



CHAPTER 13

1945–1960

The Cold War Begins

❧ The Big Ideas ❧

SECTION 1: Origins of the Cold War

International competition can lead to conflict and cooperation. The detonation of the atomic bomb and the end of World War II led to disagreements among the “Big Three” wartime Allies and a shift in American attitudes toward the Soviet Union.

SECTION 2: The Early Cold War Years

The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events. As the Cold War began, the United States struggled to oppose Communist aggression in Europe and Asia through political, economic, and military measures.

SECTION 3: The Cold War and American Society

Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government. The Cold War heightened Americans’ fear of Communist infiltration and atomic attack.

SECTION 4: Eisenhower’s Policies

The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events. As president, Eisenhower developed new policies to contain and compete with communism.



The American Vision: Modern Times Video The Chapter 13 video, “Symbols of the Cold War,” examines the era by focusing on the crisis of the Berlin airlift.

1945

- Yalta conference
- Franklin Roosevelt dies

Truman
1945–1953



1947

- Truman Doctrine declared

1948

- Berlin airlift begins

1949

- NATO established

1950

- McCarthy charges that Communists staff the U.S. State Department
- Korean War begins



United States

PRESIDENTS

1945

1950



World

1945

- Italian women gain right to vote

1946

- Orwell’s *Animal Farm* published

1949

- People’s Republic of China established

1948

- State of Israel created

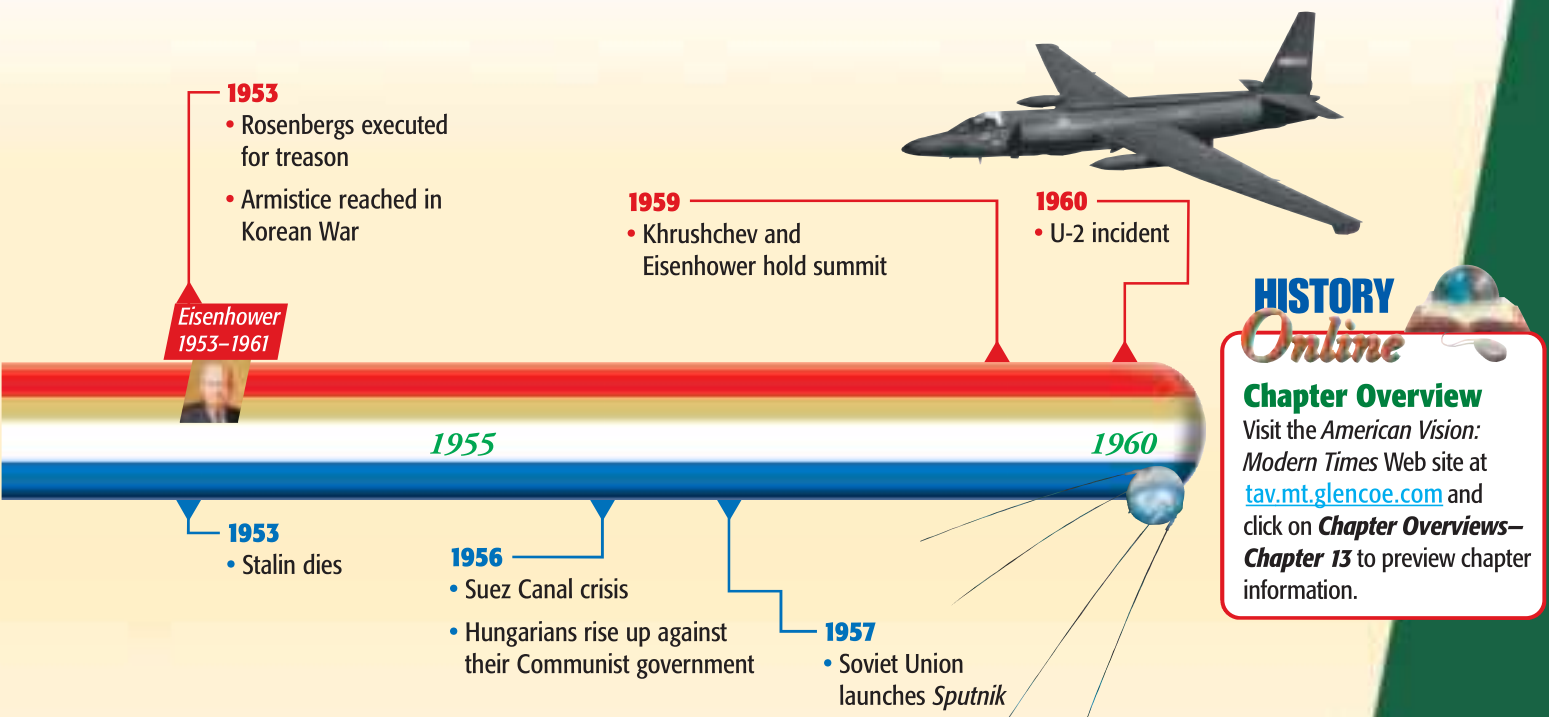
1952

- Britain produces an atomic bomb





During Nixon's 1959 visit to Moscow, the vice president exchanged angry words with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev during the "kitchen" debate at an exhibit at the U.S. Trade and Cultural Fair.



Preparing to Read Chapter 13

Reading Skill

Question-Answer Relationship

Effective readers recognize the different types of questions that they find in reviews and tests. They understand that they can find answers to some questions in the book, while they have to use their experiences and background knowledge to answer other questions.

Sometimes you can find the answer to a question in a single sentence—the answer is “right there.” Other questions require you to “think and search.” This means that you will find parts of the answer in more than one sentence. Some people call these types of questions text-explicit. They mean that the text provides an explicit, or clear, answer to the question.

Read the passage about the formation of NATO. Then use the highlighted and underlined words to discuss the questions below with a partner.

NATO initially included 12 countries: the United States, Canada, Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Portugal, the Netherlands, Norway, Luxembourg, and Iceland. NATO members agreed to come to the aid of any member who was attacked. For the first time in its history, the United States had committed itself to maintaining peace in Europe. Six years later, the United States and its allies decided to allow West Germany to rearm and join NATO. (page 636)

QUESTION-ANSWER RELATIONSHIP

Read questions on tests carefully. Even if a question features words from the text, this does not guarantee that it is a text-explicit question.

Questions: What did NATO members agree to do?

Answer: Use the underlined words to help you answer the question.

This is a “right there” question because the question uses words and phrases directly from the text.

Question: What nations were members of NATO?

Answer: Use the highlighted words to help you answer the question.

This is a “think and search” question because the answer comes from more than one sentence.

Apply the Skill

Look closely at the Reading Check questions throughout the chapter. Most of these questions are examples of either “right there” or “think and search” questions. You should use the text to find the answer to these kinds of questions. As you read through the chapter, determine for each Reading Check question whether it is a “right there” question, a “think and search” question, or a different type of question.

Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View As you read about history, you need to learn to identify bias and prejudice in historical interpretations.

By the time you are a junior in high school, you may have heard someone being called a name that is derogatory. What do you think motivated the person who used offensive terms to belittle someone else? What was that person trying to accomplish?

Historians recognize that some people are motivated by bias and prejudice. Throughout history there have been people who have used their hate to oppress others. They also interpret events and the actions of others through their biased perspective. When people who are motivated by bias and prejudice hold positions of power, they can make life difficult for individuals or even whole groups of people.

Read the following excerpt from a speech by Senator Joseph McCarthy.

While I cannot take the time to name all the men in the State Department who have been named as members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring, I have here in my hand a list of 205 that were known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping the policy of the State Department. (page 646)

You will read in this chapter that McCarthy made his accusations during a time when fear of communism pervaded the United States. Although the list never appeared, McCarthy continued to accuse people, based on his prejudice about communism. Later research of this time in American history revealed that McCarthy's prejudices and biases were so great that many innocent people were falsely accused.

Apply the Skill

You will learn in this chapter about the beginnings of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. As you read Section 3, note how the fear of communism pervaded the United States and influenced not only politics but also the personal lives of Americans. Write down in your notebook each major event or development caused or influenced by that fear.





SECTION 1

Origins of the Cold War

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous chapter, you learned how the Allies defeated Germany and Japan in World War II. In this section, you will examine the beginnings of the Cold War.

Main Idea

- While the Soviets were concerned with protecting their territory, Americans were focusing on the economic causes of war. (p. 627)
- At the Yalta Conference, the Allies determined the postwar plan for the world. (p. 628)

- Differences between American and Soviet goals flared at the Potsdam Conference, where President Truman decided to take a hard line against the Soviets. (p. 629)

Content Vocabulary

Cold War, iron curtain

Academic Vocabulary

route, temporary, element

People and Terms to Identify

Potsdam, satellite nation

Reading Objectives

- **Explain** the growing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union at the end of World War II.

- **Identify** the goals of Stalin's foreign policy immediately after the war.

Reading Strategy

Categorizing As you read about the origins of the Cold War, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by filling in the names of the conferences held among the "Big Three" Allies and the outcomes of each.

Conferences	Outcomes



Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.4.6 Trace the declining role of Great Britain and the expanding role of the United States in world affairs after World War II.

11.7.4 Analyze Roosevelt's foreign policy during World War II (e.g., Four Freedoms speech).

11.9.1 Discuss the establishment of the United Nations and International Declaration of Human Rights, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and their importance in shaping modern Europe and maintaining peace and international order.

11.9.2 Understand the role of military alliances, including NATO and SEATO, in deterring communist aggression and maintaining security during the Cold War.

11.9.3 Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War and containment policy, including the following: the era of McCarthyism, instances of domestic

International competition can lead to conflict and cooperation. Even before the end of World War II, the alliance between the Soviet Union and the United States had become strained. The Soviets voiced concerns about security issues, and the Americans focused on economic concerns and democracy. At two conferences, the two nations, along with Great Britain, decided the fates of Germany and Poland. Tensions increased when the Soviet Union refused to uphold an agreement to grant European nations the right to establish democratic governments. With the Soviet army in control of Eastern Europe, communism spread, and the countries had to follow Soviet-approved policies.

Communism (e.g., Alger Hiss) and blacklisting; the Truman Doctrine; the Berlin Blockade; the Korean War; the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis; atomic testing in the American West, the "mutual assured destruction" doctrine, and disarmament policies; the Vietnam War; Latin American policy.

11.9.4 List the effects of foreign policy on domestic policies and vice versa (e.g., protests during the war in Vietnam, the "nuclear freeze" movement).



A Clash of Interests

Main Idea While the Soviets were concerned with protecting their territory, Americans were focusing on the economic causes of war.

Reading Connection Have you ever had a different perspective on an issue than a friend or family member? Read on to learn about the different perspectives of the Soviets and Americans after World War II.

Even before World War II ended, the wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union had begun to show signs of strain. President Roosevelt had hoped that a victory over the Axis and the creation of the United Nations would lead to a more peaceful world. Instead, the United States and the Soviet Union became increasingly hostile toward each other after the war.

★ An American Story ★

On April 23, 1945, President Harry S. Truman welcomed Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov into the Oval Office of the White House. Truman had been president for less than two weeks, but he was determined to get tough with Molotov.

Truman told the Soviet diplomat how disgusted he was with Moscow's refusal to permit free elections in Poland, expressing his "deep disappointment" that the Soviet Union was not carrying out its agreements. Bluntly, he warned Molotov that Soviet defiance would seriously shake the confidence of the United States and Great Britain in their wartime ally.

Molotov began to explain the Soviet position, but Truman interrupted again and again, repeating his demand that Stalin "carry out that agreement in accordance with his word." Astonished, Molotov blurted out, "I have never been talked to like that in my life!" "Carry out your agreements," the president snapped back, "and you won't get talked to like that!"

—adapted from *The Cold War: A History*

The hostilities between the United States and the Soviet Union led to an era of confrontation and competition between the two countries that lasted from about 1946 to 1990. This era became known as the **Cold War**.

Soviet Security Concerns Tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union began to increase

because the two sides had different goals. As the war ended, Soviet leaders became concerned about security. Germany had invaded Russia twice in less than 30 years. The Soviets wanted to keep Germany weak and make sure that the countries between Germany and the Soviet Union were under Soviet control.

Although security concerns influenced their thinking, Soviet leaders were also Communists. They believed that communism was a superior economic system that would eventually replace capitalism and that the Soviet Union should encourage communism in other nations. Soviet leaders also accepted Lenin's theory that capitalist countries eventually would try to destroy communism. This made Soviet leaders suspicious of capitalist nations.

American Economic Concerns While Soviet leaders focused on securing their borders, American leaders focused on economic problems. Many American officials believed that the Depression had caused World War II. Without it, Hitler would never have come to power, and Japan would not have wanted to expand its empire.

American advisers also thought the Depression had been overly severe because countries cut back on trade. They believed that when nations seal themselves off economically, it forces them to go to war to get the resources they need. By 1945 President Roosevelt and his advisers were convinced that economic growth was the key to world peace. They wanted to promote economic growth by increasing world trade.

▼ Harry S. Truman



National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution/Art Resource, N.Y. Gift of Frances O. Tamm



American leaders believed that democratic government with protections for people's rights made countries more stable and peaceful. They also thought that the free enterprise system was the best route to prosperity.

