

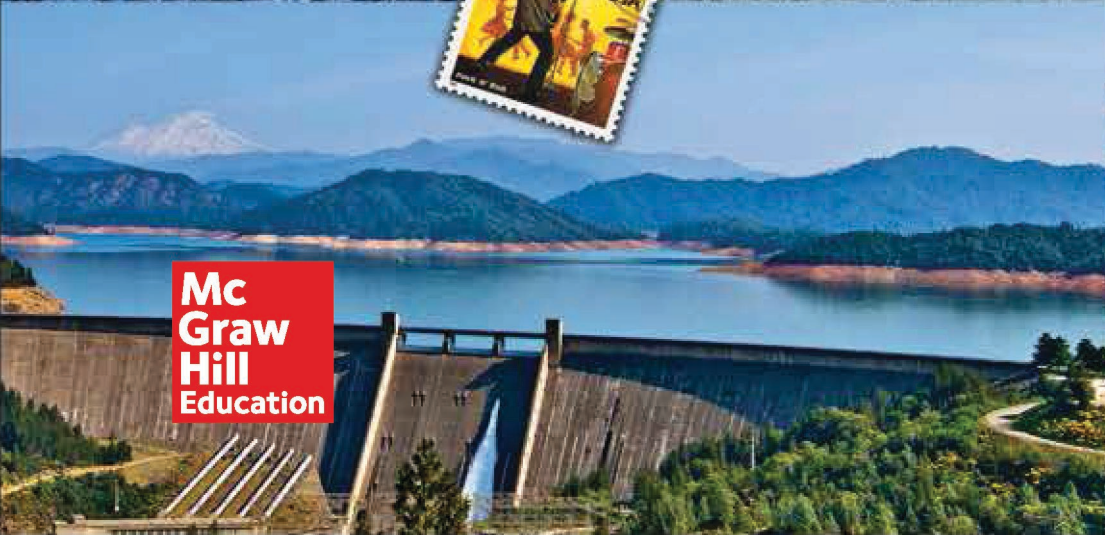
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CALIFORNIA SOCIAL STUDIES



UNITED STATES HISTORY & GEOGRAPHY

CONTINUITY & CHANGE



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◀ *Dwight D. Eisenhower, commander of the Allied forces during World War II and army chief of staff under Truman, became president in 1953.*

1945 — 1960

The Cold War Begins

CHAPTER 12

ASKING ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

*How did the Cold War shape postwar international relations?
How did Cold War tensions affect American society?*

What Will You Learn? You will learn about the origins of the Cold War and how the Cold War affected government and culture in the United States. You will learn about McCarthyism, covert operations, and how Eisenhower helped the United States avoid communism.

Why Does This Matter to Me? This matters because the Cold War affected how American government and culture developed in the postwar era. It is also important to recognize what actions people took to counteract communism.

How Will You Know That You Learned It? You will be able to explain how the Cold War originated and how it affected American society. You will also be able to explain how the policies of massive retaliation and brinkmanship differed from previous military policies.

LESSON 1

The Origins of the Cold War

LESSON 2

The Early Cold War Years

LESSON 3

The Cold War and American Society

LESSON 4

Eisenhower's Cold War Policies

ANALYZING SOURCES

Cold War Controversies



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Using Your Inquiry Journal As you read in this chapter and examine the primary sources, use your Inquiry Journal to help you make notes and expand your list of questions. As you gather information, think about how you will answer the Essential Questions above.

PLACE & TIME United States 1945–1960

Relations between the Soviet Union and the other Allies soured as the Soviets established Communist governments in Eastern Europe. President Truman authorized billions of dollars of American aid to devastated European nations as well as to the Allies' former enemies, Germany and Japan. Americans feared that Communists would infiltrate the U.S. government, while others feared an attack with nuclear weapons. By the early 1950s, Americans were looking for someone or something that would make them feel secure.

STEP INTO THE PLACE



Read the quotations from Kennan and Zhdanov, and then examine the information on the map.

1. COMPARING How do the United States and the Soviet Union each seem to be interpreting the intentions of the other nation?

2. GLOBAL INTERACTIONS Along with the United States, which country in the Western Hemisphere was part of NATO during the Global Cold War?

“[The] USSR still [believes] in antagonistic ‘capitalist encirclement’ with which in the long run there can be no permanent peaceful coexistence. . . . In summary, we have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief that . . . it is desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our society be disrupted, our traditional way of life be destroyed, the international authority of our state be broken, if Soviet power is to be secure.”

—George F. Kennan, American diplomat, from “The Long Telegram,” February 22, 1946



PHOTO: (t) Bettmann/Corbis; (c) Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Historical/CORBIS; (b-b) detail/White House Collection/The White House Historical Association; TEXT: (c) Kennan, George. 1946. Telegram to George Marshall [“Long Telegram”], February 22, 1946. Harry S. Truman Administration File, Elsey Papers, National Archives and Records Administration. Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri; (b) Zhdanov, A. 1947. The International Situation. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House.



“The more the war recedes into the past, the more distinct becomes . . . the division of the political forces operating on the international arena into two major camps. . . . The principal driving force of the imperialist camp is the U.S.A. . . . The cardinal purpose of the imperialist camp is to strengthen imperialism, to hatch a new imperialist war, to combat socialism and democracy, and to support reactionary and antidemocratic profascist regimes.”

—Andrey Zhdanov, adviser to Stalin, from *For a Lasting Peace for a People's Democracy*, no. 1, November 1947

STEP INTO THE TIME

IDENTIFYING CONNECTIONS

Research an individual featured on the time line. Then explain how this person influenced American society or international relations.

U.S. PRESIDENTS UNITED STATES



1945 Franklin Roosevelt dies

1945–1953 Truman

1947 Truman Doctrine declared

1948 Berlin Airlift begins

1949 U.S. and Western European nations form NATO

1950 Senator McCarthy charges U.S. State Department contains Communists

WORLD EVENTS

1945 Potsdam Conference discusses postwar boundaries

1948 Communist coup in Czechoslovakia

1950 North Korea invades South Korea

THE GLOBAL COLD WAR, 1947–1955



1953–1961
Eisenhower

1953
Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are executed for espionage

1954 Eisenhower puts forward domino theory

1960 U-2 Affair strains U.S. and Soviet relations when American spy plane is shot down over the Soviet Union

1951

1953

1955

1957

1960

1953
Joseph Stalin dies

1955
Soviet Union forms Warsaw Pact in Eastern Europe

1956
Nikita Khrushchev denounces Stalin in speech

1957
Soviet Union launches *Sputnik*

1959 Fidel Castro takes power in Cuba

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- How did the Cold War shape postwar international relations?
- How did Cold War tensions affect American society?

THE STORY BEGINS...

This image displays in the product.

LESSON 1

The Origins of the Cold War

In addition to being a first lady of the United States, Eleanor Roosevelt was well-known for her activism in U.S. politics and abroad. As a delegate to the United Nations, she delivered a speech in Paris, France advocating for a Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948:

“I have come this evening to talk with you on one of the greatest issues of our time—that is the preservation of human freedom. I have chosen to discuss it here in France . . . It was here the Declaration of the Rights of Man was proclaimed, and the great slogans of the French Revolution—liberty, equality, fraternity—fired the imagination of men. I have chosen to discuss this issue in Europe because this has been the scene of the greatest historic battles between freedom and tyranny. I have chosen to discuss it in the early days of the General Assembly because the issue of

human liberty is decisive for the settlement of outstanding political differences and for the future of the United Nations. . . .

The United Nations has made it clear that it intends to uphold human rights and to protect the dignity of the human personality. In the preamble to the Charter the keynote is set when it declares: ‘We the people of the United Nations determined . . . to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and . . . to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.’ This reflects the basic premise of the Charter that the peace and security of mankind are dependent on mutual respect for the rights and freedoms of all.”

—Eleanor Roosevelt, from “The Struggle for Human Rights,” September 28, 1948

◀ Eleanor Roosevelt spoke in Paris about the importance of human rights.

PHOTO: Gerard Yvon Cheynet/AP Images; TEXT: Roosevelt, Eleanor, 1948, “The Struggle for Human Rights,” speech delivered September 28, 1948, at the Sorbonne, Paris, in The Department of State Bulletin, Volume 19, Office of Public Communication, Bureau of Public Affairs, 1948, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Conferences	Outcomes

ANALYZING KEY IDEAS AND DETAILS

ORGANIZING As you read, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one at left by filling in the names of the conferences held during the last days of World War II and the outcomes of each.

BUILDING A NEW WORLD

GUIDING QUESTION *How did the conferences at Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, and Yalta attempt to shape the postwar world?*

Well before the World War II ended, President Roosevelt had begun to think about what the world would be like after the war. Many people in the United States worried that the Great Depression would come back. Others worried that the United States would return to isolationism and let the rivalries between other countries lead to new wars. The Soviet Union's power and communist politics also concerned the United States. Roosevelt was determined, however, to build a new economic and political system that would preserve the peace and promote economic growth in the world.

THE BRETTON WOODS SYSTEM

President Roosevelt believed that high tariffs—like the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1931—had helped cause the Great Depression. He and his advisers were convinced that the best way to generate prosperity and economic growth after the war was to increase the amount of trade between countries and to create institutions that would keep the trade system stable. In July 1944, Roosevelt organized a conference for the world's nations except those that belonged to the Axis. The conference was held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire and established many international economic institutions that are still part of the world's economic system today.

The first organization set up at Bretton Woods was the World Bank. Its purpose was to help rebuild Europe after the war, and help nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America develop their economies. The World Bank still loans money to help nations with their economic development. The second institution set up was the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Its purpose was to help countries with trade deficits. A trade deficit is when a country imports more than it exports. Countries with trade deficits have more of their money flowing out to buy foreign goods than they have flowing in from other countries who are buying their goods. The IMF still uses its funds to avoid trade wars and to prevent each country's money from changing too much in value.

In addition to these two institutions, nations set up a new currency system. The U.S. dollar became the world's reserve currency. All nations set an exchange rate between their currency and the dollar. The dollar in turn was put on a gold standard. One ounce of gold would equal 35 U.S. dollars, and the United States pledged to always keep enough gold in reserve so that anyone with dollars could convert them into gold on demand.

ANALYZING KEY IDEAS AND DETAILS

- CITING TEXT EVIDENCE** The author writes that "President Roosevelt believed that high tariffs—like the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1931—had helped cause the Great Depression." What word in this sentence signals the reader that this is an opinion of Roosevelt's and not necessarily a fact?
- SUMMARIZING** Write a summary of the events that resulted in the creation of the United Nations.

