people value your friendship and admire your determination. On behalf of all Americans, thank you; God bless you; Sakartvelos gaumarjos.

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