✓ Reading Check **Describing** Why did U.S. leaders promote both international trade and free enterprise?

The Yalta Conference

Main Idea At the Yalta Conference, the Allies determined the postwar plan for the world.

Reading Connection Have you ever had to work with a team or group to make an important decision? Read on to find out how the Allies determined to deal with Germany after the war.

In February 1945 the Allied leaders, President Roosevelt, Britain's Winston Churchill, and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, met at the Soviet resort of Yalta

to plan the postwar world. There, Stalin reaffirmed the Soviet pledge to enter the war against Japan after Germany was defeated. Several agreements reached at Yalta, however, later played an important role in causing the Cold War.

Poland The first issue the leaders discussed at Yalta was what to do about Poland. Shortly after the Germans invaded Poland, the Polish government leaders had fled to Britain. In 1944, however, Soviet troops drove back the Germans and entered Poland. As the Soviets liberated Poland from German control, the Soviets encouraged Polish Communists to set up a new government. This meant there were now two governments claiming the right to govern Poland, one Communist and one non-Communist. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill both argued that the Poles should be free to choose their own government and not have one forced on them. "This is what we went to war against Germany for," Churchill explained, "that Poland should be free and sovereign."

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MOMENT in HISTORY

AID FOR WAR'S YOUNGEST VICTIMS

The gift of a new pair of shoes from the American Red Cross lights up the face of a young Austrian refugee. Millions of people across Europe were uprooted by almost six years of fighting that seldom distinguished between combatants and civilians. Millions more fled as victorious Soviet troops advanced through Eastern Europe into Germany at the end of World War II. The fate of the refugees became enmeshed in the growing power struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union, which turned the former allies into Cold War enemies.





Stalin quickly responded to Churchill's comments. According to Stalin, the Polish government had to be friendly to the Soviet Union. It was a matter of "life and death." Eventually, the three leaders compromised. Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to recognize the Polish government set up by the Soviets. Stalin agreed that the government would include members of the prewar Polish government and that free elections would be held as soon as possible.

Declaration of Liberated Europe After reaching a compromise on Poland, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin agreed to issue the Declaration of Liberated Europe. The declaration asserted "the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live."

The Allies promised that the people of Europe would be allowed "to create democratic institutions of their own choice." They also promised to create **temporary** governments that represented "all democratic **elements**" and pledged "the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people."

Dividing Germany After agreeing to a set of principles for liberating Europe, the conference focused on Germany. Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin agreed to divide Germany into four zones. Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and France would each control one zone. The same four countries would also divide the city of Berlin, even though it was in the Soviet zone.

Although pleased with the decision to divide Germany, Stalin also wanted to weaken the country economically. He demanded that Germany pay heavy reparations for the war damage it caused. Roosevelt agreed, but he insisted reparations be based on Germany's ability to pay. He also suggested, and Stalin agreed, that Germany pay reparations with trade goods and products instead of cash. The Allies would also be allowed to remove industrial machinery, railroad cars, and other equipment from Germany as reparations.

This decision did not resolve the issue. Over the next few years, arguments about reparations and economic policy in Germany increased tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. These arguments became one of the major causes of the Cold War.

Tensions Begin to Rise The Yalta decisions shaped the expectations of the United States. Two weeks after Yalta, the Soviets pressured the King of Romania into appointing a Communist government.



Germany in Ruins World War II devastated many German cities. Here a woman sits among the ruins of Cologne, a northern city on the Rhine River.

The United States accused the Soviets of violating the Declaration of Liberated Europe.

Soon afterward, the Soviets refused to allow more than three non-Communist Poles to serve in the 18-member Polish government. There was also no indication that they intended to hold free elections in Poland as promised. On April 1, President Roosevelt informed the Soviets that their actions in Poland were not acceptable. Eleven days later, with Soviet-American relations deteriorating, President Roosevelt died, and Vice President Harry Truman took office.

 **Reading Check** **Identifying** What did the Allies decide at Yalta?

Truman Takes Control

Atlantic Journal Differences between American and Soviet goals flared at the Potsdam Conference, where President Truman decided to take a hard line against the Soviets.

Reading Connection Describe a time when you had to work with someone who had different ideas than you. Read on to discover the different opinions that Stalin and Truman held about postwar Germany.

Although inexperienced in diplomacy, Truman already had his own views about how to deal with the Soviets. Truman was strongly anticommunist and suspicious of Stalin. He believed World War II had begun



because Britain had tried to appease Hitler. He was determined not to make the same mistake with Stalin. "We must stand up to the Russians," he told Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, the day after taking office.

Ten days later, Truman did exactly that during his meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov. Truman immediately brought up the issue of Poland and demanded that Stalin hold free elections as he promised at Yalta. Molotov took the unexpectedly strong message back to Stalin. The meeting marked an important shift in Soviet-American relations and set the stage for further confrontations.

The Potsdam Conference In July 1945, with the war against Japan still raging, Truman finally met Stalin at **Potsdam**, near Berlin. Both men had come to Potsdam primarily to work out a deal on Germany.

Truman was now convinced that German industry was critical. Unless Germany's economy was allowed to revive, the rest of Europe would never recover, and the German people might turn to communism out of desperation.

Stalin and his advisers were equally convinced that they needed reparations from Germany. The war had devastated their economy. Soviet troops had begun stripping their zone in Germany of its machinery and industrial equipment for use back home, but Stalin wanted Germany to pay much more.

At the conference, Truman took a firm stand against heavy reparations. He insisted that Germany's industry had to be allowed to recover. Truman suggested that the Soviets take reparations from their zone, while the Allies allowed industry to revive in the other zones. Stalin opposed this idea since the Soviet zone was mostly agricultural. It could not provide all of the reparations the Soviets wanted.

In order to get the Soviets to accept the deal, Truman offered Stalin a small amount of German industrial equipment from the other zones but required the Soviets to pay for part of the equipment with food shipments from their zone. He also offered to accept the new German-Polish border the Soviets had established.

Stalin did not like Truman's proposal. At Potsdam, Truman learned that the atomic bomb had been successfully tested, and he told Stalin about the test. Stalin suspected Truman was trying to bully him into a deal and that the Americans were trying to limit reparations to keep the Soviets weak. Despite his suspicions, Stalin had to accept the deal. American and British troops controlled Germany's industrial heartland, and there was no way for the Soviets to get any reparations except by cooperating. Nevertheless, the Potsdam conference marked yet another increase in tensions between the Soviets and the Americans, further paving the way for the Cold War.

Picturing History

Potsdam Trio Issues about Germany dominated the Potsdam meeting, which was attended by (from left to right) Britain's Clement Attlee, President Truman, and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. **What agreement did they reach regarding reparations?**





Geography Skills

- 1. Interpreting Maps** What nation was divided into Communist and non-Communist zones?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** Why did so many Eastern European nations have Communist governments?

The Iron Curtain Descends Although Truman had won the argument over reparations, he had less success on other issues at Potsdam. The Soviets refused to make any stronger commitments to uphold the Declaration of Liberated Europe. The presence of the Soviet army in Eastern Europe ensured that eventually, pro-Soviet Communist governments would be established in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. "This war is not as in the past," Stalin commented. "Whoever occupies a territory also imposes his own social system. . . . It cannot be otherwise."

The Communist countries of Eastern Europe came to be called **satellite nations**. Although not under direct Soviet control, they had to remain Communist and friendly to the Soviet Union. They also had to follow policies that the Soviets approved.

As he watched the Communist takeover in Eastern Europe, Winston Churchill coined a phrase to describe what had happened. On March 5, 1946, in a speech delivered in Fulton, Missouri, Churchill said:

“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. . . . 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.”

—quoted in *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947*

With the **iron curtain** separating the Communist nations of Eastern Europe from the West, the World War II era had come to an end. The Cold War was about to begin.

Reading Check **Explaining** How did the Potsdam conference hurt Soviet-American relations?

HISTORY
Online

Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

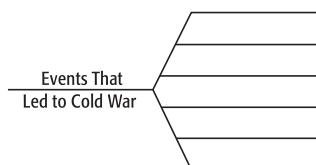
- 1. Vocabulary** Define: Cold War, route, temporary, element, iron curtain.
- 2. People and Terms** Identify: Potsdam, satellite nation.
- 3. Describe** Why did tensions grow between the United States and the Soviet Union after World War II?

Reviewing Big Ideas

- 4. Explaining** At Yalta, what agreement did the “Big Three” come to about Germany’s future after World War II?

Critical Thinking

- 5. Historical Analysis** **Synthesizing** Do you think Roosevelt could have prevented the Cold War? Why or why not?
CA HI4
- 6. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list events that led to the Cold War.



Analyzing Visuals

- 7. Analyzing Maps** Study the map on this page. Why did the Soviet Union want the countries on its western border to have strong Communist governments?

CA CS3

Writing About History

- 8. Expository Writing** Imagine you are an adviser to President Truman. Write a report explaining your interpretation of Churchill’s iron curtain speech.

CA I1RC2.4; I1RL3.8





SECTION 2

The Early Cold War Years

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned about the origins of the Cold War. In this section, you will discover how the Cold War led to crises and conflict.

Main Idea

- As the Cold War continued, President Truman issued the Truman Doctrine and authorized the Marshall Plan. (p. 633)
- For nearly a year, the United States airlifted supplies to West Berlin after the Soviets set up a land blockade. (p. 634)

- China became a Communist nation in 1949 after the United States increased aid to Japan to deter Communist expansion in other Asian countries. (p. 636)
- The United Nations sent armed forces to South Korea to prevent a Communist takeover. (p. 637)

Content Vocabulary

containment, limited war

Academic Vocabulary

mutual, retain, parallel

People and Terms to Identify

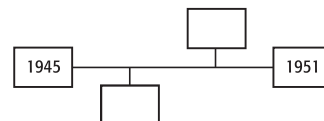
George Kennan, Marshall Plan, NATO

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** the American view of the Soviet Union and the policy of containment.
- **Explain** the causes of the Korean War.

Reading Strategy

Sequencing As you read about the Cold War, complete a time line similar to the one below by recording the major events involving the Korean War.



Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.4.6 Trace the declining role of Great Britain and the expanding role of the United States in world affairs after World War II.

11.7.8 Analyze the effect of massive aid given to Western Europe under the Marshall Plan to rebuild itself after the war and the importance of a rebuilt Europe to the U.S. economy.

11.8.5 Describe the increased powers of the presidency in response to the Great Depression, World War II, and the Cold War.

11.9.1 Discuss the establishment of the United Nations and International Declaration of Human Rights, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and their importance in shaping modern Europe and maintaining peace and international order.

11.9.2 Understand the role of military alliances, including NATO and SEATO, in deterring communist aggression and maintaining security during the Cold War.

11.9.3 Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War and containment policy, including the following: the era of McCarthyism, instances of domestic Communism (e.g., Alger Hiss) and blacklisting; the Truman Doctrine; the

Berlin Blockade; the Korean War; the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis; atomic testing in the American West, the “mutual assured destruction” doctrine, and disarmament policies; the Vietnam War; Latin American policy.

The Big Idea

The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events. As the Soviets showed themselves increasingly unwilling to cooperate with the West, the United States developed a new policy of containment. President Truman declared that the United States was willing to aid any nation threatened by Communist aggression and to help with the recovery of Western Europe. A crisis in Iran and the Soviet blockade of West Berlin seemed to prove the Soviets’ intent to spread communism. This prompted the creation of several defensive alliances. The Cold War spread to Asia with the fall of China to communism. The Korean War prompted the United States to begin a military buildup.



Containing Communism

Main Idea As the Cold War continued, President Truman issued the Truman Doctrine and authorized the Marshall Plan.

Reading Connection Do you believe that the United States should help independent nations move toward more democratic forms of government? Read on to learn about President Truman's commitment to helping other nations remain free.

The early Cold War shaped the politics and economics of many parts of the world. Americans showed a special commitment to Europe when the Soviet Union cut off the newly formed West Berlin from supply routes.

★ An American Story ★

Air Force lieutenant Gail Halvorsen was one of the pilots who airlifted supplies into Berlin in 1948. On one of his days off, he was shooting a home movie outside Berlin's Tempelhof Airport and soon drew a crowd of curious boys and girls. As a wartime pilot, Halvorsen had met children in other cities. They would playfully confront American soldiers, asking, "Any gum, chum?" While digging into his pockets for gum, Halvorsen had an idea. He said that if the children would wait at the end of the runway the next day, he would drop candy from his airplane.

The next day, eager children gathered at the airport. As Halvorsen's plane flew overhead, three small white parachutes floated down with a payload of candy. Halvorsen's "chocolate bombs" became a routine, earning him the nickname *Schokoladenflieger* ("chocolate-flyer"). Other pilots joined in, and by the end of the airlift, American pilots had dropped 250,000 candy parachutes for the children of Berlin.