MAKING CONNECTIONS TO TODAY

THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations (UN) continues to be an important organization in the world today. Currently, 193 member states make up the UN. Some of the issues addressed by the UN include peace and security, climate change, sustainable development, human rights, disarmament, terrorism, humanitarian and health emergencies, gender equality, governance, and food production. Over the years, the organization has become a tool for governments around the world to find agreement, common ground, and work together to solve problems. The UN headquarters are located in New York City.

One of the benefits of the Bretton Woods system was that it would prevent nations from using inflation to escape their debts. Everyone remembered that Germany had used inflation to make its currency almost worthless after World War I as a way to avoid paying its reparations debts. The Bretton Woods system would keep the world's currencies stable and help keep the world at peace. The weakness of the system was that a gold standard limited the use of monetary policy to fight inflation or get out of a recession. By setting exchange rates, it also meant trade between nations could become unbalanced if the exchange rate did not accurately reflect the market value of goods being traded across borders.

CREATING THE UNITED NATIONS

Roosevelt not only wanted to create a new global economic system, he also wanted a new political system to help prevent another world war. He believed one cause of World War II had been the American decision to stay out of the League of Nations after World War I. Roosevelt wanted the United States and its allies to create a new international organization that would take an active role in preserving the peace.

In 1944, at the Dumbarton Oaks estate in Washington, D.C., delegates from 39 countries met to discuss the new organization, which was to be called the United Nations (UN). The delegates at the conference agreed that the UN would have a General Assembly, in which every member nation in the world would have one vote. The UN would also have a Security Council with eleven members. Five countries would be permanent members of the Security Council: Britain, France, China, the Soviet Union, and the United States. These five permanent members would each have veto power.

The advantage of the United Nations was that it put all of the great powers that had helped to defeat the Axis in the Security Council. This would force them to consult with each other and work together whenever the United Nations took action. The weakness of the United Nations was that the veto allowed any one member of the Security Council to stop the UN from taking action.

On April 25, 1945, representatives from 50 countries came to San Francisco to officially organize the United Nations and design its **charter**. The General Assembly was given the power to vote on resolutions and to choose the non-permanent members of the Security Council. The Security Council was responsible for international peace and security. It could ask its members to use military force to uphold a UN resolution.

People were determined to prevent any more of the horrors they had seen in World War II. These organizations and declarations were just some of the structures world leaders put in place to prevent another world war.

IDENTIFYING CONNECTIONS

Which of these organizations help regulate and promote trade?

Building a New World

FOUNDED	ORGANIZATION	PURPOSE
1944	World Bank	to help rebuild Europe after World War II and to help nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America develop their economies to help reduce poverty and facilitate trade
1944	International Monetary Fund (IMF)	to help countries manage trade deficits, avoid trade wars, and stabilize currencies in relation to each other
1945	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	to promote education, science, and cultural reforms, as well as dialogue between cultures, in order to promote justice, peace, the rule of law, and basic human rights and freedoms
1946	United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHCR)	to protect and promote human rights
1947	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)	to reduce tariffs and trade barriers between countries; now a part of the World Trade Organization (WTO)
1948	World Health Organization (WHO)	to protect and promote better health and to combat diseases
DECLARATION		
1948	Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)	to define universal human rights, such as the right to life, liberty, and security

THE DIVISION OF GERMANY, 1945



GEOGRAPHIC REASONING

Germany and its capital Berlin were divided into four zones.

1. **EXPLORING REGION** Which country controlled the smallest region of Germany?
2. **SPATIAL THINKING** The city of Berlin is located in which Occupation Zone?

THE YALTA CONFERENCE

In February 1945, with the war in Europe nearly over, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin met at Yalta—a Soviet resort on the Black Sea—to plan the postwar world. Several agreements reached at Yalta later played an important role in causing the Cold War.

A key issue discussed at Yalta was Poland. Shortly after the Germans had invaded Poland in 1939, the Polish government fled to Britain. In 1944, however, Soviet troops drove back the Germans and entered Poland. As they **liberated** Poland from German control, the Soviets encouraged Polish Communists to set up a new government. As a result, two governments claimed 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.

Stalin, however, quickly pointed out that every time invaders had entered Russia from the west, they had come through Poland. Eventually, the three leaders compromised. Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to recognize the Polish government set up by the Soviets. Stalin agreed it would include members of the prewar Polish government, and free elections would be held as soon as possible.

Left to right: Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin. Leaders of the “Big Three” Allied nations met at the Yalta Conference to determine how to organize postwar Europe.

THE DECLARATION OF LIBERATED EUROPE

After reaching a compromise on Poland, the three leaders agreed to issue the Declaration of Liberated Europe. The declaration echoed the Atlantic Charter, asserting “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” and to create temporary governments that represented “all democratic elements.” They pledged “the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people.”

PREDICTING How might allowing Stalin to influence the political landscape of Eastern Europe affect that region’s later foreign policy?



DIVIDING GERMANY

The conference then 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 German capital city of Berlin into four zones, even though it was in the Soviet zone.

Although pleased with the decision to divide Germany, Stalin also demanded that Germany pay heavy reparations for the war damages it had caused. An agreement was reached that Germany could pay war reparations with trade goods and products, half of which would go to the Soviet Union. The Allies would remove industrial machinery, railroad cars, and other **equipment** from Germany as reparations. Later arguments about reparations greatly increased already growing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.

RISING TENSIONS

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. 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.

Yalta marked a turning point in Soviet-American relations. President Roosevelt had hoped that an Allied victory and the creation of the United Nations would lead to a more peaceful world. Instead, as the war came to an end, the United States and the Soviet Union became increasingly hostile toward each other, even as each country avoided direct military confrontation with the other. The **Cold War**, an era of confrontation and competition between the nations, lasted from about 1946 to about 1990.

DETERMINING MEANING

The text defines the **Cold War** as “an era of confrontation and competition between nations.” Why was this called a *cold* war despite the increasing hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union?

SOVIET CONCERNS

As the war ended, Soviet leaders became concerned about security. They wanted to keep Germany weak and make sure that the countries between Germany and the Soviet Union were under Soviet control to serve as a buffer if Germany should start a third war. Soviet leaders also believed that communism was a superior economic system that would eventually replace capitalism. They accepted Lenin’s theory that capitalist countries would eventually try to destroy communism. This made them suspicious of capitalist nations, even as capitalist nations were suspicious about the growing number of capitalist nations.

AMERICAN ECONOMIC ISSUES

While Soviet leaders focused on securing their borders, American leaders focused on economic problems. Americans believed that the Great Depression became so severe because nations reduced trade. They also believed that when nations stop trading, they are forced into war to get resources. By 1945, Roosevelt and his advisers were convinced that economic growth through world trade was the key to peace. They also believed that the free enterprise

system, with private property rights and limited government intervention in the economy, was the best route to prosperity.

RESPONSES TO THE WAR

In response to the atrocities of World War II, the United Nations held a General Assembly in December 1946. It passed a resolution that made genocide punishable internationally. The text of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide became the first UN human rights treaty. Former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt chaired a UN Commission on Human Rights in 1948. The commission drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, promoting the inherent dignity of every human being, and committing to end discrimination.

Another response to World War II was the adoption of the Geneva Conventions. While the Geneva Conventions had existed before, in 1949 four Geneva Conventions were adopted. The first two Geneva Conventions protected wounded and sick soldiers on land and sea, while the third Geneva Convention protected prisoners of war. These first three conventions were revisions of existing conventions to adapt them to modern warfare. However, in response to the atrocities of World War II, the 1949 Geneva Convention added a fourth point to protect civilians in war.

CHECKING FOR UNDERSTANDING

1. **SUMMARIZING** How did the conferences at Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, and Yalta attempt to shape the postwar world?
2. **EXPLAINING EFFECTS** What was one of the benefits of the system established at Bretton Woods?
3. **IDENTIFYING EFFECTS** What was the purpose of putting all the great powers that had helped to defeat the Axis on the Security Council?

TRUMAN TAKES CONTROL

GUIDING QUESTION *Why did the Potsdam Conference further increase tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union?*

Eleven days after confronting the Soviets on Poland, President Roosevelt died and Harry S. Truman became president. Truman was strongly anti-Communist. He believed World War II had begun because Britain had tried to appease Hitler. He did not intend to make that mistake with Stalin. “We must stand up to the Russians,” he told Secretary of State Edward Stettinius the day he took office.

Ten days later, Truman did exactly that at a meeting with Soviet foreign minister Molotov. Truman immediately brought up Poland and demanded that Stalin hold free elections as he had 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 to work out a deal on Germany. Truman was now convinced that industry was critical to Germany's

UNDERSTANDING CRAFT AND STRUCTURE

1. **DETERMINING MEANING** The text describes the formation of satellite nations in Eastern Europe. What context clues in the description help you determine the meaning of the term satellite nation?

2. **ANALYZING TEXT STRUCTURE** In the introductory paragraph, the author quotes Truman stating that “We must stand up to the Russians” on the day he took office. Analyze the rest of this section and determine where the author shows that Truman follows through with standing up to the Russians.

THE IRON CURTAIN IN EUROPE, 1948



GEOGRAPHIC REASONING

The “Iron Curtain” separated Communist nations in Eastern Europe controlled by the Soviet Union from non-Communist nations to the West.

1. EXPLORING REGION How did the amount of territory controlled by the Soviets compare with that of the rest of Europe?

2. SPATIAL THINKING What countries shared borders with East Germany?



survival. 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 convinced they needed reparations from Germany. The war had devastated the Soviet economy. Soviet troops had begun stripping their zone in Germany of its machinery and 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 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. To get the Soviets to accept the agreement, Truman offered Stalin a small amount of industrial equipment from the other zones, but required the Soviets to pay for part of it with food shipments. He also offered to accept the new German-Polish border the Soviets had established.

Stalin did not like the proposal. At Potsdam, Truman learned of the successful U.S. atomic bomb tests. He hinted to Stalin that the United States had a new, powerful weapon. Stalin suspected Truman of trying to bully him. He thought the Americans wanted to limit reparations to keep the Soviets weak. Despite his suspicions, Stalin had to accept the terms. American and British troops controlled Germany's industrial heartland, and there was no way for the Soviets to get reparations without cooperating. The Potsdam Conference marked yet another increase in tensions.