—adapted from *Berlin in the Balance*

The airlift of supplies to West Berlin reassured Europeans that the United States would help them rebuild their lives, even in the shadow of growing Soviet hostility. It also signaled the end of earlier efforts to cooperate with the Soviets. These efforts, which began during the war, continued after Germany's defeat. In late 1945, the foreign ministers of the former wartime Allies met first in London, then in Moscow, to discuss the future of Europe and Asia.

Although Ernest Bevin, the British foreign minister, and James Byrnes, the American secretary of state, pushed the Soviets to hold free elections in Eastern Europe, the Soviets refused to budge. "Our relations with the Russians," Bevin bleakly concluded, "are drifting into the same condition as that in which we had found ourselves with Hitler."

The Long Telegram Increasingly exasperated by the Soviets' refusal to cooperate, officials at the State Department asked the American Embassy in Moscow to explain Soviet behavior. On February 22, 1946, diplomat **George Kennan** responded with what came to be known as the Long Telegram, a 5,540-word cable message explaining his views of Soviet goals.

According to Kennan, the Soviets' view of the world came from a traditional "Russian sense of insecurity" and fear of the West, intensified by the Communist ideas of Lenin and Stalin. Because Communists believed that they were in a long-term historical struggle against capitalism, Kennan argued, it was impossible to reach any permanent settlement with them.

Kennan, therefore, proposed what became the basic American policy throughout the Cold War: "a long term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies." Kennan explained that, in his opinion, the Soviet system had several major economic and political weaknesses. If the United States could keep the Soviets from expanding their power, it was only a matter of time until the Soviet system would fall apart. Kennan believed that communism could be beaten without going to war. The Long Telegram gave rise to the policy of **containment**—keeping communism within its present territory through the use of diplomatic, economic, and military actions.

▼ *The Berlin airlift became a symbol of American determination.*





Crisis in Iran While Truman's administration discussed Kennan's ideas, a series of crises erupted in the spring and summer of 1946. These crises seemed to prove that Kennan was right about the Soviets. The first crisis began in Iran in March 1946.

During World War II, the United States had put troops in southern Iran while Soviet troops occupied northern Iran to secure a supply line from the Persian Gulf. After the war, instead of withdrawing as promised, the Soviet troops remained. Stalin then began demanding access to Iran's oil supplies. To increase the pressure, Soviet troops helped local Communists in northern Iran establish a separate government.

To American officials, these actions signaled a Soviet push into the Middle East. Secretary of State James Byrnes sent Moscow a strong message demanding that they withdraw. At the same time, the battleship USS *Missouri* sailed into the eastern Mediterranean. The pressure seemed to work. Soviet forces withdrew, having been promised a joint Soviet-Iranian oil company. The Iranian parliament later rejected the plan.

The Truman Doctrine Frustrated in Iran, Stalin turned to Turkey. There the straits of the Dardanelles were a vital route from Soviet Black Sea ports to the Mediterranean. For centuries Russia had wanted to control this strategic route. In August 1946, Stalin demanded joint control of the Dardanelles with Turkey. Presidential adviser Dean Acheson saw this move as the first step in a Soviet plan to control the Mideast, and he advised Truman to make a show of force. The president ordered the new aircraft carrier *Franklin D. Roosevelt* to join the *Missouri* in protecting Turkey and the eastern Mediterranean.

While the United States supported Turkey, Britain tried to help Greece. In August 1946, Greek Communists launched a guerrilla war against the Greek government. For about six months, British troops helped the Greeks fight the guerrillas. The effort strained Britain's economy, which was still weak from World War II. In February 1947, Britain informed the United States that it could no longer afford to help Greece.

On March 12, 1947, Truman went before Congress to ask for \$400 million to fight Communist aggression in Greece and Turkey. His speech outlined a policy which became known as the Truman Doctrine. Its goal was to aid "free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." Its immediate effects were to stabilize the Greek government and ease Soviet demands in Turkey. In the long run, it pledged the United States to fight communism worldwide.

The Marshall Plan Meanwhile, postwar Western Europe faced grave problems. Economies were in ruin, people were near starvation, and political chaos was at hand. The terrible winter of 1946 made things worse.

In June 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed the European Recovery Program, or **Marshall Plan**, which would give European nations American aid to rebuild their economies. Truman saw the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine as "two halves of the same walnut," both essential for containment. Marshall offered help to all nations planning a recovery program:

“Our policy is not directed against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. . . .”

—quoted in *Marshall: A Hero for Our Times*

The Soviet Union and its satellite nations in Eastern Europe rejected the offer. Instead, the Soviets developed their own economic program. This action further separated Europe into competing regions. The Marshall Plan pumped billions of dollars worth of supplies, machinery, and food into Western Europe. Western Europe's recovery weakened the appeal of communism and opened new markets for trade.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** What were the goals of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan?

The Berlin Crisis

Main Idea For nearly a year, the United States airlifted supplies to West Berlin after the Soviets set up a land blockade.

Reading Connection What is the difference between being stubborn and being determined? Read on to find out about a lengthy effort to keep West Germany free.

The Marshall Plan was only one part of the American strategy to rebuild Europe. President Truman and his advisers believed that Western Europe's prosperity depended on Germany's recovery. The Soviets, however, still wanted Germany to pay reparations to the Soviet Union. Eventually, the dispute over Germany brought the United States and the Soviet Union to the brink of war.



West Germany Is Founded By early 1948, U.S. officials had concluded that the Soviets were deliberately trying to undermine Germany's economy. In response, the United States, Great Britain, and France announced that they were merging their zones in Germany and allowing the Germans to have their own government. They also agreed to merge their zones in Berlin and to make West Berlin part of the new German republic.

The new nation was officially called the Federal Republic of Germany, but it became known as West Germany. West Germany's economy was completely separate from the Soviet zone, which eventually became known as East Germany. West Germany was not allowed to have a military, but in most respects, it was independent.

The Berlin Airlift The decision to create West Germany convinced the Soviets that they would never get the reparations they wanted. In late June 1948, Soviet troops cut all road and rail traffic to West

Berlin. The blockade provoked a crisis. President Truman sent long-range bombers with atomic weapons to bases in Britain. General Lucius Clay, the American commander in Germany, warned that if Berlin fell, West Germany would be next.

The challenge was to keep West Berlin alive without provoking war with the Soviets. In June 1948, Truman ordered the Berlin airlift to begin. For 11 months, cargo planes brought in over 2 million tons of supplies, providing Berliners with food, medicine, and coal. Stalin finally lifted the blockade on May 12. The Berlin airlift became a symbol of American determination to stand by the divided city.

NATO The Berlin blockade convinced many Americans that the Soviets were bent on conquest. Both the public and Congress began to support a military alliance with Western Europe. By April 1949, an agreement had been reached to create the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—a **mutual** defense alliance.

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

NATO and the Warsaw Pact, 1955





NATO initially included 12 countries: the United States, Canada, Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Portugal, the Netherlands, Norway, Luxembourg, and Iceland. NATO members agreed to come to the aid of any member who was attacked. Six years later, the United States and its allies decided to allow West Germany to rearm and join NATO. This decision alarmed Soviet leaders, who responded by organizing a military alliance in Eastern Europe, known as the Warsaw Pact. The United States also joined other alliances. The Organization of American States (OAS) started in 1948, and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) formed in 1954.

Reading Check **Evaluating** What triggered the beginning of the Berlin airlift?

The Cold War Spreads to East Asia

Main Idea China became a Communist nation in 1949 after the United States increased aid to Japan to deter Communist expansion in other Asian countries.

Reading Connection Why do you think increasing trade with Japan would help deter communism? Read on to discover how Americans helped Japan rebuild after the war.

The Cold War eventually spread beyond Europe. Conflicts also emerged in Asia, where events in China and Korea brought about a new attitude toward Japan.

Civil War and Revolution in China In China, Communist forces led by Mao Zedong had been struggling against the Nationalist government led by Chiang Kai-shek since the late 1920s. During World War II, the two sides suspended their war to resist Japanese occupation. With the end of World War II, however, civil war broke out again. Although Mao made great gains, neither side could win, and neither would accept a compromise.

To prevent a Communist revolution in Asia, the United States sent the Nationalist government \$2 billion in aid beginning in the mid-1940s, but it squandered this advantage with poor military planning and corruption. By 1949 the Communists had captured the Chinese capital of Beijing and moved southward, while support for the Nationalists declined.

In August 1949, the State Department discontinued aid to the Chinese Nationalists. The defeated Nationalists then fled the Chinese mainland for the small island of Taiwan (Formosa). The victorious Communists established the People's Republic of China in October 1949.

After the Fall China's fall to communism shocked Americans. To make matters worse, in September 1949 the Soviet Union announced that it had successfully tested its first atomic weapon. Then, early in 1950, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union signed a treaty of friendship and alliance. Many Western leaders feared that China and the Soviet Union would support Communist revolutions in other nations.

The United States kept formal diplomatic relations with only the Nationalists in Taiwan. It used its veto

Causes and Effects of the Cold War

Causes

- Soviet Union controls Eastern Europe after World War II.
- Chinese Communists win control of mainland China.
- United States and Soviet Union explode atomic bombs.

Effects

- Marshall Plan provides aid to Western Europe.
- Western nations form NATO; Communist nations respond with Warsaw Pact.
- Korean War erupts.
- American and Soviet arms race begins.
- Red Scare leads to hunt for Communists in the United States.

Graphic Organizer Skills

The Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union dominated postwar politics.

Evaluating What do you think was the most important cause of the Cold War? Why?



Different Viewpoints

Should the War in Korea Be Expanded?

A controversy between President Harry S Truman and General Douglas MacArthur began shortly after the outbreak of the Korean War. It reached a climax when the president relieved MacArthur of his command. Truman believed in a limited war in Korea, while MacArthur wanted total victory.

President Harry S. Truman defends limited war:

The Kremlin [Soviet Union] is trying, and has been trying for a long time, to drive a wedge between us and the other nations. It wants to see us isolated. It wants to see us distrusted. It wants to see us feared and hated by our allies. Our allies agree with us in the course we are following. They do not believe that we should take the initiative to widen the conflict in the Far East. If the United States were to widen the conflict, we might well have to go it alone.

If we go it alone in Asia, we may destroy the unity of the free nations against aggression. Our European allies are nearer to Russia than we are. They are in far greater danger. . . . Going it alone brought the world to the disaster of World War II. . . .

I do not propose to strip this country of its allies in the face of Soviet danger. The path of collective security is our only sure defense against the dangers that threaten us.

power in the UN Security Council to keep representatives of the new Communist China out of the UN, allowing the Nationalists to **retain** their seat.

The Chinese revolution brought about a significant change in American policy toward Japan. At the end of World War II, General Douglas MacArthur had taken charge of occupied Japan. His mission was to introduce democracy and keep Japan from threatening war again. Once the United States lost China as its chief ally in Asia, it adopted policies to encourage the rapid recovery of Japan's industrial economy. Just as the United States viewed West Germany as the key to defending all of Europe against communism, it saw Japan as the key to defending Asia.

 **Reading Check** **Analyzing** How did the revolution in China affect American foreign policy with Japan?



General Douglas MacArthur addresses Congress, April 19, 1951:

History teaches with unmistakable emphasis that appeasement but begets new and bloodier war. . . . Like blackmail, it lays the basis for new and successively greater demands, until, as in blackmail, violence becomes the only other alternative. Why, my soldiers asked of me, surrender military advantage to an enemy in the field? I could not answer.

It was my constant effort to preserve them and end this savage conflict honorably and with the least loss of time and minimum sacrifice of life.

I am closing 52 years of military service. . . . But I still remember the refrain of one of the most popular barrack ballads of that day which proclaimed most proudly that—

“Old soldiers never die, they just fade away.” And like the old soldier of that ballad, I now close my military career and just fade away—an old soldier who tried to do his duty as God gave him the light to see that duty. Good-by.

Learning From History

- 1. Identifying Central Issues** How did MacArthur view Truman's decision to fight a limited war in Korea? How did Truman see it?
- 2. Making Inferences** On the basis of what authority did Truman fire MacArthur?

The Korean War

Main Idea The United Nations sent armed forces to South Korea to prevent a Communist takeover.

Reading Connection Have you ever had to make tough decisions as a group leader or team captain? Read on to discover why President Truman fired General MacArthur during the Korean War.

At the end of World War II, American and Soviet forces entered Korea to disarm the Japanese troops stationed there. The Allies divided Korea at the 38th



parallel of latitude. Soviet troops controlled the north, while American troops controlled the south.

As the Cold War began, talks to reunify Korea broke down. A Communist Korean government was organized in the north, while an American-backed government controlled the south. Both governments claimed authority over all of Korea, and border clashes were common. The Soviet Union provided extensive military aid to the North Koreans, who quickly built up a large, well-equipped army. On June 25, 1950, North Korean troops invaded into the south, rapidly driving back the poorly equipped South Korean forces.

The UN Intervenes Truman saw the Communist invasion of South Korea as a test of the containment policy and ordered United States naval and airpower into action. He then called on the United Nations to

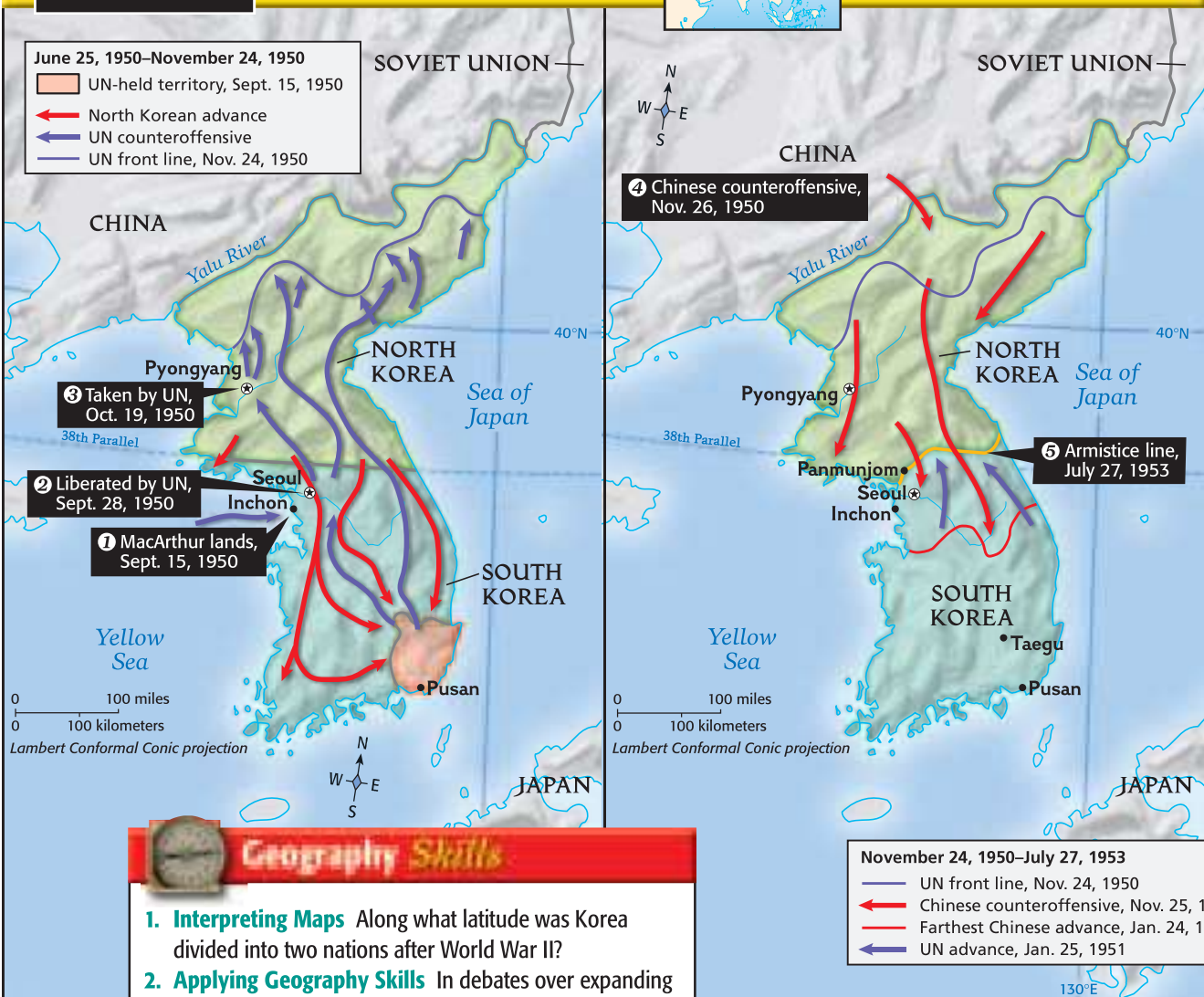
act. Truman succeeded because the Soviet delegate was boycotting the Security Council over its China policy and was not present to veto the American proposal. With the pledge of UN troops, Truman ordered General MacArthur to send American troops from Japan to the Korean peninsula.

The American and South Korean troops were driven back into a small pocket of territory near the port of Pusan. Inside the “Pusan perimeter,” as it came to be called, the troops stubbornly resisted the North Korean onslaught, buying time for MacArthur to organize reinforcements.

On September 15, MacArthur ordered a daring invasion behind enemy lines at the port of Inchon. The Inchon landing took the North Koreans by surprise. Within weeks they were in full retreat back across the 38th parallel. Truman then gave the order



Korean War, 1950–1953





to pursue the North Koreans beyond the 38th parallel. MacArthur pushed the North Koreans north to the Yalu River, the border with China.

China Enters the War The Communist Chinese government saw the advancing UN troops as a threat and warned the forces to halt their advance. When those warnings were ignored, China launched a massive attack across the Yalu River in November. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese troops flooded across the border, driving the UN forces back across the 38th parallel.

As his troops fell back, an angry MacArthur demanded approval to expand the war against China. He asked for a blockade of Chinese ports, the use of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces, and the bombing of Chinese cities with atomic weapons.

Truman Fires MacArthur President Truman refused MacArthur's demands because he did not want to expand the war into China or to use the atomic bomb. MacArthur persisted. He publicly criticized the president, saying, "There is no substitute for victory."

Determined to maintain control of policy and show that the president commanded the military, an exasperated Truman fired MacArthur for insubordination in April 1951. MacArthur, who remained popular despite being fired, returned home to parades and a hero's welcome. Despite criticism, Truman remained committed to **limited war**—a war fought to achieve a limited objective, such as containing communism.

Changes in Policy Truman chose General Matthew Ridgway to replace MacArthur. By mid-1951, the UN forces had pushed the Chinese and

North Korean forces back across the 38th parallel. The war then settled down into a series of relatively small battles over hills and other local objectives. In November 1951, peace negotiations began, but an armistice would not be signed until July 1953. More than 33,600 American soldiers died in action in the Korean War, and more than 2,800 died from accidents or from disease.

The Korean War marked an important turning point in the Cold War. Until 1950 the United States had preferred to use political pressure and economic aid to contain communism. After the Korean War began, the United States embarked on a major military buildup.

The Korean War also helped expand the Cold War to Asia. Before 1950 the United States had focused on Europe as the most important area in which to contain communism. After the Korean War began, the United States became more militarily involved in Asia. Defense agreements were signed with Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Australia. American aid also began to flow to the French forces fighting Communist guerrillas in Vietnam.

Reading Check **Analyzing** How did President Truman view the Communist invasion of South Korea?



Student Web Activity Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 13** for an activity on the Cold War.



For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

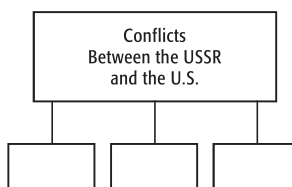
- Vocabulary** Define: containment, mutual, retain, parallel, limited war.
- People and Terms** Identify: George Kennan, Marshall Plan, NATO.
- Examine** How did the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan address the spread of communism?

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Explaining** What long-term Cold War strategy did the United States follow?

Critical Thinking

- Evaluating** How did the Long Telegram influence American policy?
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list early conflicts between the USSR and the U.S.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Maps** Study the maps of the Korean War on page 638. When did the United Nations control the most territory in Korea? When did both sides finally agree upon an armistice line?

Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Write a letter to the editor of a newspaper explaining whether you agree or disagree with President Truman's firing of General MacArthur. **CA 11WS1.1; 11WS1.5**



Looking Back...

The American Revolution

Why It Matters The Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union stemmed from a number of factors, from mutual fear and mistrust to a desire by both superpowers to spread their influence around the world. On another level, however, the effort to contain communism reflected a basic tradition of Americans first seen in the American Revolution: standing up to tyranny and fighting for freedom.

The United States was founded on the principles of individual liberty and democratic rule. Since then, Americans have felt a special duty to promote these ideals and challenge any attempt to undermine them abroad as well as at home. In confronting the Soviet Union, Americans believed they were carrying on a long tradition of battling oppression and despotism.



Steps to . . . the American Revolution

A central idea behind the American Revolution was that the colonists had a right to rebel because the British were suppressing their basic rights. Americans have remained committed to this political principle. By contrast, many of these rights—for example, the right to free speech or to own property—were not recognized in the Soviet Union.

Samuel Adams Few colonists were as unyielding in their opposition to British rule as Samuel Adams. Adams was one the most outspoken of the patriots and the founder of the prominent resistance group, the Sons of Liberty. He admired the ideas of English

philosopher John Locke, agreeing with Locke that every citizen enjoyed the natural rights of life, liberty, and property.

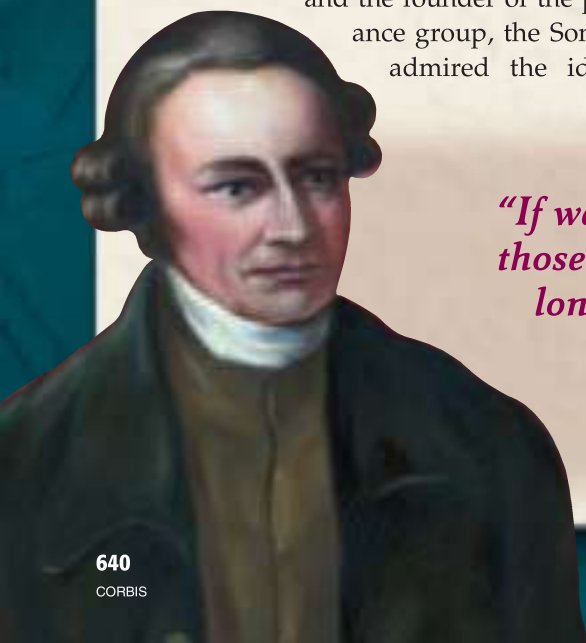
A government, Adams declared, “has no right to absolute, arbitrary power over the lives of and fortunes of the people. . . .”

Thomas Jefferson Perhaps no colonist did more to advance freedom than Thomas Jefferson, one of the main authors of the Declaration of Independence. When the debate over whether to fight Great Britain began, Jefferson was one of many who argued that personal liberty and self-determination were worth fighting for.

“We have counted the cost of this contest and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery,” Jefferson stated in a 1775 declaration cowritten with

“If we wish to be free; if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending; if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, . . . we must fight!”

—Patrick Henry, 1775



American vs. Soviet Government Systems

U.S. Constitutional System	Soviet System
Bill of Rights to protect individual rights with access to independent judiciary	Soviet constitution states protections, but they are not enforced; no independent judiciary
Free elections	Government-controlled elections
Representative government at federal, state, and local levels	Central Committee of Communist Party in control of central, state, and local government
Police under civilian control	Police under party control; active secret police unit to control dissent
Free press	State-controlled press
Military under control of elected civilian government bodies	Military under control of central leadership of Communist Party
Extensive private property ownership	State ownership of major industries; very limited private ownership

John Dickinson. "Honor, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our [descendants] have a right to receive from us."

George Washington During the Revolution, George Washington's duties were mostly military, but he believed strongly in civilian government. He showed his political beliefs at the end of the Revolutionary War, when he learned that a group of military officers who had not been paid were considering seizing control of the government. He criticized the plotters and expressed his disgust with the idea of military rule. Such an action, Washington declared, "has something so shocking in it that humanity revolts at the idea. . . ." Washington's position reflected his commitment to a government by the people.

Benjamin Franklin Benjamin Franklin, the American philosopher, diplomat, and inventor, also supported independence. For a long time, Franklin was friendly to Great Britain, but he eventually came to see British rule as oppressive. In a satirical 1773 piece entitled *Rules by Which a Great Empire May Be Reduced to a Small One*, Benjamin Franklin explained that Britain was following all the necessary steps to create a colonial rebellion:

"If you are told of discontents in your colonies, never believe that they are general, or that you have

given occasion for them; therefore, do not think of applying any remedy, or of changing any offensive measure. . . ."

Free Speech and Free Press Free speech and freedom of the press were important freedoms for which the colonists fought. Before the American Revolution, colonists could be charged with sedition for criticizing the government. After the Revolution, many state constitutions guaranteed the right to free speech and a free press.

The Virginia Declaration of Rights of 1776 stated that "the freedom of the press is one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty and can never be restrained but by despotic governments." These ideas led to the lines in the First Amendment of the Constitution guaranteeing free speech and freedom of the press. These freedoms are rarely found in Communist societies or in military dictatorships. Protecting these freedoms was one more reason the United States opposed the spread of communism.

Check for Understanding

1. What doctrine of John Locke did Samuel Adams promote?
2. What principle did George Washington believe was important in the relationship between government and the military?

Critical Thinking

1. Why do you think that dictatorships and other tyrannical forms of governments oppose freedom of the press?
2. In what ways were the revolutionary leaders mentioned here similar to American leaders during the Cold War?



SECTION 3

The Cold War and American Society

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned about the first crises of the Cold War. In this section, you will discover how the Cold War changed American society.

Main Idea

- As Cold War tensions rose, Americans worked to combat Communist influence at home. (p. 643)
- The Red Scare intensified as Senator Joseph McCarthy presided over a Senate committee charged with exposing Communists in government. (p. 646)

- Fear of nuclear attack and of communism dominated American popular culture during the early Cold War years. (p. 648)

Content Vocabulary

subversion, perjury, censure, fallout, fallout shelter

Academic Vocabulary

confirm, sole, nuclear

People and Terms to Identify

loyalty review program, Alger Hiss, McCarran Act, McCarthyism

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** the new Red Scare.
- **Discuss** how American society reflected fears of the nuclear age.