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 pledge stronger commitments to uphold the Declaration of Liberated Europe.

The presence of the Soviet army in Eastern Europe ensured that pro-Soviet Communist governments would eventually be established in the nations of Poland,

Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. The Communist countries of Eastern Europe came to be called **satellite nations** because they were controlled by the Soviets, as satellites are tied by gravity to the planets they orbit. Although not under direct Soviet control, these nations had to remain Communist and friendly to the Soviet Union. They also had to follow policies that the Soviets approved.

After watching the Communist takeover in Eastern Europe, the former British prime minister Winston Churchill coined a phrase to describe what had happened. On March 5, 1946, in a speech delivered in Fulton, Missouri, Churchill referred to an “iron curtain” falling across Eastern Europe.

“A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. . . . From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence, but to a very high and, in some cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow.”

—Winston Churchill, from an address to Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, March 5, 1946

The press picked up the term, and for the next 43 years, it described the Communist nations of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. With the **Iron Curtain** separating Eastern Europe from the West, the World War II era had come to an end. The Cold War was about to begin.

✓ CHECKING FOR UNDERSTANDING

- 1. IDENTIFYING EFFECTS** How did Truman’s anti-Communist stance affect his actions after he became president?
- 2. SUMMARIZING** Why did the Potsdam Conference further increase tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union?
- 3. EVALUATING** The Communist countries of Eastern Europe were called satellite nations. Were these countries under the complete control of the Soviet Union? Explain your answer.

ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

- 1. DETERMINING CENTRAL IDEAS** What is the central idea in this excerpt from Churchill’s speech?
- 2. ANALYZING POINT OF VIEW** What language in this excerpt expresses Churchill’s view on the growth of Soviet influence?

LESSON 1 REVIEW

Time and Place

- 1. INTERPRETING** Did the conferences after World War II help preserve peace?

Building History-Social Science Analysis Skills

- 2. EXPLAINING EFFECTS** Use your notes to write a few sentences about the effects of the major conferences of World War II.
- 3. IDENTIFYING CONNECTIONS** What factors caused the countries of Eastern Europe to become satellite nations to the Soviet Union?
- 4. SUMMARIZING** How did the Potsdam Conference affect the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union?

Writing About History

- 5. NARRATIVE WRITING** Imagine that you saw Churchill deliver his famous “iron curtain” speech. Write a letter to a friend summarizing Churchill’s ideas and giving your own opinions about the rising tensions between the Soviet Union and the West.

Collaborative Activity

- 6. COLLABORATING** In small groups, imagine that each of you are a representative of one of the countries in the United Nations shortly after it was established. As a representative of your particular country, what issues are important to you, and how do you think being part of a strong, united group will benefit your country? Provide reasons to support your answer.

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- How did the Cold War shape postwar international relations?
- How did Cold War tensions affect American society?

THE STORY BEGINS...

George Kennan was a U.S. diplomat during the Cold War. After he left government service, he served as a faculty member for the Institute for Advanced Study. ►

LESSON 2

The Early Cold War Years

George Kennan was a U.S. diplomat in the Soviet Union during the Cold War. He sent a lengthy telegram to the Department of State in 1946, where he detailed the outlook and philosophy of the Soviet Union. His opinions and analysis became one of the most influential documents for America during the Cold War.

“In course of further development of international revolution [the Soviets believed] there will emerge two centers of world significance: a socialist center, drawing to itself the countries which tend toward socialism, and a capitalist center, drawing to itself the countries that incline toward capitalism. Battle between these two centers for command of world economy will decide fate of capitalism and of communism in entire world. . . . It must be borne in mind that capitalist world is not all bad. In addition to hopelessly reactionary and bourgeois elements, it includes (one) certain wholly enlightened and positive elements united in acceptable communistic parties and (two) certain other elements (now described for tactical reasons as progressive or democratic) whose reactions, aspirations and activities happen to be ‘objectively’ favorable to interests of USSR. These last must be encouraged and utilized for Soviet purposes. . . .”

—George Kennan, in a telegram to George Marshall (The Long Telegram),
February 22, 1946



PHOTO: ullstein bild/ullstein bild via Getty Images; TEXT: Kennan, George. 1946. Telegram to George Marshall ["Long Telegram"], February 22, 1946. Harry S. Truman Administration File, Elsey Papers, National Archives and Records Administration. Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.



ANALYZING KEY IDEAS AND DETAILS

ORGANIZING As you read, use a graphic organizer similar to this one to list early conflicts between the Soviet Union and the United States.

CONTAINING COMMUNISM

GUIDING QUESTION *What was the policy of containment?*

Despite growing tensions with the Soviet Union, many American officials continued to believe cooperation with the Soviets was possible. In late 1945, the foreign ministers of the former Allies met first in London, then in Moscow, to discuss the future of Europe and Asia. Although both British and American officials pushed for free elections in Eastern Europe, the Soviets refused to budge.

THE LONG TELEGRAM

Increasingly exasperated by the Soviets' refusal to cooperate, officials at the U.S. State Department asked the American Embassy in Moscow to explain Soviet behavior. On February 22, 1946, diplomat George Kennan responded with what became known as the Long Telegram—a message, thousands of words long, explaining his views of the Soviets. 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 they were in a historical struggle against capitalism, Kennan argued, it was impossible to reach any permanent settlement with them.

Kennan proposed what became basic American policy throughout the Cold War: “a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant **containment** of Russian expansive tendencies.” In Kennan's opinion, the Soviet system had major economic and political weaknesses. If the United States could keep the Soviets from expanding their power, it would only be a matter of time before their system would fall apart, beating communism without going to war. The Long Telegram circulated widely in Truman's administration and became the basis for the administration's policy of containment—keeping communism within its present territory through diplomatic, economic, and military actions.

CRISIS IN IRAN

While Truman's administration discussed Kennan's ideas, a series of crises erupted during the spring and summer of 1946. These crises seemed to prove that Kennan was right about the Soviets. The first crisis began in Iran. During World War II, the United States had troops in southern Iran while Soviet troops held northern Iran to secure a supply line from the Persian Gulf. After the war, instead of withdrawing as promised, the Soviet troops remained in northern Iran. 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.

ANALYZING KEY IDEAS AND DETAILS

- SUMMARIZING** Summarize this section in two or three sentences. Consider the title of the section if you need help.
- ANALYZING IDEAS** Why did the United States propose the Marshall Plan for Europe, and why did the Soviet Union and its satellite nations refuse the U.S. offer of help?

DETERMINING MEANING

The word **containment** comes from the root word *contain*, which means “to keep within limits.” How might knowing the meaning of *contain* help a person determine the meaning of *containment*?

President Truman signs the Foreign Aid Assistance Act, providing aid to Greece and Turkey. The policy of supporting nations resisting Communist pressure became known as the Truman Doctrine.

DETERMINING CENTRAL IDEAS

What was the main purpose of the Truman Doctrine?



ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

1. **SUMMARIZING** How would you summarize Truman's feelings about the United States helping countries who resist subjugation?
2. **CITING TEXT EVIDENCE** What evidence in the text shows how Truman viewed the Cold War conflict occurring throughout the world? How did that view lead him to support countries against totalitarian regimes?

American officials saw these actions as a Soviet push into the Middle East. The secretary of state sent Stalin a strong message demanding that Soviet forces 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, although the Iranian parliament later rejected the plan.

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

Frustrated in Iran, Stalin turned northwest to Turkey. There, the straits of the Dardanelles were a vital route from Soviet ports on the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. Russia had wanted to control this strategic route for centuries. In August 1946, Stalin demanded joint control of the Dardanelles with Turkey.

Presidential adviser Dean Acheson saw this move as part of a Soviet plan to control the Middle East. 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.

Meanwhile, Britain tried to help Greece. In August 1946, Greek Communists launched a guerrilla war against the Greek government. British troops helped fight the guerrillas, but in February 1947, Britain informed the United States that it could no longer afford to help Greece due to Britain's weakened postwar economy.

Shortly after, Truman went before Congress to ask for \$400 million to fight Communist aggression in Greece and Turkey. His speech outlined a policy that became known as the Truman Doctrine. Its goal was to aid those who worked to resist being controlled by others. In the long run, it pledged the United States to fight the spread of communism worldwide.

“The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement in Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria. At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one. . . . I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.”

—President Truman, from his address to Congress, March 12, 1947

THE MARSHALL PLAN

Meanwhile, postwar Western Europe faced grave problems. Economies were ruined, people faced starvation, and the war had caused political chaos in many countries. In June 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed the European Recovery Program. The program was commonly called the Marshall Plan. It gave European nations American aid to rebuild their economies. Truman saw both the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine as essential for containment. General Marshall offered help to all nations planning a recovery program.

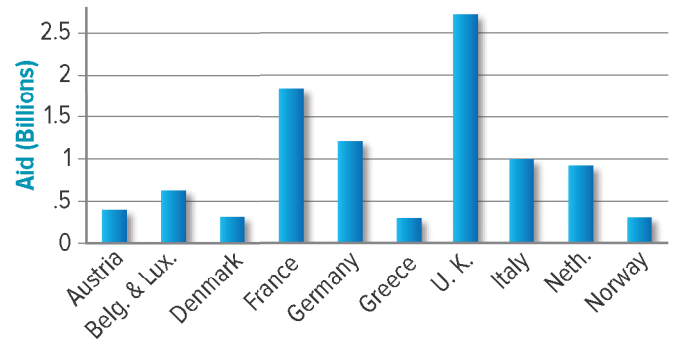
Although the Marshall Plan was offered to the Soviet Union and its satellite nations, the Soviets rejected it and developed their own economic program. This action further separated Europe into competing regions. The Marshall Plan pumped billions of dollars in supplies, machinery, and food into Western

MARSHALL PLAN AID TO MAJOR COUNTRIES, 1948-1951



ECONOMIC REASONING

- 1. GLOBAL ECONOMY** The UK received the largest amount of Marshall Plan aid. Why do you think that was so?
- 2. EXCHANGE AND MARKETS** Based on the chart, which three countries' economies would you expect to have recovered most quickly? Why might that not be true? Write what questions you need to ask to know if your prediction is accurate.



Source: The Marshall Plan Fifty Years Later.

Europe. The region's recovery weakened the appeal of communism and opened new markets for trade.

In his 1949 inaugural address, Truman proposed assistance for underdeveloped countries outside the war zone. The Point Four Program aimed to provide them with "scientific advances and industrial progress" for their improvement and growth. The Department of State administered the program until its merger with other foreign aid programs in 1953.

THE BERLIN AIRLIFT

Truman and his advisers believed Western Europe's prosperity depended on Germany's recovery. The Soviets, however, still wanted Germany to pay reparations. This dispute brought the nations to the brink of war. By early 1948, American officials had concluded that the Soviets were trying to undermine Germany's economy. In response, the United States, Britain, and France merged their German zones and allowed the Germans to have their own government, creating the Federal Republic of Germany, which became known as West Germany. They also agreed to merge their zones in Berlin and make West Berlin part of West Germany. The Soviet zone became the German Democratic Republic, or East Germany. West Germany was mostly independent but not allowed to have a military.

The creation of West Germany convinced the Soviets they would never get the reparations they wanted. In June 1948, Soviet troops blockaded West Berlin, hoping to force the United States to reconsider its decision or abandon West Berlin. Truman sent bombers capable of carrying atomic weapons to bases in Britain. Hoping to avoid war with the Soviets, he ordered the air force to fly supplies into Berlin rather than troops.

The Berlin Airlift began in June 1948 and continued through the spring of 1949, bringing in more than two million tons of supplies to the city. Stalin finally lifted the blockade on May 12, 1949. The airlift symbolized American determination to contain communism and not give in to Soviet demands.

THE CREATION OF NATO

The Berlin blockade convinced many Americans that the Soviets were bent on conquest. The public began to support a military alliance with Western Europe.

By April 1949, an agreement had been made to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—a mutual defense alliance.

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, the United States had committed itself to maintaining peace in Europe. Six years later, NATO allowed West Germany to rearm and join its organization. This decision alarmed Soviet leaders. They responded by organizing a military alliance in Eastern Europe known as the Warsaw Pact.

✓ CHECKING FOR UNDERSTANDING

1. **SUMMARIZING** What was the policy of containment?
2. **EVALUATING** What was the primary goal of the Truman Doctrine? How would it help the country in the long term?
3. **DRAWING CONCLUSIONS** Why do you think the Warsaw Pact was founded?

DEVELOPMENTS IN ASIA AND THE KOREAN WAR

INTEGRATING KNOWLEDGE AND IDEAS

1. INTEGRATING INFORMATION

How do the primary sources and visual evidence in this section support what the text states?

2. EVALUATING ARGUMENTS

Reread the section, then, in your own words, state Truman and General MacArthur's arguments. Do they both make sense? Which argument do you find more logical?

GUIDING QUESTION *Why was the Korean War a major turning point in the Cold 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 and sent American troops back into battle in Asia less than five years after World War II had ended.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

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 and the Communist forces made great gains, neither side could win nor agree to 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. The Nationalists, however, squandered this advantage through poor military planning and corruption. By 1949, the Communists had captured the Chinese capital of Beijing, while support for the Nationalists declined.

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

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 Nationalist Chinese in Taiwan. It used its veto power in the UN Security Council to keep representatives of the new Communist People's Republic of China out of the UN, allowing the Nationalists to retain their seat.

NEW POLICIES IN JAPAN

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.

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 Korea, and border clashes were common. The Soviets provided military aid to the North Koreans, who quickly built an army. On June 25, 1950, North Korean troops invaded the south, driving back the poorly equipped South Korean forces.

Truman saw the Communist invasion of South Korea as a test of the containment policy and ordered American naval and air power into action. He then called on the United Nations to act. Because the Soviet Union was boycotting the Security Council over its China policy, Truman succeeded. With the pledge of UN troops, he ordered General MacArthur to send American troops from Japan to Korea. The American and South Korean troops were driven back into a small pocket of territory near the port of Pusan. Inside the "Pusan perimeter," troops stubbornly resisted the North Koreans, buying time for MacArthur to organize reinforcements.

On September 15, 1950, 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 to pursue the North Koreans beyond the 38th parallel. MacArthur pushed the North Koreans north to the Yalu River, the border with China.

The Communist People's Republic of China saw the advancing UN troops as a threat and warned them to halt their advance. When warnings were ignored, Chinese forces crossed the Yalu River in November. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese troops flooded across the border, driving the UN forces back across the 38th parallel.

CITIZENSHIP

THE DRAFT

As war in Korea looked increasingly likely, President Truman was preparing. On July 20, 1948, he called for nearly 10 million men to register for military service within the next two months. This is called a reinstitution of the draft. Often, a draft is instituted to ensure that a nation has enough soldiers ready in case the country goes to war. If a country does not get enough volunteers, individuals will be told that they need to register for military service. Today, the United States does not have a draft, but the Congress could reinstitute the draft at any time if necessary.

Soldiers of the U.S. 2nd Infantry Division man a machine gun near the Chongchon River in Korea, November 20, 1950.

DETERMINING CENTRAL IDEAS

What was the objective of the United States during the Korean War?



KOREA'S BORDER, 1950 AND 1953



GEOGRAPHIC REASONING

EXPLORING PLACE What geographical feature forms the border between China and North Korea?

ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

DETERMINING CENTRAL IDEAS

What was Truman's viewpoint on the Kremlin's actions?

“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 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.”

—from an address to the Civil Defense Conference, May 7, 1951

POLITICAL CARTOONS

NOT A GENERAL'S JOB

In 1951 President Truman fired General Douglas MacArthur over disagreements about how to conduct the Korean War.

This cartoon suggests that General MacArthur had overstepped his authority in Korea.

1. **INFERRING** What does the cartoon imply MacArthur was trying to do in Asia?
2. **ANALYZING INFORMATION** Is this cartoon supportive of General MacArthur or critical of him? Explain.

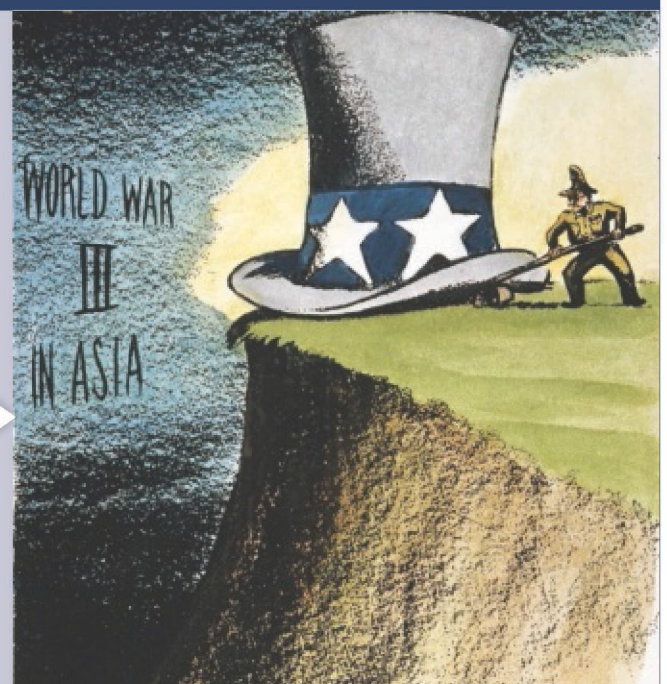


PHOTO: The Granger Collection, New York; TEXT: Truman, Harry. 1951. Address at a Dinner of the Civil Defense Conference, May 7, 1951. National Archives and Records Administration, Public Papers of the Presidents, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

By mid-1951, UN forces had pushed the Chinese and North Korean forces back across the 38th parallel. The war settled into a series of relatively small battles over hills and other local objectives. In July 1951, peace negotiations began at Panmunjom. As talks continued, the war became increasingly unpopular in the United States. After Dwight D. Eisenhower was elected to the presidency in 1952, the former general traveled to Korea to talk with commanders and their troops. He became determined to bring the war to an end.

Eisenhower quietly hinted to the Chinese that the United States might use a nuclear attack in Korea. The threat seemed to work. In July 1953, negotiators signed an armistice. The battle line between the two sides in Korea, which was very near the prewar boundary, became the border between North Korea and South Korea. A “demilitarized zone” (DMZ) separated them. American troops are still based in Korea, helping to defend South Korea’s border. There has never been a peace treaty to end the war. More than 33,600 American soldiers died in action, and over 20,600 died in accidents or from disease.

The Korean War marked a 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 war also helped expand the Cold War to Asia. Before 1950, American efforts to contain communism focused on Europe. With the Korean War, the nation became more militarily involved in Asia. By 1954, the United States had signed defense agreements with Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. The United States also formed the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954. Aid also began flowing to French forces fighting Communists in Vietnam.

CHECKING FOR UNDERSTANDING

- 1. UNDERSTANDING CONTEXT** What occurred as a result of the United States losing its chief ally in Asia?
- 2. EXPLAINING EFFECTS** What was the result of Truman firing MacArthur?
- 3. RELATING EVENTS** Why was the Korean War a major turning point in the Cold War?

LESSON 2 REVIEW

Time and Place

- 1. INTERPRETING** What was the importance of diplomat George Kennan’s Long Telegram during the Cold War?

Building History-Social Science Analysis Skills

- 2. EXPLAINING EFFECTS** How did Britain’s postwar economy affect the aid it gave to Greece against Communists?
- 3. DETERMINING CONTEXT** What did the Point Four Program provide and why?
- 4. IDENTIFYING EFFECTS** What policy was advocated for in the Long Telegram by diplomat George Kennan? How was the Berlin Airlift an example of that same policy?

Writing About History

- 5. ARGUMENTATIVE WRITING** Write a letter to the editor of a newspaper explaining why you agree or disagree with President Truman’s firing of General MacArthur. Remember to consider how people viewed MacArthur at the time, and also consider how people felt towards communism.

Collaborating

- 6. COLLABORATING** With a partner, write a letter to a member of Congress summarizing and identifying the major conflicts between the Soviet Union and the United States during the early years of the Cold War. Propose some solutions as to how you believe relations could be improved.

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- How did the Cold War shape postwar international relations?
- How did Cold War tensions affect American society?

THE STORY BEGINS...

The Japanese city of Hiroshima was destroyed by a nuclear weapon on August 6, 1945. It was the first city ever destroyed by a nuclear weapon. ►

LESSON 3

The Cold War and American Society

In the spring of 1946, John Hersey, a decorated war correspondent and prize-winning novelist, was commissioned by *The New Yorker* to go to Hiroshima to write a piece about the city, homes, schools, and other places that had been bombed and destroyed. Hersey's article helped people understand the true horror that had shaken the city of Hiroshima, not just on August 6, 1945, but in the many months that followed. With atomic war a bleak possibility during the Cold War, Hersey's words were particularly ominous.