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes As you read about American reaction to the Cold War, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

The Cold War and American Society
I. A New Red Scare
A. The Loyalty Review Program
B.
C.
D.



Preview of Events

♦ 1947

March 1947

Loyalty Review Board established

♦ 1950

February 1950

McCarthy claims to have a list of Communists in the State Department

♦ 1953

September 1950

McCarran Act passed

June 1953

Rosenbergs executed

The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.8.7 Describe the effects on society and the economy of technological developments since 1945, including the computer revolution, changes in communication, advances in medicine, and improvements in agricultural technology.

11.8.8 Discuss forms of popular culture, with emphasis on their origins and geographic diffusion (e.g., jazz and other forms of popular music, professional sports, architectural and artistic styles).

11.9.3 Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War and containment policy, including the following: the era of McCarthyism, instances of domestic Communism (e.g., Alger Hiss) and blacklisting; the Truman Doctrine; the Berlin Blockade; the Korean War; the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis; atomic testing in the American West, the “mutual assured destruction” doctrine, and disarmament policies; the Vietnam War; Latin American policy.

Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government. Americans grew concerned about Communists not only overseas but also in the United States. Such concerns led to a new Red Scare, the establishment of a loyalty review program, an anti-Communist law, and a congressional committee to investigate Communist activities. Several spy convictions provided fuel for Senator McCarthy’s allegations. At the same time, Americans grew concerned about and prepared for a possible Soviet nuclear attack on the United States.

11.9.4 List the effects of foreign policy on domestic policies and vice versa (e.g., protests during the war in Vietnam, the “nuclear freeze” movement).



A New Red Scare

Main Idea As Cold War tensions rose, Americans worked to combat Communist influence at home.

Reading Connection Describe a time in American history when rumors and fears created a distrustful environment. Read on to learn about the new Red Scare.

During the 1950s, many ordinary people had their lives disrupted. Accusations of Communists in the United States and of Communist infiltration of the government tapped into fears that the Communists were trying to take over the world.

★ An American Story ★

In the 1940s, Ruth Goldberg belonged to the Parent-Teacher Association in Queens, New York. In 1947 she agreed to run for PTA president, but the campaign turned nasty. Because Goldberg had associated with people with left-wing interests, a rumor spread through the neighborhood that she was a Communist. Suddenly Goldberg's quiet life became terrifying. Callers threatened her, and the local priest denounced her in his sermons. One afternoon, Goldberg's eight-year-old son came home in tears. A playmate had told him, "You know, your mother's a Red. She should be put up against a wall and shot."

Looking back much later, Goldberg saw the PTA campaign as part of a bigger and more complex pattern of distrust and hatred. "It was a small thing, but it was an indication of what had happened with the Cold War, with this Red specter—that somebody like me could be a danger to a community."

—adapted from *Red Scare*

The Red Scare began in September 1945, when a clerk named Igor Gouzenko walked out of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, Canada, and defected. Gouzenko carried documents revealing a massive effort by the Soviet Union to infiltrate organizations and government agencies in Canada and the United States in order to obtain information on the atomic bomb.

The Gouzenko case stunned Americans. It implied that spies had infiltrated the American government. Soon, however, the search for spies escalated into a general fear of Communist subversion. **Subversion** is the effort to secretly weaken a society and overthrow its government. As the Cold War intensified in

1946 and early 1947, Americans began to fear that Communists were secretly working to subvert the American government.

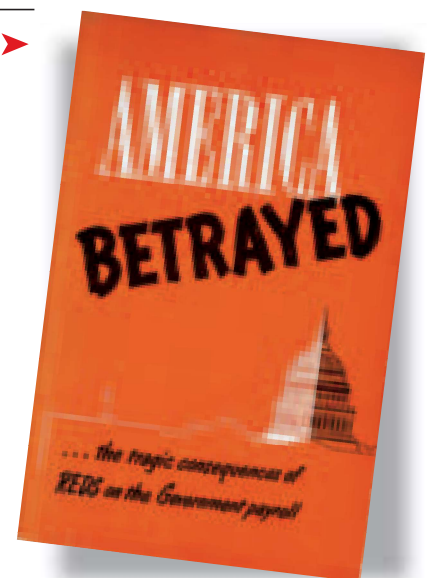
The Loyalty Review Program In early 1947, just nine days after his powerful speech announcing the Truman Doctrine, the president established a **loyalty review program** to screen all federal employees. Rather than calm public suspicion, Truman's action seemed to **confirm** fears that Communists had infiltrated the government and helped increase the fear of communism sweeping the nation.

Between 1947 and 1951, over 6 million federal employees were screened for their loyalty—a term difficult to define. A person might become a suspect for reading certain books, belonging to various groups, traveling overseas, or even seeing certain foreign films. About 14,000 employees were subject to intensive scrutiny from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Some 2,000 employees quit their jobs during the check, many under pressure. Another 212 were fired for "questionable loyalty," though no actual evidence against them was uncovered.

HUAC Although the FBI helped screen federal employees, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover was not satisfied. In 1947 Hoover went before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). Formed in 1938 to investigate both Communist and Fascist activities in the United States, HUAC was a relatively minor committee until Hoover catapulted it to prominence.

Hoover urged HUAC to hold public hearings on Communist subversion. The committee, Hoover said, could reveal "the diabolic machinations of sinister

*Book produced during the
Red Scare of the 1950s* ➤





Picturing History

Convicted of Conspiracy Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were convicted of transmitting atomic secrets to Soviet Russia. [What sentence did they receive?](#)

figures engaged in un-American activities." Once Communists were identified, he explained, the public would isolate them and end their influence. Hoover's aim was to expose not just Communists but also "Communist sympathizers" and "fellow travelers." Under Hoover's leadership, the FBI sent agents to infiltrate groups suspected of subversion and wire-tapped thousands of telephones.

Alger Hiss In 1948 Whittaker Chambers, a *Time* magazine editor and former Communist Party member, testified to HUAC that several government officials were also former Russians or spies.

The most prominent government official named by Chambers was **Alger Hiss**, a lawyer and diplomat who had served in Roosevelt's administration, attended the Yalta conference, and taken part in organizing the United Nations. After Hiss sued him for libel, Chambers testified before a grand jury that in 1937 and 1938 Hiss gave him secret documents from the State Department. Hiss denied being either a spy or a member of the Communist Party, and he also denied ever having known Chambers.

The committee was ready to drop the investigation until Representative Richard Nixon of California convinced his colleagues to continue the hearings to determine whether Hiss or Chambers had lied. As the committee continued to question Hiss, he admitted that he had indeed met Chambers in the 1930s. When Chambers continued to claim that Hiss was a Communist, Hiss sued him, claiming that his accusations were unfounded and malicious.

To defend himself, Chambers produced copies of secret documents along with microfilm that he had hidden in a hollow pumpkin on his farm. These "pumpkin papers," Chambers claimed, proved that he was telling the truth. A jury agreed and convicted Hiss of **perjury**, or lying under oath.

The Rosenbergs Another sensational spy case centered around accusations that American Communists had sold the secrets of the atomic bomb. Many people did not believe that the Soviet Union could

Hollywood on Trial

One of HUAC's first hearings focused on the film industry as a powerful cultural force that Communists might use and manipulate. Its interviews routinely began, "Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?" As fear of Communists in Hollywood spread, producers then drew up a blacklist and agreed not to hire anyone in the film industry who was believed to be a Communist or who refused to cooperate with the committee. The blacklist created an atmosphere of distrust and fear. People could be blacklisted for making chance remarks, criticizing HUAC, or knowing a suspected Communist.

Ronald Reagan, head of the Screen Actors Guild at the time, testified that there were Communists in Hollywood.



Ten screenwriters, known as the "Hollywood Ten" (shown here with their lawyers), used their Fifth Amendment right to protect themselves from self-incrimination and refused to testify before HUAC.



have produced an atomic bomb in 1949 without help. This belief intensified the hunt for spies.

In 1950 the hunt led to Klaus Fuchs, a British scientist who admitted sending information to the Soviet Union. His testimony led the FBI to arrest Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, a New York couple who were members of the Communist Party. The government charged them with heading a Soviet spy ring.

The Rosenbergs denied the charges but were condemned to death for espionage. Many people believed that they were not leaders or spies, but victims caught up in the wave of anti-Communist frenzy. Appeals, public expressions of support, and pleas for clemency failed, however, and the couple was executed in June 1953.

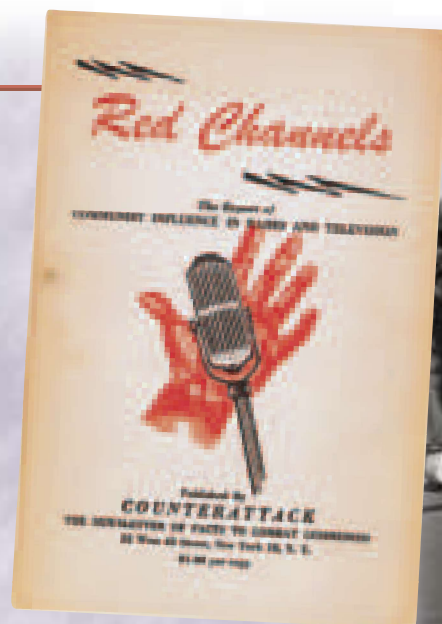
Project Venona The American public hotly debated the guilt or innocence of individuals like the Rosenbergs who were accused as spies. There was, however, solid evidence of Soviet espionage, although very few Americans knew it at the time. In 1946 American cryptographers working for a project code-named “Venona” cracked the Soviet spy code of the time, enabling them to read approximately 3,000 messages between Moscow and the United States collected during the Cold War. The messages confirmed extensive Soviet spying and sent federal investigators on a massive hunt. To keep the Soviets

from learning how thoroughly the United States had penetrated their codes, authorities chose not to make the intercepted messages public. Not until 1995 did the government reveal Project Venona’s existence. The Venona documents provided strong evidence that the Rosenbergs were guilty.

The Red Scare Spreads Following the federal government’s example, many state and local governments, universities, businesses, unions, and churches began their own efforts to find Communists. The University of California required its 11,000 faculty members to take loyalty oaths and fired 157 who refused to do so. Many Catholic groups became strongly anti-Communist and urged their members to identify Communists within the church.

The Taft-Hartley Act required union leaders to take oaths that they were not Communists, but many union leaders did not object. Instead they launched their own efforts to purge Communists from their organizations. The president of the CIO called Communist sympathizers “skulking cowards” and “apostles of hate.” The CIO eventually expelled 11 unions that refused to remove Communist leaders from their organization.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** What was the purpose of the loyalty review boards and HUAC?



Red Channels, published in 1950, was prepared by three ex-FBI agents. The booklet claimed to identify 151 subversive entertainers in radio and television.



A number of well-known Hollywood celebrities, including actors Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall (front row), went to Washington to protest HUAC’s investigation of alleged Communists.



"A Conspiracy So Immense"

Main Idea The Red Scare intensified as Senator Joseph McCarthy presided over a Senate committee charged with exposing Communists in government.

Reading Connection Do you believe a person is innocent until proven guilty? Read on to discover how accusations alone could ruin a person's career during the era of McCarthyism.

In 1949 the Red Scare intensified even further. That year, the Soviet Union successfully tested an atomic bomb, and China fell to communism. To many Americans these events seemed to prove that the United States was losing the Cold War. Deeply concerned, they wanted an explanation as to why their government was failing. As a result, many continued to believe that Communists had infiltrated the government and remained undetected.

In February 1950, soon after Alger Hiss's perjury conviction, a little-known Wisconsin senator gave a political speech to a Republican women's group in West Virginia. Halfway through his speech, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy made a surprising statement:

▼ *George C. Marshall*



“While I cannot take the time to name all the men in the State Department who have been named as members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring, I have here in my hand a list of 205 that were known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping the policy of the State Department.”

—quoted in *The Fifties*

By the next day, the Associated Press had picked up the statement and sent it to papers all over the country. When McCarthy arrived at the Denver airport, reporters crowded around him and asked to see his list of Communists in the state department. McCarthy replied that he would be happy to show them the list, but unfortunately, it was packed in his bag on the plane. In fact, the list never appeared. McCarthy, however, continued to make charges and draw attention.

McCarthy's Charges Born in 1908 near Appleton, Wisconsin, Joseph R. McCarthy studied law and served in World War II before his first run for the Senate. McCarthy's 1946 political campaign sounded the keynote of his career. Without making any specific charges or offering any proof, McCarthy accused his opponent, Robert M. La Follette, Jr., of being “communistically inclined.” Fear of communism, plus McCarthy's intense speeches, won him the election.

After becoming a senator, McCarthy continued to proclaim that Communists were a danger both at home and abroad. To some of his audiences, he distributed a booklet called “The Party of Betrayal,” which accused Democratic Party leaders of corruption and of protecting Communists. Secretary of State Dean Acheson was a frequent target. According to McCarthy, Acheson was incompetent and a tool of Stalin. He wildly accused George C. Marshall, the former army chief of staff and secretary of state, of disloyalty as a member of “a conspiracy so immense as to dwarf any previous such ventures in the history of man.”