“It would be impossible to say what horrors were embedded in the minds of the children who lived through the day of the bombing in Hiroshima. On the surface their recollections, months after the disaster, were of an exhilarating adventure. Toshio Nakamura, who was ten at the time of the bombing, was soon able to talk freely, even gaily, about the experience, and a few weeks before the anniversary he wrote the following matter-of-fact essay for his teacher at Nobori-cho Primary School: ‘The day before the bomb, I went for a swim. In the morning, I was eating peanuts. I saw a light. I was knocked to little sister’s sleeping place. When we were saved, I could only see as far as the tram. My mother and I started to pack our things. The neighbors were walking around burned and bleeding. Hataya-san told me to run away with her. I said I wanted to wait for my mother. We went to the park. A whirlwind came. At night a gas tank burned and I saw the reflection in the river. We stayed in the park one night. Next day I went to Taiko Bridge and met my girl friends Kikuki and Murakami. They were looking for their mothers. But Kikuki’s mother was wounded and Murakami’s mother, alas, was dead.’”

—from *Hiroshima*, by John Hersey

PHOTO: World History Archive/Alamy Stock Photo; TEXT: Hersey, John. “Hiroshima.” *The New Yorker*, August 31, 1946.



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

ANALYZING KEY IDEAS AND DETAILS

ORGANIZING As you read, summarize the lesson content by using the major headings to create an outline similar to this one.

A NEW RED SCARE

GUIDING QUESTION *How did the post–World War II Red Scare compare and contrast with the one that followed World War I?*

During the 1950s, rumors and accusations spawned fears that Communists were trying to take over the world. 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 showing a Soviet effort to infiltrate government agencies in Canada and the United States, with the specific goal of obtaining information about the atomic bomb. The case stunned Americans. It implied that spies had infiltrated the American government. Soon the search for spies escalated into a general fear of Communist **subversion**, or effort to weaken a society and overthrow its government.

THE TRUMAN LOYALTY REVIEW PROGRAM

In early 1947, President Truman established a **loyalty review program** to screen all federal employees. Truman's action seemed to confirm suspicions that Communists had infiltrated the government and so added to fears that communism was sweeping the nation. Between 1947 and 1951, more than six million federal employees were screened for loyalty—a term difficult to define. A person might become a suspect for reading certain books, belonging to various groups, traveling overseas, or seeing certain foreign films. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) scrutinized some 14,000 people. About 2,000 quit their jobs, many under pressure. Another 212 were fired for “questionable loyalty,” despite a lack of actual evidence.

HUAC AND ANTI-COMMUNIST INVESTIGATIONS

FBI director J. Edgar Hoover remained unsatisfied. In 1947, he went before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). Formed in 1938 to investigate subversive activities in the United States, HUAC had been a minor committee before Hoover's involvement. He urged HUAC to hold public hearings on Communist subversion 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 wiretapped thousands of telephones.

One of HUAC's first hearings in 1947 focused on the film industry as a cultural force that Communists might **manipulate** to spread their ideas and influence. Future American president Ronald Reagan was head of the Screen Actors Guild at the time and, when called before HUAC, he testified that there

ANALYZING KEY IDEAS AND DETAILS

- 1. SUMMARIZING** As you read, summarize the lesson content by using the major headings to create an outline. Provide objectives relevant from each section in your outline.
- 2. EVALUATING EVIDENCE** What was the importance of Truman's Loyalty Review Program? Cite relevant language to support your conclusion.

MAKING CONNECTIONS

CULTURAL REACTIONS

The United States experienced two major Red Scares during the twentieth century: one during the 1920s, and one during the 1950s. Both of these scares occurred shortly after a major nation—first Russia, and later China—adopted a Communist form of government.

were Communists in Hollywood. During the hearings, ten screenwriters, known as the “Hollywood Ten,” used their Fifth Amendment right to protect themselves from self-incrimination and refused to testify. The incident led producers to blacklist, or agree not to hire, anyone who was believed to be a Communist or who refused to cooperate with the committee. The blacklist created an atmosphere of distrust and fear. Other industries and groups would also use blacklists to protect themselves from the damaging possibility of communist associations.

In 1948, Whittaker Chambers, a magazine editor and former Communist Party member, told HUAC that several government officials were also former Communists or spies. One official Chambers named was Alger Hiss, a diplomat who had served in Roosevelt’s administration, attended the Yalta Conference, and helped organize the United Nations. Hiss sued Chambers for libel, but Chambers testified that, in 1937 and 1938, Hiss had given him secret State Department documents. 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 California representative Richard Nixon **convinced** his colleagues to continue the hearings to determine who had lied. Chambers produced copies of secret documents, along with microfilm that he had hidden in a hollow pumpkin. These “pumpkin papers,” Chambers claimed, proved Hiss was lying. A jury agreed and convicted Hiss of **perjury**, or lying under oath.

Another spy case centered on accusations that American Communists had sold secrets about the atomic bomb to the Soviets to help them produce a bomb in 1949. In 1950, the hunt for spies 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 spying for the Soviets.

The Rosenbergs denied the charges but were condemned to death for espionage. Many people believed that they were simply victims caught in the wave of anti-Communist frenzy. Appeals and pleas for clemency failed, however, and the Rosenbergs were executed in June 1953.

In 1946, American and British cryptographers, working for a project code-named “Venona,” cracked the Soviet Union’s spy code, enabling them to read approximately 3,000 messages between Moscow and the United States collected during the Cold War. These messages confirmed extensive Soviet spying and ongoing efforts to steal nuclear secrets. The government did not reveal Project Venona’s existence until 1995. The Venona documents provided strong evidence that the Rosenbergs were indeed guilty.

THE RED SCARE SPREADS

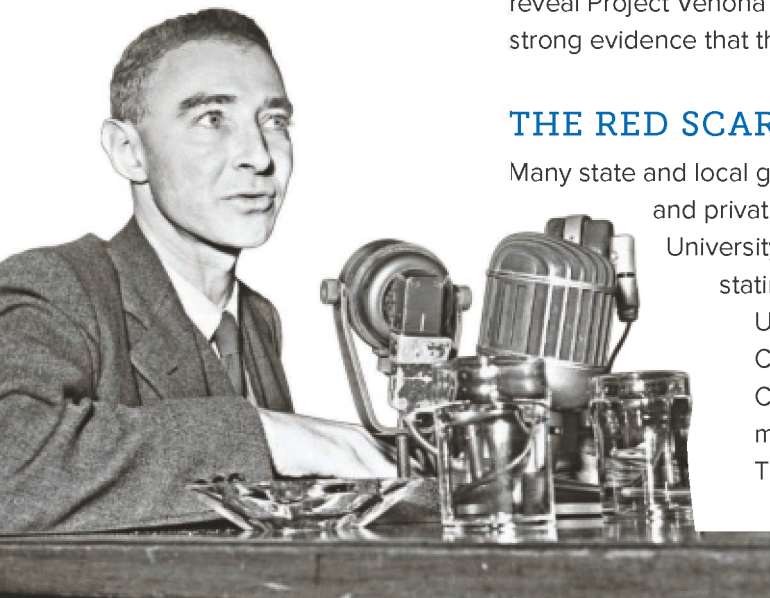
Many state and local governments, universities, businesses, unions, churches, and private groups also began efforts to find Communists. The University of California required its faculty to take loyalty oaths stating that they did not advocate the overthrow of the United States government and were not a member of the Communist Party and fired 157 who refused. Many Catholic groups became anti-Communist and urged members to identify Communists within the Church. The Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 required union leaders to

DETERMINING MEANING

Using the discussion of **perjury** in the text, define the term in your own words.

Although he had led the effort to develop the atomic bomb, scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer’s left-wing views and opposition to the hydrogen bomb led to the suspension of his security clearance.

DRAWING CONCLUSIONS Why were people suspicious of Oppenheimer?



take oaths saying that they were not Communists. Many union leaders did not object. Instead, they launched efforts to purge their own organizations, eventually expelling 11 unions that refused to remove Communist leaders.

The anxiety of the time increased public fears and Communists were not the only targets. Thousands of federal employees with different sexual orientations were fired, justified by the belief that their need for secrecy made them prone to blackmail by America's enemies. However, the decade's cultural distrust of these individuals was hidden underneath the Red Scare fears.

Civil rights activists were also targeted. The Communist Party in the United States had often helped promote the rights of African Americans, and many activists had become party members. As Cold War tensions grew, the Red Scare became another avenue of persecution.

✓ CHECKING FOR UNDERSTANDING

1. **COMPARING AND CONTRASTING** How did the post-World War II Red Scare compare and contrast with the one that followed World War I?
2. **IDENTIFYING CONNECTIONS** How did Truman's loyalty review program show that the fear that communism was sweeping the nation?
3. **RELATING EVENTS** How did the HUAC hearings for the film industry result in a general attitude of distrust and fear?

McCARTHYISM

GUIDING QUESTION *Why did many Americans believe Senator McCarthy's accusations?*

In 1949, the Red Scare intensified as 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.

In February 1950, little-known senator Joseph R. McCarthy gave a speech to a Republican women's group in West Virginia. Halfway through his speech, McCarthy made a surprising statement when he claimed:

“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 made 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 *Wheeling Intelligencer*, 1950

The Associated Press sent the statement nationwide. Reporters at an airport asked McCarthy to see his list. McCarthy replied that he would be happy to show it to them, but unfortunately, it was in his bag on the plane. In fact, the list never appeared. McCarthy, however, continued making charges.

McCarthy proclaimed that Communists were a danger at home and abroad. He distributed a booklet accusing Democratic Party leaders of corruption and of protecting Communists. McCarthy often targeted Secretary of State Dean Acheson, calling him incompetent and a tool of Stalin. He also accused George C. Marshall, former army chief of staff and secretary of state,

INTEGRATING KNOWLEDGE AND IDEAS

1. **DESCRIBING** What was Senator McCarthy's basic claim about the U.S. State Department?
2. **EVALUATING ARGUMENTS** What was the argument the army's lawyer, Joseph Welch, made against McCarthy, and how effective was that argument?

ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

1. **SUMMARIZING** Why might this excerpt from McCarthy's speech have alarmed people?
2. **INTERPRETING** Why do you think that McCarthy says that the people who were members of the Communist party were “still working and shaping the policy of the State Department”?