McCarthy was not alone in making such charges. In the prevailing mood of anxiety about communism, many Americans were ready to believe them.

The McCarran Internal Security Act In 1950, with the Korean War underway and McCarthy and others arousing fears of Communist spies, Congress passed the Internal Security Act, usually called the **McCarran Act**. Declaring that “world Communism has as its sole purpose the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship in America,” Senator Pat McCarran



Picturing History

McCarthy Goes Too Far Army lawyer Joseph Welch listens to Senator McCarthy during the televised Army-McCarthy hearings. [How did televising the hearings affect McCarthyism?](#)



of Nevada offered a way to fight “treachery, infiltration, sabotage, and terrorism.” The act made it illegal to “combine, conspire, or agree with any other person to perform any act which would substantially contribute to . . . the establishment of a totalitarian government.” The law required all Communist Party and “Communist-front” organizations to register with the United States attorney general and publish their records. The act also created other restrictions for Communists. For example, they could not get passports to travel abroad.

The McCarran Act did not stop there. In case of a national emergency, it allowed the arrest and detention of Communists and Communist sympathizers. Unwilling to punish people for their opinions, Truman vetoed the bill, but Congress easily passed it over his veto in 1950. Later Supreme Court cases, however, ensured that the McCarran Act would never be very effective.

McCarthy’s Tactics After the 1952 election gave the Republicans control of Congress, McCarthy became chairman of the Senate subcommittee on investigations. Using the power of his committee to force government officials to testify about alleged Communist influences, McCarthy turned the investigation into a witch hunt—a search for disloyalty

based on flimsy evidence and irrational fears. His tactic of damaging reputations with vague and unfounded charges became known as **McCarthyism**.

McCarthy’s theatrics and sensational accusations drew the attention of the press, which put him in the headlines and quoted him widely. When he questioned witnesses, McCarthy would badger them and then refuse to accept their answers. His tactics left a cloud of suspicion that McCarthy and others interpreted as guilt. Furthermore, people were afraid to challenge him for fear of becoming targets themselves.

McCarthy’s Downfall In 1954 McCarthy began to look for Soviet spies in the United States Army. Alerted to his intentions, the army conducted its own internal investigation and found no spies or any suspicion of espionage. Furious at the denial, McCarthy took his investigation onto television. He questioned and challenged officers in a harsh voice, harassing them about trivial details and accusing them of misconduct.

During weeks of televised Army McCarthy hearings in the spring of 1954, millions of Americans watched McCarthy bully witnesses. His popular support started to fade. Finally, to strike back at the army lawyer, Joseph Welch, McCarthy brought up



Picturing History

Signs of the Times During the Cold War, the media often gave survival tips for the nuclear holocaust many saw just around the corner. At right, a California resident works on his fallout shelter. [How did such fears affect American politics?](#)

the past of a young lawyer in Welch's firm who had been a member of a Communist-front organization during his law school years. Welch, who was fully aware of the young man's past, now exploded at McCarthy for possibly ruining the young man's career: "Until this moment, I think I never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness. . . . You have done enough. Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?"

Spectators cheered. Welch had said aloud what many Americans had been thinking. One senator on the committee, Stuart Symington of Missouri, was also repelled: "The American people have had a look at you for six weeks. You are not fooling anyone." McCarthy had lost the power to arouse fear. Newspaper headlines repeated, "Have you no sense of decency?"

Later that year, the Senate passed a vote of **censure**, or formal disapproval, against McCarthy—one of the most serious criticisms it can level against a member. His influence gone, McCarthy faded from public view. Although he remained in the Senate, he had little influence. He died in 1957, a broken and embittered man.

Reading Check **Evaluating** What were the effects of McCarthyism?

Life During the Early Cold War

Main Idea Fear of nuclear attack and of communism dominated American popular culture during the early Cold War years.

Reading Connection How was popular culture and life in the 1950s different from today? Read on to find out what people were watching and reading during the Cold War.

The Red Scare and the spread of **nuclear** weapons had a profound impact on life in the 1950s. Fear of communism and of nuclear war dominated life for ordinary Americans as well as for government leaders throughout the era.

Facing the Bomb Already upset by the first Soviet atomic test in 1949, Americans were shocked when the USSR again successfully tested the much more powerful hydrogen bomb, or H-bomb, in 1953. This was less than a year after the United States had tested its own H-bomb.

Americans prepared for a surprise Soviet attack. Schools set aside special areas as bomb shelters. In bomb drills, students learned to duck under their



desks, turn away from the windows, and cover their heads with their hands. These “duck-and-cover” actions were supposed to protect them from a nuclear bomb blast.

“Duck-and-cover” might have made people feel safe, but it would not have protected them from deadly nuclear radiation. According to experts, for every person killed outright by a nuclear blast, four more would die later from **fallout**, the radiation left over after a blast. To protect themselves, some families built backyard **fallout shelters** and stocked them with canned food.

Popular Culture in the Cold War Worries about nuclear war and Communist infiltration filled people’s imaginations. Cold War nightmares soon appeared in films and popular fiction.

Matt Cvetic was an FBI undercover informant who secretly infiltrated the Communist Party in Pittsburgh. His story captivated magazine readers in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1950 and came to the screen the next year as *I Was a Communist for the FBI*. Another suspense film, *Walk East on Beacon* (1951), features the FBI’s activities in an espionage case. In 1953 television took up the theme with a series about an undercover FBI counterspy who was also a Communist Party official. Each week, *I Led Three Lives* kept television viewers on edge.

In 1954 author Philip Wylie published *Tomorrow!* This novel describes the horrific effects of nuclear war on an unprepared American city. As an adviser on civil defense, Wylie had failed to convince the federal government to play a strong role in building bomb shelters. Frustrated, he wrote this novel to educate the public about the horrors of atomic war.



▲ Students practice a “duck and cover” bomb drill.

At the same time these fears were haunting Americans, the country was enjoying postwar prosperity and optimism. That spirit, combined with McCarthyism, witch hunts, fears of Communist infiltration, and the threat of atomic attack, made the early 1950s a time of contrasts. As the 1952 election approached, Americans were looking for someone or something that would make them feel secure.

✓ **Reading Check** **Describing** How did the Cold War affect life in the 1950s?

HISTORY
Online



Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

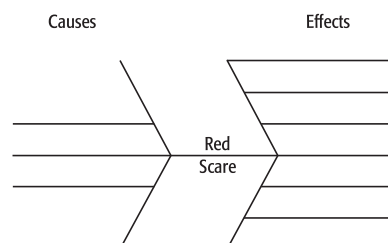
- Vocabulary** Define: subversion, confirm, perjury, sole, censure, nuclear, fallout, fallout shelter.
- People and Terms** Identify: loyalty review program, Alger Hiss, McCarran Act, McCarthyism.
- Explain** the goals of Project Venona.
- Review Facts** What did the McCarran Act propose to do?

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Describing** How did McCarthyism and the Red Scare change American society and government?

Critical Thinking

- Historical Analysis** **Interpreting** Why did McCarthy initially receive a lot of support for his efforts to expose Communists? **CA HI.3**
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer to list the causes and effects of the new Red Scare.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photograph on page 647 of the *Army-McCarthy hearings*. From their postures, how would you describe the attitude of army lawyer Joseph Welch toward Senator Joseph McCarthy? Do you think Welch respects McCarthy’s presentation?

Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Imagine you are a newspaper editor during the McCarthy hearings. Write an editorial supporting or condemning Senator McCarthy. Defend your position. **CA 11WS1.1; 11WS2.3a**





SECTION 4

Eisenhower's Policies

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned how the Cold War led to a new Red Scare in the United States. In this section, you will read about President Eisenhower's response to the Cold War.

Main Idea

- Eisenhower advocated a policy of massive strength to combat Communist influence. (p. 651)
- Although he ended the Korean War as he had promised, President Eisenhower faced new foreign policy challenges as Cold War tensions rose. (p. 652)
- President Eisenhower used the Central Intelligence Agency to remove anti-American leaders and to fight Communist takeovers. (p. 654)

- Despite attempts to cooperate, tensions remained high between the Soviet and American heads of state. (p. 656)

Content Vocabulary

massive retaliation, brinkmanship, covert, developing nation, military-industrial complex

Academic Vocabulary

dominant, estate, imply

People and Terms to Identify

Sputnik, Central Intelligence Agency

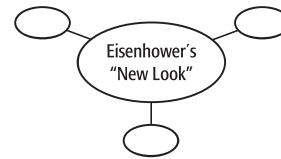
Reading Objectives

- **Evaluate** Eisenhower's military policy known as the "New Look."

- **Debate** the effectiveness of Eisenhower's foreign policy.

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about Eisenhower's presidency, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by filling in aspects of Eisenhower's "New Look."



Interactive
Graphic Organizer

Preview of Events

♦ 1952

July 1953
Armistice in
Korean War

♦ 1955

October 1956
Hungarian
revolution

October 1956
Suez Canal crisis

♦ 1958

October 4, 1957
Soviet Union
launches Sputnik

♦ 1961

May 1960
U-2 incident

The following are the main
History–Social Science Standards
covered in this section.

11.8.4 Analyze new federal government spending on defense, welfare, interest on the national debt, and federal and state spending on education, including the California Master Plan.

11.8.5 Describe the increased powers of the presidency in response to the Great Depression, World War II, and the Cold War.

11.8.7 Describe the effects on society and the economy of technological developments since 1945, including the computer revolution, changes in communication, advances in medicine, and improvements in agricultural technology.

11.9.2 Understand the role of military alliances, including NATO and SEATO, in deterring communist aggression and maintaining security during the Cold War.

11.9.3 Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War and containment policy, including the following: the era of McCarthyism, instances of domestic

The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events.

Upon taking office, President Eisenhower focused on strengthening the nation's economy. He cut millions in defense spending by developing a new defense policy called massive retaliation, which threatened the use of nuclear weapons to fight communism. Congress reacted to the Soviet development of a space satellite with the creation of a space agency and increased funding for education. In the meantime, Eisenhower put his new foreign policy approach of brinkmanship into action to end the war in Korea and to deal with crises in Taiwan and the Suez Canal. He also approved covert operations to contain and fight communism in developing nations. A failed uprising in Hungary further increased tensions.

Communism (e.g., Alger Hiss) and blacklisting; the Truman Doctrine; the Berlin Blockade; the Korean War; the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis; atomic testing in the American West, the "mutual assured destruction" doctrine, and disarmament policies; the Vietnam War; Latin American policy.

11.9.4 List the effects of foreign policy on domestic policies and vice versa (e.g., protests during the war in Vietnam, the "nuclear freeze" movement).

11.9.6 Describe U.S. Middle East policy and its strategic, political, and economic interests, including those related to the Gulf War.



Eisenhower's "New Look"

Main Idea Eisenhower advocated a policy of massive strength to combat Communist influence.

Reading Connection What are your school's requirements in math and sciences? Read on to discover how Americans came to emphasize education in the sciences.

By late 1959, the United States and the Soviet Union were in the beginning stages of decreasing tension between the two countries. This progress halted, however, when the Soviet Union shot down a U.S. spy plane flying over Russian territory.

★ *An American Story* ★

On May 1, 1960, CIA pilot Francis Gary Powers sat in the cockpit of his U-2 spy plane, flying at more than 60,000 feet over Afghanistan. His mission was to fly over suspected Soviet missile bases and photograph them.

As Powers passed over the forbidden border into the Soviet Union, he felt a familiar thrill. "There was no abrupt change in topography," he remembered, "yet the moment you crossed the border, you sensed the difference. . . . Knowing there were people who would shoot you down if they could created a strange tension. . . . I wondered how the Russians felt, knowing I was up here, unable to do anything about it. . . . I could imagine their frustration and rage."

Suddenly, Powers heard a dull thump. A surface-to-air missile exploded nearby in a flash of orange. The plane's wings snapped off, leaving the spinning aircraft plummeting down towards the earth. Powers screamed, "I've had it now!"

The downing of Powers's plane set off one of the major confrontations of the Cold War during the presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

—adapted from *May-Day: The U-2 Affair*

At the end of 1952, eight years prior to the downing of Francis Gary Powers's plane, many Americans were ready for a change in leadership. The Cold War had much to do with that attitude. Many Americans believed that Truman's foreign policy was not working. The Soviet Union had acquired the atomic bomb and consolidated its hold on Eastern Europe. China

had fallen to communism, and American troops had been sent across the Pacific to fight in the Korean War.

Tired of the criticism and uncertain he could win, Truman decided not to run again. The Democrats nominated Adlai Stevenson, governor of Illinois. The Republicans chose Dwight D. Eisenhower, the general who had organized the D-Day invasion.

Despite Stevenson's charming personality and skilled speech making, he had no chance against a national hero who had helped win World War II. Americans were looking for someone they could trust to lead the nation in its Cold War struggle against communism. Eisenhower won in a landslide.

"More Bang for the Buck" The Cold War shaped Eisenhower's thinking from the moment he took office. Eisenhower was convinced that the key to victory in the Cold War was not simply military might but also a strong economy. The United States had to show the world that free enterprise could produce the most prosperous society. At the same time, economic prosperity would prevent Communists from gaining support in the United States.

As a professional soldier, Eisenhower knew the costs associated with large-scale conventional war. Preparing for that kind of warfare, he believed, would cost far too much money. "We cannot defend the nation in a way which will exhaust our economy," Eisenhower declared. A "New Look" in defense policy was needed. Instead of maintaining a

▼ Francis Gary Powers



CORBIS



Analyzing Political Cartoons

Cold War Worries The speaker here is comparing American prosperity with the Soviets' launching of *Sputnik*. [What is the cartoonist's intent?](#)

large and expensive army, the nation “must be prepared to use atomic weapons in all forms.” Nuclear weapons, he said, gave “more bang for the buck.”

Massive Retaliation The Korean War had convinced Eisenhower that the United States could not contain communism by fighting a series of small wars. Such wars were unpopular and too expensive. Instead, they had to be prevented from happening in the first place. The best way to do that seemed to be to threaten to use nuclear weapons if a Communist state tried to seize territory by force. This policy came to be called **massive retaliation**.

The new policy enabled Eisenhower to cut military spending from \$50 billion to \$34 billion. He did this by cutting back the army, which required a lot of money to maintain. At the same time, he increased America's nuclear arsenal from about 1,000 bombs in 1953 to about 18,000 bombs in 1961.

The Sputnik Crisis The New Look's emphasis on nuclear weapons required new technology to deliver them. In 1955 the air force unveiled the huge B-52 bomber, which was designed to fly across continents and drop nuclear bombs anywhere in the world.

Because bombers could be shot down, Eisenhower also began development of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) that could deliver bombs anywhere in the world. He also began a program to build submarines capable of launching nuclear missiles.

As the United States began to develop long-range nuclear missiles, Americans were stunned to discover the Soviet Union had already developed their own. On October 4, 1957, the Soviets launched **Sputnik**, the first artificial satellite to orbit the earth. This technological triumph alarmed Americans, who took it as a sign that the United States was falling behind the Soviet Union in missile technology.

Eisenhower insisted he was not worried just because the Soviets “put one small ball into the air.” Members of Congress, on the other hand, feared the nation was falling behind in scientific research. The following year, Congress created the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) to coordinate research in rocket science and space exploration. It also passed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA), which provided funds for education and training in science, math, and foreign languages.

Reading Check **Summarizing** How did Eisenhower alter the nature of defense spending?

Brinkmanship In Action

Main Idea Although he ended the Korean War as he had promised, President Eisenhower faced new foreign policy challenges as Cold War tensions rose.

Reading Connection Do you think the United States should ever use nuclear weapons to carry out foreign policy? Read on to learn how President Eisenhower used the threat of nuclear force during his first term.

President Eisenhower's apparent willingness to threaten nuclear war to maintain the peace worried some people. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, however, the **dominant** figure in the nation's foreign policy in the 1950s, strongly defended the policy:

“You have to take chances for peace, just as you must take chances in war. Some say that we were brought to the verge of war. Of course we were brought to the verge of war. The ability to get to the verge without getting into the war is the necessary art. . . . If you try to run away from it, if you are scared to go to the brink, you are lost. We've had to look it square in the face. . . . We walked to the brink and we looked it in the face. We took strong action.”

—quoted in *Rise to Globalism*



Critics called this **brinkmanship**—the willingness to go to the brink of war to force the other side to back down—and argued that it was too dangerous. Several times, however, President Eisenhower felt compelled to threaten nuclear war during a crisis.

The Korean War Ends During his campaign for the presidency, Eisenhower had said, “I shall go to Korea,” promising to end the costly and increasingly unpopular war. On December 4, 1952, just weeks after his election, he kept his promise. Bundled against the freezing Korean winter, the president-elect talked with frontline commanders and their troops.

Eisenhower became convinced that the ongoing battle was costing too many lives and bringing too few victories. “Small attacks on small hills,” the former general declared, “[will] not end this war.” The president then quietly let the Chinese know that the United States might continue the Korean War “under circumstances of our own choosing”—a hint at nuclear attack.

The threat to go to the brink of nuclear war seemed to work. In July 1953, negotiators signed an armistice. The battle line between the two sides,

which was very near the prewar boundary, became the border between North Korea and South Korea. A “demilitarized zone” (DMZ) separated them. There was no victory, but the war had at least stopped the spread of communism in Korea—the goal of containment. American troops are still based in Korea, helping South Korea defend its border.

The Taiwan Crisis Shortly after the war ended, a new crisis erupted in Asia. Although the Chinese Communists had taken power in mainland China, the Chinese Nationalists still controlled Taiwan and several small islands along China’s coast.

In the fall of 1954, China threatened to seize two of the islands from the Nationalists. Eisenhower saw Taiwan as part of the “anticommunist barrier” in Asia. When China began shelling the islands and announced that Taiwan would soon be liberated, Eisenhower asked Congress to authorize the use of force to defend Taiwan.

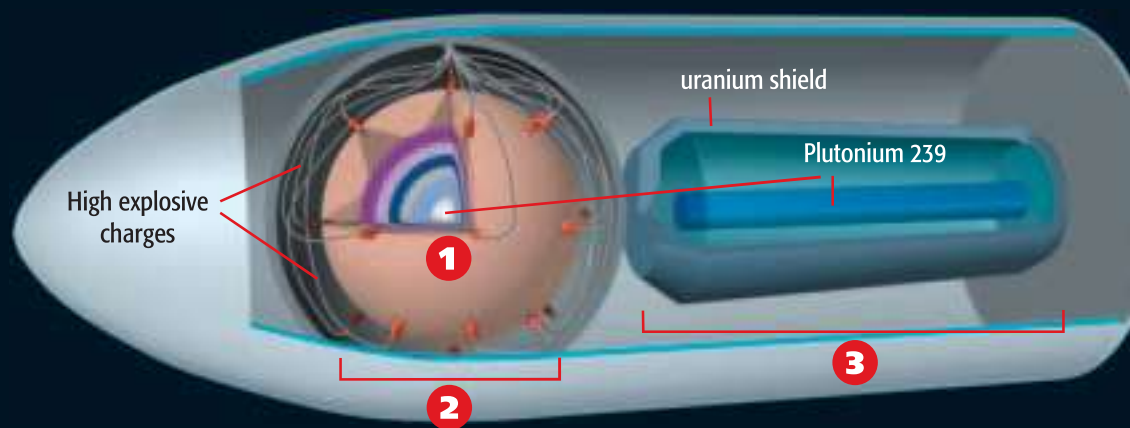
Eisenhower then warned the Chinese that any attempt to invade Taiwan would be resisted by American naval forces stationed nearby. He and Dulles hinted that they would use nuclear weapons to stop an invasion. Soon afterward, China backed down.

TECHNOLOGY & History

The Hydrogen Bomb

The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945 had an explosive force of 20,000 tons of TNT. As devastating as that bomb was, the hydrogen bomb was exponentially more powerful. Designed by Edward Teller and Stanislaw Ulam, the hydrogen test bomb, nicknamed “Mike,” was first detonated on November 1, 1952. Its explosive force was equal to 10 million tons of TNT. **How did the two explosive devices combine to create an explosion?**

- 1 The **plutonium core** provides the radiation from plutonium essential for a fusion reaction.



- 2 The **primary device** sets off a smaller atomic explosion that creates x-ray radiation pressure.
- 3 In the **secondary device**, the fusion process begins when pressure builds inside the bomb casing from the release of radiation.



Picturing History

Distinguished Brothers John Foster Dulles (right) became secretary of state under Eisenhower; his brother Allen Dulles (center) was director of the CIA in the 1950s. [With what policy is John Foster Dulles associated?](#)

The Suez Crisis The year after Eisenhower went to the brink of war with China, a serious crisis erupted in the Middle East. Eisenhower's goal in the Middle East was to prevent Arab nations from aligning with the Soviet Union. To build support among Arabs, Dulles offered to help Egypt finance the construction of a dam on the Nile River. The Egyptians eagerly accepted the American offer.

The deal ran into trouble in Congress, however, because Egypt had bought weapons from Communist Czechoslovakia. Dulles was forced to withdraw the offer. A week later, Egyptian troops seized control of the Suez Canal from the Anglo-French company that had controlled it. The Egyptians intended to use the canal's profits to pay for the dam.

The British and French responded quickly to the Suez Crisis. In October 1956, British and French troops invaded Egypt. Eisenhower was furious with Britain and France. He declared they had made a "complete mess and botch of things." The situation

became even more tense when the Soviet Union threatened rocket attacks on Britain and France and offered to send troops to help Egypt. Eisenhower immediately put American nuclear forces on alert, noting, "If those fellows start something, we may have to hit them—and if necessary, with everything in the bucket."

Under strong American pressure, the British and French called off their invasion. The Soviet Union had won a major diplomatic victory, however, by supporting Egypt. Soon afterward, other Arab nations began accepting Soviet aid as well.

 **Reading Check** **Identifying** What was brinkmanship?

Fighting Communism Covertly

 **President Eisenhower used the Central Intelligence Agency to remove anti-American leaders and to fight Communist takeovers.**

Reading Connection Do you know anyone who has worked for a government agency? Read on to learn about the CIA's beginnings.

President Eisenhower relied on brinkmanship on several occasions, but he knew it could not work in all situations. It could prevent war, but it could not, for example, prevent Communists from staging revolutions within countries. To prevent Communist uprisings in other countries, Eisenhower decided to use **covert**, or hidden, operations conducted by the **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA).

Containment in Developing Nations Many of the CIA's operations took place in **developing nations**—nations with primarily agricultural economies. Many of these countries blamed European imperialism and American capitalism for their problems. Their leaders looked to the Soviet Union as a model of how to industrialize their countries. They often threatened to nationalize, or put under government control, foreign businesses operating in their countries.

American officials feared that these leaders might align their nations with the Soviet Union or even stage a Communist revolution. One way to stop developing nations from moving into the Communist camp was to provide them with financial aid, as Eisenhower had tried to do in Egypt. In some cases, however, where the threat of communism seemed stronger, the CIA staged covert operations to



overthrow anti-American leaders and replace them with pro-American leaders.

Iran and Guatemala Two examples of covert operations that achieved American objectives took place in Iran and Guatemala. By 1953 Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh had already nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. He seemed ready to make an oil deal with the Soviet Union. In 1953 Mossadegh moved against the pro-American Shah of Iran, who was temporarily forced into exile. Dulles quickly sent agents to organize street riots and arrange a coup that ousted Mossadegh, and the Shah returned to power.

The following year, the CIA acted to protect American-owned property in Guatemala. In 1951 Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán won election as president of Guatemala with Communist support. His land reform program took over large **estates**, including those of the American-owned United Fruit Company. In May 1954, Communist Czechoslovakia delivered arms to Guatemala. The CIA responded by arming the Guatemalan opposition and training them at secret camps in Nicaragua and Honduras. Shortly after these CIA-trained forces invaded Guatemala, Arbenz Guzmán left office.

Uprising in Hungary Covert operations did not always work as Eisenhower hoped. In 1953 Stalin died, and a power struggle began in the Soviet Union. Immediately following Stalin's death, several high-ranking officials worked together to serve as Stalin's replacement. This joint leadership, however, lasted for only a brief period before a struggle for sole leadership of the Soviet Union ensued. By 1956 Nikita Khrushchev had emerged as the leader of the Soviet Union. That year, Khrushchev delivered a secret speech to Soviet leaders. He attacked Stalin's policies and insisted there were many ways to build a Communist society. Although the speech was secret, the CIA obtained a copy. With Eisenhower's permission, the CIA arranged for it to be broadcast to Eastern Europe in an effort to undermine Communist rule.

Many Eastern Europeans had long been frustrated with Communist rule. Hearing Khrushchev's speech further discredited communism and increased the frustrations of many people. In June 1956, riots erupted in Eastern Europe. By late October, a full scale uprising had begun in Hungary. Although Khrushchev was willing to tolerate greater freedom in Eastern Europe, he had never meant to **imply** that the Soviets would tolerate an end to communism in

▼ *Russian tanks patrol a street in Budapest, Hungary, following an attempted revolt*





Eastern Europe. Soon after the uprising began, Soviet tanks rolled into Budapest, the capital of Hungary, and crushed the rebellion.

✓ Reading Check **Explaining** Why did Eisenhower use covert operations?

Continuing Tensions

Main Idea Despite attempts to cooperate, tensions remained high between the Soviet and American heads of state.

Reading Connection Have you ever been involved in successful conflict resolution? Read on to discover efforts at peaceful resolution of differences between capitalist and Communist countries.

The uprising in Hungary forced Khrushchev to reassert Soviet power and the superiority of communism. Previously, he had supported “peaceful coexistence” with capitalism. Now he accused the

“capitalist countries” of starting a “feverish arms race.” In 1957, after the launch of Sputnik, Khrushchev boasted, “We will bury capitalism. . . . Your grandchildren will live under communism.”