JOSEPH MCCARTHY (1908–1957)

When Wisconsin politician Joseph McCarthy first ran for Senate in 1946, he claimed his opponent was “communistically inclined.” His later accusations of Communist subversion made him a national figure. Between 1950 and 1954, McCarthy made headlines for his investigations of government departments and figures, despite his inability to build a solid case against anyone. His often wild accusations became the hallmark of McCarthyism.

DETERMINING CENTRAL IDEAS

What was the hallmark of McCarthyism?

of disloyalty. The prevailing anxiety about communism made many Americans willing to accept McCarthy’s claims.

THE McCARRAN ACT

In 1950, with McCarthy and others arousing fears of Communist spies, Congress passed the Internal Security Act, also called the McCarran Act. The act made it illegal to attempt to establish a totalitarian government in the United States, and required all Communist-related organizations to publish their records and register with the United States attorney general. Communists could not have passports and, in cases of a national emergency, could be arrested and detained. Unwilling to punish people for their opinions, Truman vetoed the bill, but Congress easily overrode his veto in 1950. Later Supreme Court cases limited the act’s scope.

McCARTHY’S RISE AND FALL

In 1953, McCarthy became chairman of the Senate subcommittee on investigations, which forced government officials to testify about alleged Communist influences. Investigations became witch-hunts—searches for disloyalty based on weak evidence and irrational fears. McCarthy’s tactic of damaging reputations with vague, unfounded charges became known as McCarthyism.

McCarthy’s sensational accusations put him in the headlines, and the press quoted him often and widely. He badgered witnesses and then refused to accept their answers. His tactics left a cloud of suspicion that he and others interpreted as guilt. People were afraid to challenge him. In 1954, McCarthy began to look for Soviet spies in the United States Army. During weeks of televised hearings, millions of Americans watched McCarthy question and bully officers, harassing them about trivial details and accusing them of misconduct. His popular support began to fade.

Finally, to strike back at the army’s lawyer, Joseph Welch, McCarthy brought up the past of a young lawyer in Welch’s firm who had been a member of a Communist-front organization while in law school. Welch, who was fully aware of the young man’s past, 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 what many Americans had been thinking. Later that year, the Senate passed a vote of **censure**, or formal disapproval, against McCarthy. Although he remained in the Senate, McCarthy had lost all influence.

✓ CHECKING FOR UNDERSTANDING

- 1. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS** Why did many Americans believe Senator McCarthy’s accusations?
- 2. ANALYZING POINTS OF VIEW** Why do you think people were fearful of opposing McCarthy?
- 3. IDENTIFYING EFFECTS** What were some results of the McCarran Act in 1950?

LIFE DURING THE EARLY COLD WAR

GUIDING QUESTION *How did fears of nuclear war affect American society?*

The Red Scare and the spread of nuclear weapons had a profound impact on American life in the 1950s. Fears of communism and war affected both ordinary Americans and government leaders.

FACING THE BOMB

Already upset by the first Soviet test of atomic weapons in 1949, Americans were shocked when the Soviets again successfully tested the much more powerful hydrogen bomb, or H-bomb, in 1953. The United States had tested its own H-bomb less than a year earlier.

Americans feared the possibility of a surprise Soviet attack and began doing several things to prepare for the possibility. Schools created bomb shelters and held bomb drills to teach students to “duck-and-cover”—to duck under their desks, turn away from the windows, and cover their heads with their hands. These actions were supposed to protect themselves from a nuclear bomb blast.

Although “duck-and-cover” might have made people feel safer, it would not have protected them from nuclear radiation. Experts have noted that 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 these shelters with canned food.

In the 1950s, the United States performed many nuclear tests at a site in Nevada, northwest of Las Vegas. These tests used model towns and mannequins to determine the effects of an atomic blast on the populous and to figure out the best ways to deal with a Soviet attack. The mushroom clouds from these tests were visible from Las Vegas. Unfortunately, the fallout from these attacks were carried by winds and caused increased cancer rates.

POPULAR CULTURE IN THE COLD WAR

As worries about nuclear war and Communist infiltration filled the public imagination, Cold War themes soon appeared in films, plays, television, the titles of dance tunes, and popular fiction. Matt Cvetic, an FBI undercover informant who

ANALYZING KEY IDEAS AND DETAILS

- 1. CITING TEXT EVIDENCE** What evidence in the text would defend the statement that “Although ‘duck-and-cover’ might have made people feel safer, it would not have protected them from nuclear radiation”?
- 2. SUMMARIZING** Write a summary of how popular culture was affected by the Cold War.

Some Americans invested in personal bomb shelters stocked with food, believing it would allow them to survive a bomb blast.

INTERPRETING Study the facial expressions of the members of this family. What can you interpret about the likely significance of the bomb shelter for this family?



WATKINS v. UNITED STATES, 1957

In 1954, labor organizer John Watkins testified before HUAC. He agreed to discuss his connections with the Communist Party and to identify people who were still members, but refused to talk about those who were no longer members. Watkins received a misdemeanor conviction for refusing to answer questions “pertinent to the question under inquiry.” In 1957, he appealed his case to the Supreme Court. In a 6-to-1 decision, the Supreme Court held that the activities of HUAC during its investigations were beyond the scope of the stated aims of the committee, as well as the authority of congressional powers. Witnesses regained their constitutional protections provided by the Bill of Rights (including the right not to incriminate themselves) when they testified before Congress.

INTERPRETING What argument would you make in support of John Watkins’s position?

secretly infiltrated the Communist Party, captivated readers with reports in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1950. His story was later made into the movie *I Was a Communist for the FBI* (1951).

Another film, *Walk East on Beacon* (1952), features the FBI’s activities in a spy case. In 1953, Arthur Miller’s thinly veiled criticism of the Communist witch-hunts, *The Crucible*, appeared on Broadway. The play remains popular today as a cautionary tale about how hysteria can lead to false accusations.

In 1953, a weekly television series, *I Led Three Lives*, about an undercover FBI counterspy who was also a Communist Party official, debuted. Popular tunes such as “Atomic Boogie” and “Atom Bomb Baby” played on the radio. The next year, author Philip Wylie published *Tomorrow!*, a novel describing the horrific effects of nuclear war on an unprepared American city. Wylie wrote his novel to educate the public about the horrors of atomic war.

One of the most famous and enduring works of this period is John Hersey’s nonfiction book *Hiroshima*. Originally published as the August 1946 edition of the *New Yorker* magazine, the book provides six firsthand accounts of the United States dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan. Not only did it make some Americans question the use of the bomb, but *Hiroshima* also underscored the real, personal horrors of a nuclear attack.

At the same time, the country was enjoying postwar prosperity and optimism. That spirit, combined with McCarthyism, 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 more secure.

✓ CHECKING FOR UNDERSTANDING

- SUMMARIZING** How did fears of nuclear war affect American society?
- DESCRIBING** How did people try to protect themselves from nuclear fallout?
- IDENTIFYING EFFECTS** What evidence from popular culture shows that some Americans were critical of the Red Scare and the nuclear arms race?

LESSON 3 REVIEW

Time and Place

- IDENTIFYING EFFECTS** What was the result of Truman’s loyalty review program?

Building History-Social Science Analysis Skills

- EXPLAINING CAUSE AND EFFECT** What was the effect of the Senate’s vote of censure against McCarthy?
- DESCRIBING** Why were Chambers’ secret documents called “pumpkin papers”?
- IDENTIFYING EFFECTS** How did fears of nuclear war affect American society?

Writing About History

- ARGUMENTATIVE WRITING** Consider the historical events surrounding the early Cold War era. Were HUAC and Senator McCarthy justified in investigating people who were suspected of being Communists?

Collaborative Activity

- COLLABORATING** In small groups, work together to write a statement describing the early years of the Cold War and how the Cold War affected American society.

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- How did the Cold War shape postwar international relations?
- How did Cold War tensions affect American society?

THE STORY BEGINS...

LESSON 4

Eisenhower's Cold War Policies

Sputnik was launched by the Soviets on October 4, 1957. It was the first artificial satellite to orbit the Earth. When the launch of *Sputnik* occurred, the administration was surprised by the amount of public concern. Four days after the launch, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles sent White House Press Secretary James Hagerty some suggestions to be included in a press release to reassure the public. His suggestions are included in this excerpt of Foster's letter below. Shortly after, *Explorer I* was launched by the United States on January 1, 1958. In late 1958, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration started developing a space program that would send humans into space.

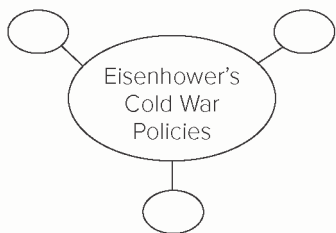
“The launching by the Soviet Union of the first earth satellite is an event of considerable technical and scientific importance. However, that importance should not be exaggerated. What has happened involves no basic discovery and the value of a satellite to mankind will for a long time be highly problematical. . . .

While the United States has not given the same priority to outer space developments as has the Soviet Union, it has not neglected this field. It already has a capability to utilize outer space for missiles and it is expected to launch an earth satellite during the present geophysical year in accordance with a program which has been under orderly development over the past two years.”

—John Foster to James C. Hagerty, October 8, 1957



◀ The pressure to compete with *Sputnik* made the launch of *Explorer I* a noteworthy event.



ANALYZING KEY IDEAS AND DETAILS

ORGANIZING As you read, complete a concept web similar to the one at left by filling in aspects of Eisenhower's Cold War policies.

ANALYZING KEY IDEAS AND DETAILS

1. CITING TEXT EVIDENCE

Identify text evidence that supports the following statement in the text: "If massive retaliation was to be an effective strategy, American nuclear weapons had to be deployed in a way that an enemy could not eliminate them all at once in a surprise attack."

2. SUMMARIZING Write a summary of how President Eisenhower felt compelled to threaten nuclear war during the Taiwan Crisis.

MASSIVE RETALIATION

GUIDING QUESTION *How were the policies of massive retaliation and brinkmanship different from previous military policies?*

By the end of 1952, many Americans were ready for a change in leadership. The Cold War had much to do with that attitude. Many people believed that Truman's foreign policy was not working. The Soviet Union had tested an atomic bomb and consolidated its hold on Eastern Europe. China had fallen to communism, and American troops were fighting in Korea.

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. Stevenson had little chance against a national hero who had helped win World War II. Americans wanted someone they could trust to lead the nation in the Cold War. Eisenhower won by a landslide.

"MORE BANG FOR THE BUCK"

The Cold War shaped Eisenhower's thinking from the moment he took office. He was convinced that the key to victory was not simply military might, but also a strong economy. The United States had to show the world that the free enterprise system could produce a better society than communism. At the same time, economic prosperity would prevent Communists from gaining support in the United States and protect society from subversion.

As a professional soldier, Eisenhower knew the costs associated with large-scale conventional war. Preparing for that kind of warfare, he believed, was too expensive. "We cannot defend the nation in a way which will exhaust our economy," the president declared. Instead of maintaining a 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."

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, wars had to be prevented in the first place. The best way to do that seemed to be to threaten to use nuclear weapons. This policy came to be called **massive retaliation**.

Eisenhower's emphasis on nuclear weapons required new technology to deliver them. The president wanted to make sure that the United States could wage nuclear war even if the Soviets destroyed American bases in Europe or Asia. This required technology that would allow the U.S. to strike the USSR without needing bases overseas. At the same time, American forces had to be

very difficult to destroy in one attack. If massive retaliation was to be an effective strategy, American nuclear weapons had to be deployed in a way that an enemy could not eliminate them all at once in a surprise attack. For this reason, the United States began to build what would later be referred to as the nuclear triad, a three part system made up of long-range bombers, land-based missiles, and missile-carrying submarines.

In 1955, the U.S. air force unveiled the first part of the triad, the huge B-52 bomber which could fly across continents to drop nuclear bombs. The B-52 is still in use today. But because bombers could be shot down, Eisenhower also approved the development of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) that could reach anywhere in the world in less than 30 minutes. The Atlas missile was the first American ICBM. It was also used to launch the first seven U.S. astronauts in the early 1960s. A modified version of the Atlas is still used today to launch satellites.

For the third part of the triad, Eisenhower also began a program to build submarines capable of launching nuclear missiles from underwater. The Polaris submarine was the first submarine ever built to launch long-range missiles. The first Polaris submarine was deployed in 1960 and carried 16 nuclear missiles.

The new policy enabled Eisenhower to cut military spending from around \$50 billion to about \$34 billion by reducing the size of the army, which was expensive to maintain. He then increased the U.S. nuclear arsenal from about 1,000 bombs in 1953 to about 18,000 bombs in 1961. One result of the decision to focus on massive retaliation was the emergence of a new arms race. The United States and the Soviet Union began to compete in the development of missiles and bombers, and steadily expanded the size and power of their nuclear arsenal.

BRINKMANSHIP

President Eisenhower's willingness to threaten nuclear war to maintain peace worried some people. 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. As stated by Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, in an interview with *LIFE*:

“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.”

—John Foster Dulles, as quoted in “How Dulles Averted War,” by James Shepley, *LIFE Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 3, January 16, 1956

During several crises, however, President Eisenhower felt compelled to threaten nuclear war.



In 1955, the U.S. Air Force unveiled the huge B-52 bomber, which could fly across continents to drop nuclear bombs. The B-52 is still in use today.

EXPLAINING CAUSE AND EFFECT

How did Eisenhower's nuclear strategy lead to the development of new aircraft technology?

ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

1. DETERMINING CENTRAL IDEAS

What is the central idea of this excerpt?

2. CITING TEXT EVIDENCE How does Dulles describe being on the verge of war without actually going to war? Does he think that the United States was brought to the verge? Provide evidence from the text to support your answer.

Shortly after the Korean War ended, a new crisis erupted in Asia. Although Communists had taken power in mainland China, 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. Eisenhower saw Taiwan as part of the "anti-Communist barrier" in Asia that needed to be protected at all costs.

When China began shelling the islands and announced that Taiwan would be liberated, Eisenhower asked Congress to authorize the use of force to defend Taiwan. He then warned that an attack on Taiwan would be resisted by U.S. naval forces and hinted that they would use nuclear weapons to stop an invasion. Soon afterward, China backed down.

The following year, a serious crisis erupted in the Middle East. Eisenhower wanted to prevent Arab nations from aligning with the Soviet Union. To build support among Arabs, Secretary of State Dulles offered to help Egypt finance the construction of a dam on the Nile River.

The deal ran into trouble in Congress, however, because Egypt had bought weapons from Communist Czechoslovakia. Dulles decided 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.

In October 1956, British and French troops invaded Egypt. Eisenhower was furious with Britain and France. The situation became even more dangerous when the Soviet Union threatened rocket attacks on Britain and France and offered to send troops to help Egypt. Eisenhower immediately put U.S. nuclear forces on alert, noting, "if those fellows start something, we may have to hit 'em—and, if necessary, with *everything* in the bucket."

Pressured by the United States, the British and French called off the invasion. The Soviet Union had won a major diplomatic victory by supporting Egypt. Soon other Arab nations began accepting Soviet aid.

✓ CHECKING FOR UNDERSTANDING

1. **IDENTIFYING PERSPECTIVES** How did the Cold War shape Eisenhower's thinking?
2. **IDENTIFYING EFFECTS** What were some of the consequences that occurred from British and French troops invading Egypt in October 1956?
3. **COMPARING** How were the policies of massive retaliation and brinkmanship different from previous military policies?

COVERT OPERATIONS

GUIDING QUESTION *Why did President Eisenhower want to use covert operations to combat the spread of communism?*

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 prevent Communists from staging revolutions within countries. To do this, Eisenhower decided to use **covert**, or hidden, operations conducted by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

ANALYZING KEY IDEAS AND DETAILS

1. **ANALYZING TEXT STRUCTURE**
How has the writer organized the information in this section?
2. **DETERMINING POINT OF VIEW**
What is the author's purpose in organizing the information in this way?

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.

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, in which the threat of communism seemed stronger, the CIA ran 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 nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. He seemed ready to make an oil deal with the Soviet Union. The pro-American shah of Iran tried to force Mossadegh out of office, but the shah failed and fled into exile. The CIA quickly sent agents to organize street riots and arrange a coup that ousted Mossadegh and returned the shah to power.

The following year, the CIA intervened in Guatemala. In 1950, with Communist support, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán was elected president of Guatemala. After Arbenz Guzmán assumed office in 1951, his land-reform program took over large estates and plantations, 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.

TROUBLE IN EASTERN EUROPE

Covert operations did not always work as Eisenhower hoped. Stalin died in 1953, and a power struggle began in the Soviet Union. By 1956, Nikita Khrushchev had emerged as the Soviet leader. That year, Khrushchev delivered a secret speech to Soviet officials. He attacked Stalin's policies and insisted that there were many ways to build a communist society. Although the speech was secret, the CIA obtained a copy of it and distributed copies of it throughout Eastern Europe and the world.

Many Eastern Europeans had long been frustrated with Communist rule. Hearing Khrushchev's speech further discredited communism. 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 the region. Soon after the uprising began, Soviet tanks rolled into the capital of Hungary and crushed the rebellion.

SPUTNIK LAUNCHES THE SPACE RACE

As the United States began to develop ICBMs, Americans were stunned to discover that the Soviet Union already had them. On October 4, 1957, the Soviets

DETERMINING MEANING

Read the text that gives the meaning of the term **developing nations**, then define in the term in your own words.

Sputnik was the world's first artificial satellite. It made news around the world and launched the space race.





An Atlas rocket lifts off carrying a payload to orbit. The Atlas missile was the first American intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM). First developed in the 1950s, intercontinental ballistic missiles can deliver a nuclear warhead to any target in the world in less than 30 minutes. The Atlas rocket is still used today to launch satellites into orbit.

demonstrated this technology by launching *Sputnik*, the first artificial satellite to orbit Earth. Less than four months later, the United States launched its first satellite, *Explorer I*. Determined not to be beaten by the Soviets, Eisenhower established the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, or NASA, in late 1958 to begin developing a civilian space program for the United States.

Sputnik marked a turning point in history and the beginning of a new era—the use of satellites in space. Both nations in the Cold War began launching satellites to assist in communications and to spy on other nations. Today, satellites are a vital part of modern communications and travel. They transmit television, radio, and cell phone signals, and the satellites of the Global Positioning System (GPS) help drivers and pilots navigate.

THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

The United States was not the only nation using covert means to support its foreign policy. President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt had emerged from the Suez crisis as a hero to the Arab people, and by 1957 he had begun working with Jordan and Syria to spread pan-Arabism—the idea that all Arab people should be united into one nation.

Eisenhower and Dulles worried about Nasser's links to the Soviets and feared he was laying the groundwork to take control of the Middle East. In late 1957, Eisenhower asked Congress to authorize the use of military force whenever the president thought it necessary to assist Middle East nations resisting Communist aggression. The policy came to be called the Eisenhower Doctrine. It essentially extended the Truman Doctrine and the policy of containment to the Middle East.

In July 1958, Eisenhower's concerns appeared to be confirmed when left-wing rebels, believed to be backed by Nasser and the Soviets, seized power in Iraq. Fearing his government was next, the president of Lebanon sought help. Eisenhower ordered 5,000 marines to Beirut, the Lebanese capital. Once the situation stabilized, the U.S. forces withdrew.

A SPY PLANE IS SHOT DOWN

After the Hungarian uprising, Khrushchev reasserted Soviet power and the superiority of communism. Although he had supported “peaceful coexistence” with capitalism, he began accusing 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.”

MAKING CONNECTIONS TO TODAY

SATELLITES

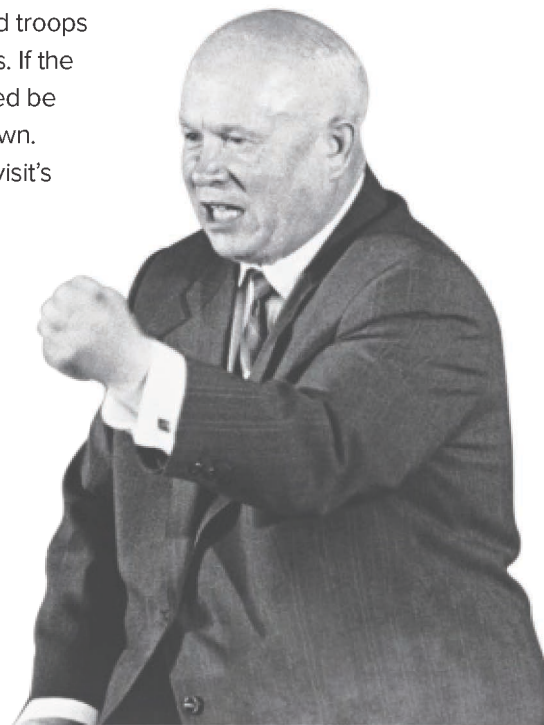
The Soviet Union's *Sputnik I* was the first artificial satellite ever launched and the first to successfully circle around the Earth. Since 1957 many more satellites have been sent into space to orbit not only Earth's atmosphere but the Moon, Sun, and other planets. Some have even traveled outside of our solar system. Today, there are more than 1,070 satellites circling Earth. Half of these satellites were launched by the United States. Many of these satellites are used for GPS-based navigation. Others are used for media broadcasts, weather collection data and forecasting, and many other different operational purposes.