In late 1958 Khrushchev demanded that the United States, Great Britain, and France withdraw their troops from West Berlin. United States Secretary of State John Dulles rejected Khrushchev’s demands. If the Soviets threatened Berlin, Dulles announced, NATO would respond, “if need be by military force.” Brinkmanship worked again, and Khrushchev backed down.

In an effort to improve relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, Eisenhower invited Khrushchev to visit the United States in late 1959. The visit went well, and the two leaders agreed to hold a summit in Paris in 1960. A summit is a formal face-to-face meeting of leaders from different countries to discuss important issues.

Shortly before the summit was to begin, the Soviet Union shot down the American U-2 spy plane piloted by Francis Gary Powers. At first, Eisenhower

Breakdown in Relations



In 1959 Premier Khrushchev visited several cities in the United States and met with President Eisenhower. The two leaders agreed to a summit in Paris the following year. About two weeks before the summit, the Soviets shot down an American U-2 spy plane over their territory. Eisenhower, believing that pilot Francis Gary Powers was dead, at first denied the allegations but then took responsibility for this and other flights. Khrushchev was not satisfied with the apology and left Paris before the summit started. He also withdrew an invitation to Eisenhower to visit the Soviet Union.



“I confess I lay down my official responsibility in this field with a definite sense of disappointment. . . . I wish I could say that a lasting peace is in sight.”

—President Dwight D. Eisenhower

claimed that the aircraft was a weather plane that had strayed off course. Then Khrushchev dramatically produced the pilot. Eisenhower refused to apologize, saying the flights had protected American security. In response, Khrushchev broke up the summit.

In this climate of heightened tension, President Eisenhower prepared to leave office. In January 1961, he delivered a farewell address to the nation. In the address, he pointed out that a new relationship had developed between the military establishment and the defense industry. He warned Americans to be on guard against the immense influence of this **military-industrial complex** in a democracy. Although he had avoided war and kept communism contained, Eisenhower admitted to some frustration that a lasting peace had not been obtained.

Reading Check **Evaluating** Why did Eisenhower warn Americans about the military-industrial complex?



Picturing History

President Eisenhower Leaves Office Eisenhower left the White House amid heightened tensions and failed peace efforts with the Soviet Union. **Why do you think Eisenhower was frustrated that a lasting peace with the Soviet Union had not been obtained?**

HISTORY **Study Central**

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: massive retaliation, dominant, brinkmanship, covert, developing nation, estate, imply, military-industrial complex.
- People and Terms** Identify: *Sputnik*, Central Intelligence Agency.
- Summarize** What was the significance of the Soviet Union's launching of *Sputnik* in 1957?

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Explaining** How did technology shape Eisenhower's military policy?

Critical Thinking

- Interpreting** Do you think Eisenhower's foreign policy was successful? Why or why not?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list Eisenhower's strategies for containing communism.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photograph on page 655. Do you think the streets of Budapest are usually this empty? What effect might the tanks have had on the residents?

Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Imagine you are a member of Eisenhower's cabinet. Defend or attack brinkmanship as a foreign policy tactic. Be sure to provide specific reasons for your point of view.

CA 11WA2.2c



Primary Sources

Eyewitness to History

In the years after World War II, fear of communism took deep root in the United States. The idea that Communists had planted spies in powerful places terrified many Americans. Some people believed that Communists did not deserve the same protections granted to other Americans, and they approved of measures that might otherwise have been considered violations of individual rights.

SOURCE 1:

During the 1948 election campaign, Republicans charged that President Harry S. Truman was soft on communism. Truman believed that protecting basic rights was the best way to combat communism. He responded to the Republicans' attacks in a speech on September 28.

Here in Oklahoma City, in the heart of the nation, I consider it appropriate to discuss a subject of great importance to all Americans—the relationship of communism to our national security.

I should like the American people to consider the damage that is being done to our national security by irresponsible persons who place their own political interests above the security of the Nation.

I regret to say that there are some people in the Republican Party who are trying to create the false impression that communism is a powerful force in American life. These Republicans know that this is not true.

The time has come when we should take a frank and earnest look at the record about communism and our national security.

First, let me remind you of a few basic facts which are often overlooked.

Our country is strong enough to resist and overcome all the forces of communism—and it will remain so.

Our Government is not endangered by Communist **infiltration**.¹ It has preserved its integrity—and it will continue to do so.

The FBI and our other security forces are capable, informed, and alert—and will remain so. . . .

I am forced to the conclusion that Republican leaders are thinking more about the November election than about the welfare of this great country.



▲ Whittaker Chambers

SOURCE 2:

Whittaker Chambers, a journalist, became a spy for the Soviet Union in the 1930s. Upon leaving the Communist Party, he tried to expose the Communist underground. In testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) on August 3, 1948, Chambers accused Alger Hiss of being a Communist.

CHAMBERS: I joined the Communist Party in 1924. . . . The purpose of this group at this time was not primarily **espionage**.² Its original purpose was the Communist infiltration of the American Government. But espionage was certainly one of its eventual objectives. Let no one be surprised at this statement. Disloyalty is a matter of principle with every member of the Communist Party. . . .

¹**infiltration:** people having secretly established themselves

²**espionage:** spying



▲ *Alger Hiss testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee*

[Representative Karl E.] MUNDT: Miss Bentley testified before our committee and said that in her capacity as courier between Communist headquarters in New York and Washington, I think chronologically she followed you as courier and did that work, she mentioned that she also brought Communist literature and instructions from New York to Washington. Did you also do that?

CHAMBERS: I did. . . .

STRIPLING: When you left the Communist Party in 1937 did you approach any of these seven to break with you?

CHAMBERS: No. The only one of those people whom I approached was Alger Hiss. I went to the Hiss home one evening at what I considered considerable risk to myself and found Mrs. Hiss at home.

. . . Mrs. Hiss attempted while I was there to make a call, which I can only presume was to other Communists, but I quickly went to the telephone and she hung up, and Mr. Hiss came in shortly afterward, and we talked and I tried to break him away from the party.

As a matter of fact, he cried when we separated[,] when I left him, but he absolutely refused to break.

. . . I was very fond of Mr. Hiss.

SOURCE 3:

Alger Hiss had worked as a high-ranking State Department official under President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1948 he headed the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Two days after Chambers's testimony, Hiss strongly denied the charges brought against him.

I am here at my own request to deny unqualifiedly various statements about me which were made before this committee by one Whittaker Chambers the day before yesterday. I appreciate the committee's having promptly granted my request. I welcome the opportunity to answer to the best of my ability any inquiries the members of this committee may wish to ask me.

I am not and never have been a member of the Communist Party. I do not and never have adhered to the **tenets**³ of the Communist Party. I am not and never have been a member of any Communist-front organization. I have never followed the Communist Party line, directly or indirectly. To the best of my knowledge, none of my friends is a Communist. . . .

To the best of my knowledge, I never heard of Whittaker Chambers until in 1947, when two representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation asked me if I knew him and various other people, some of whom I knew and some of whom I did not know. I said I did not know Chambers. So far as I know, I have never laid eyes on him, and I should like to have the opportunity to do so. . . .

³**tenets:** beliefs

DBQ Document-Based Questions

Historical Analysis

CA HR4; HI2

Source 1: Why does Truman believe that communism is not a danger to the United States?

Source 2: Why does Chambers believe that Communists are dangerous?

Source 3: How does Hiss deny that he is a Communist?

Comparing and Contrasting Sources:

How does the accusation that Alger Hiss was a Communist reflect the views of Truman and Chambers?

Standards 11.4.6, 11.7.4, 11.7.8, 11.8.4, 11.8.5, 11.8.7,
11.8.8, 11.9.1 11.9.2, 11.9.3, 11.9.4, 11.9.6

Reviewing Content Vocabulary

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

- | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Cold War | 7. censure | 12. covert |
| 2. iron curtain | 8. fallout | 13. developing nation |
| 3. containment | 9. fallout shelter | 14. military-industrial complex |
| 4. limited war | 10. massive retaliation | |
| 5. subversion | 11. brinkmanship | |
| 6. perjury | | |

Reviewing Academic Vocabulary

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence that reflects the term's meaning in the chapter.

- | | | |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| 15. element | 18. parallel | 21. dominant |
| 16. retain | 19. sole | 22. estate |
| 17. mutual | 20. nuclear | 23. imply |

Reviewing the Main Ideas

Section 1

24. How did Stalin's postwar foreign policy goals add to the growing tensions between the United States and the USSR?

Section 2

25. Why were NATO and the Warsaw Pact formed?

Section 3

26. What were the effects of the new Red Scare on federal employees?

Section 4

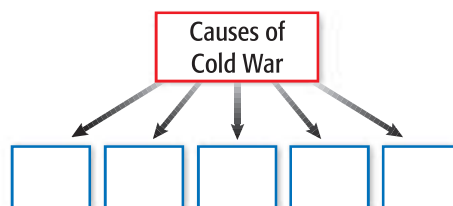
27. What was President Eisenhower's "new look" for the military?

Critical Thinking

28. **Reading Skill** **Question-Answer Relationship**

Review page 624 and answer the following question: How did the Korean War achieve its goal even though the war was lost?

29. **Civics** In what possible ways did the Red Scare of the 1950s limit free speech and the right to dissent?
30. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the causes of the Cold War.



Chapter Summary

The Cold War

Soviet Union

- To create a protective sphere of Communist countries along European border
- To promote the spread of communism
- Occupied Eastern European nations and saw that Communist governments were established
- Sought access to oil in Iran
- Aided Communists in Greece and pressured Turkey for access to the Mediterranean
- Communists seize power in China in 1949
- China and Soviet Union signed treaty of friendship and alliance
- Communist North Korea invaded South Korea to start Korean War
- Chinese troops fought for North Korea
- Promoted development of high-technology weapons and surveillance

General Goals

In Europe

In the Middle East

In Asia

At Home

Western Allies

- To contain the spread of communism by supporting capitalist democratic governments
- Expected free elections to occur in Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe
- Forced Soviet withdrawal from Iran
- Pledged aid to halt Soviet threats to Turkey and Greece
- Aided China's Nationalist government
- Dedicated money and troops to establish democratic stronghold in Japan
- United Nations troops sent to fight for South Korea in Korean War
- Focused on the development of advanced technology weapons

Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 13** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

Writing About History

31. **Historical Analysis** **Bias and Prejudice** Reread the speeches in Different Viewpoints on page 637. What might have influenced the points of views of President Truman and General Douglas MacArthur? Create a cause-and-effect chart showing possible reasons for their biases and the effects their experiences have had on their opinions. **CA HR2**
32. **Big Idea** Use the Internet and other resources to find out more about American life during the Cold War. Then create a report about society at this time, and present your report to the class. Your report could discuss politics, the fear of communism, and events in popular culture. **CA 11WS1.1; 11WS1.6**
33. **Persuasive Writing** Imagine that you have witnessed the crowds giving General MacArthur a hero's welcome. Write an opinion piece for a magazine justifying his reception or criticizing it because of his disagreement with Truman. **CA 11WA2.1a**

DBQ Document-Based Questions

34. **Interpreting Primary Sources** Margaret Chase Smith, a Republican from Maine, was elected to the Senate in 1948. Smith was upset by Joseph McCarthy's accusations and hoped her senior colleagues would reprimand him. When they failed to do so, Smith made her "Declaration of Conscience" speech. Read the excerpt and answer the questions that follow.

“As a United States Senator, I am not proud of the way in which the Senate has been made a publicity platform for irresponsible sensationalism. I am not proud of the reckless abandon in which unproved charges have been hurled from this side of the aisle. I am not proud of the obviously staged, undignified countercharges that have been attempted in retaliation from the other side of the aisle. . . . I am not proud of the way we smear outsiders from the Floor of the Senate and hide behind the cloak of congressional immunity. . . .

As an American, I am shocked at the way Republicans and Democrats alike are playing directly into the Communist design of ‘confuse, divide, and conquer’. . . . I want to see our nation recapture the strength and unity it once had when we fought the enemy instead of ourselves.”

- a. With whom is Smith angry, and why?
- b. According to Smith, who is really dividing the nation?



Geography and History

35. The map above shows the occupation of Berlin after World War II. Study the map and answer the questions below.
 - a. **Interpreting Maps** How was West Berlin's location a disadvantage?
 - b. **Applying Geography Skills** What transportation advantage did West Berlin have over East Berlin?

Standards Practice

Directions: Choose the phrase that best completes the following sentence.

36. One historical lesson of McCarthy's approach is the realization that
 - A loyalty oaths prevent spying.
 - B communism is influential in prosperous times.
 - C Communist agents had infiltrated all levels of the U.S. government.
 - D public fear of traitors can lead to false accusations and unfair consequences.

Standard 11.9.3: Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War and containment policy, including the following: the era of McCarthyism, instances of domestic Communism (e.g., Alger Hiss) and blacklisting; the Truman Doctrine; the Berlin Blockade; the Korean War; the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis; atomic testing in the American West, the “mutual assured destruction” doctrine, and disarmament policies; the Vietnam War; Latin American policy.