Late the following year, Khrushchev demanded the withdrawal of Allied troops from West Berlin. Secretary of State 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. Eisenhower invited Khrushchev to visit the United States in late 1959. The visit's success led the two leaders to agree to hold a summit in Paris.

Shortly before the summit was to begin in 1960, the Soviet Union shot down an American U-2 spy plane. At first Eisenhower claimed that the aircraft was a weather plane that had strayed off course. Then Khrushchev dramatically produced the pilot, Francis Gary Powers. Eisenhower refused to apologize, saying the flights had protected American security. In **response**, Khrushchev broke up the summit.

In this climate of heightened tension, Eisenhower prepared to leave office. In January 1961, he delivered a farewell address to the nation in which 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 influence of this **military-industrial complex** in a democracy.

Although he had avoided war and contained communism, Eisenhower was frustrated. He had sent military advisers to South Vietnam to train a South Vietnamese army and also saw Fidel Castro establish a communist regime in Cuba. Eisenhower stated, "I confess that I lay down my official responsibilities in this field with a definite sense of disappointment. As one who has witnessed the horror and the lingering sadness of war . . . I wish I could say tonight that a lasting peace is in sight."



Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev rose to power in the mid-1950s, following the death of longtime dictator Joseph Stalin.

DRAWING CONCLUSIONS How did covert operations around the world contribute to tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union?

✓ CHECKING FOR UNDERSTANDING

- SUMMARIZING** Why did *Sputnik* mark a turning point in history?
- DRAWING CONCLUSIONS** Why did President Eisenhower want to use covert operations to combat the spread of communism?
- EXPLAINING CAUSES** What was the purpose of the Eisenhower Doctrine?

LESSON 4 REVIEW

Time and Place

- INTERPRETING** How are developing nations primarily different from industrial nations?

Building History-Social Science Analysis Skills

- DESCRIBING** What was the policy of brinkmanship?
- DRAWING CONCLUSIONS** What were some of the benefits of mass retaliation?
- INTERPRETING** In his farewell address, what did Eisenhower warn Americans to be on guard against? Why do you think Eisenhower considered such a relationship to be a problem?

Writing About History

- INFORMATIVE WRITING** Write a short essay in which you explain Eisenhower's foreign policy goals and practices. Be sure to include details about how these policies influenced historical events.

Collaborating

- COLLABORATING** Work in a small group to create a newspaper article highlighting some of the advancements the United States has made in the space race. Provide specific examples of advancements, as well as suggestions for photos and drawings to go along with your article.

COLD WAR CONTROVERSIES

The Cold War was a time of great tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. It also led to controversies in the United States. Most people agreed that communism was un-American and not welcome in the country, but people began suspecting their neighbors of being Communists without sufficient evidence. Views did not always align when it came to the solutions of how to solve these internal problems. An overall sense of uncertainty put many Americans on edge.

VOCABULARY

trepidation: uncertainty and worry

PRIMARY SOURCE: TELEGRAM

GEORGE KENNAN'S "LONG TELEGRAM"

U.S. diplomat George Kennan outlined his views on the Soviet Union and U.S. policy toward the Soviets. The document known as the Long Telegram influenced American Cold War policy. He believed the Soviet Union could not peacefully coexist with the West and that the Soviets would try to expand their communist beliefs. He noted areas he thought the Soviets would try to target, and proposed a solution to contain them.

“(3) Much depends on health and vigor of our own society. World communism is like [a] malignant parasite which feeds only on diseased tissue. This is point at which domestic and foreign policies meet[.] Every courageous and incisive measure to solve internal problems of our own society, to improve self-confidence, discipline, morale and community spirit of our own people, is a diplomatic victory over Moscow worth a thousand diplomatic notes and joint communiqués. If we cannot abandon fatalism and indifference in face of deficiencies of our own society, Moscow will profit—Moscow cannot help profiting by them in its foreign policies. (4) We must formulate and put forward for other nations a much more positive and constructive picture of sort of world we would like to see than we have put forward in past. [Europeans] are seeking guidance rather than responsibilities. . . . [U]nless we do, Russians certainly will.”

ANALYZE THE TEXT

DESCRIBING Why does George Kennan describe world communism as a “malignant parasite”?

PRIMARY SOURCE: TELEGRAM

TELEGRAM FROM SENATOR JOE MCCARTHY TO TRUMAN

Senator Joseph McCarthy gave a speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, on February 9, 1950, claiming that more than 200 employees from the State Department were Communists. Two days after the speech, McCarthy sent a telegram to President Truman in which he said he had the names of 57 Communists working in the State Department. Despite his evident outrage, McCarthy was unable to prove his accusations.

“I would suggest, therefore, Mr. President, that you simply pick up your phone and ask Mr. Acheson how many of those whom your board had labeled as dangerous he failed to discharge. The day the House Un-American Activities Committee exposed Alger Hiss as an important link in an international Communist spy ring you signed an order forbidding the State Department’s giving any information in regard to the disloyalty or the communistic connections of anyone in that Department, despite this State Department blackout, we have been able to compile a list of 57 Communists in the State Department. This list is available to you but you can get a much longer list by ordering the Secretary Acheson to give you a list of these whom your own board listed as being disloyal and who are still working in the State Department. I believe the following is the minimum which can be expected of you in this case. . . .”

ANALYZE THE TEXT

DETERMINING CENTRAL IDEAS What is the central idea of this telegram?

(1) Kennan, George. 1946. Telegram to George Marshall [“Long Telegram”], February 22, 1946. Harry S. Truman Administration File, Elsey Papers, National Archives and Records Administration. Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Missouri. (2) McCarthy, Joseph R. 1950. Telegram from Senator Joseph R. McCarthy to President Harry S. Truman, with Truman’s Reply, February 11, 1950. National Archives, Collection HST-PSF: President’s Secretary’s Files (Truman Administration), 1945-1960.

PRIMARY SOURCE: LETTER

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT TRUMAN TO SENATOR MCCARTHY

On March 31, 1950, President Truman replied to Senator McCarthy's telegram. Truman stated that McCarthy's accusations were false. Truman also concludes that Senator McCarthy is not fit to have a hand in U.S. government and that the people of Wisconsin must be regretful to be represented by someone so irresponsible.

“My dear Senator:

I read your telegram of February eleventh from Reno, Nevada with a great deal of interest and this is the first time in my experience, and I was ten years in the Senate, that I ever heard of a Senator trying to discredit his own Government before the World. You know that isn't done by honest public officials. Your telegram is not only not true and an insolent approach to a situation that should have been worked out between man and man but it shows conclusively that you are not even fit to have a hand in the operation of the Government of the United States.

I am very sure that the people of Wisconsin are extremely sorry that they are represented by a person who has as little sense of responsibility as you have.”

Sincerely yours, HST

ANALYZE THE TEXT

CONSTRUCTING HYPOTHESES Why do you think President Truman had such a strong reaction to McCarthy's telegram?

PRIMARY SOURCE: SPEECH

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S FAREWELL SPEECH, JANUARY 17, 1961

President Eisenhower's farewell speech to the nation on January 17, 1961, was full of **trepidation** for the future. He spoke of past crises and future crises. One of his main points centered on the attitudes with which Americans should approach these crises. He spoke of an expansion into promising avenues of technological and industrial research and development. He warned Americans, though, that no spectacular or costly action should be viewed as the ultimate solution, such as the use of atomic weapons, a new agricultural program, or some technological advance.

“Crises there will continue to be. In meeting them, whether foreign or domestic, great or small, there is a recurring temptation to feel that some spectacular and costly action could become the miraculous solution to all current difficulties. A huge increase in newer elements of our defense; development of unrealistic programs to cure every ill in agriculture; a dramatic expansion in basic and applied research—these and many other possibilities, each possibly promising in itself, may be suggested as the only way to the road we wish to travel. . . .”

ANALYZE THE SPEECH

CONSTRUCTING HYPOTHESES How do you think Americans responded to President Eisenhower's farewell speech?



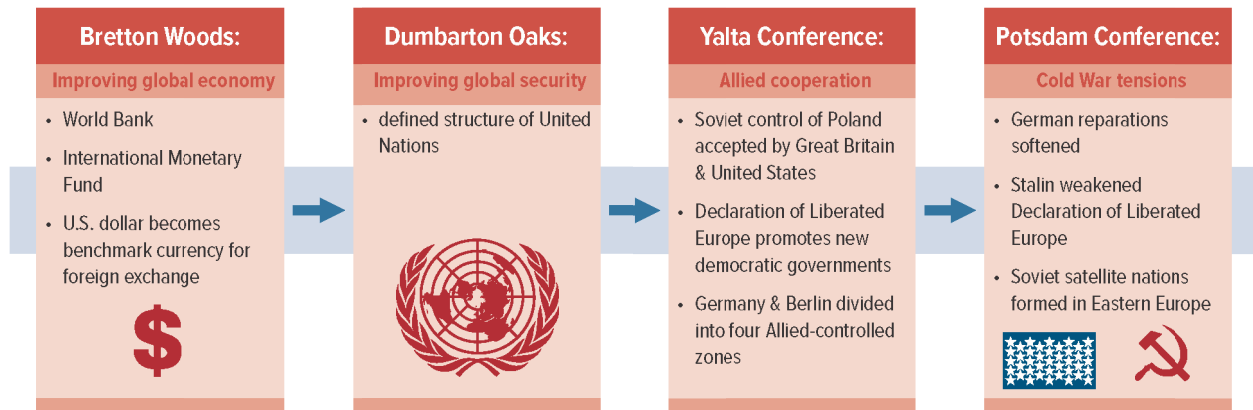
MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES

1. **SUMMARIZING** What does the exchange between Senator McCarthy and President Truman show about how Truman considered McCarthy and his accusations?
2. **SUMMARIZING** Do you think President Eisenhower's farewell speech left Americans feeling confident about the immediate future?

STUDY GUIDE

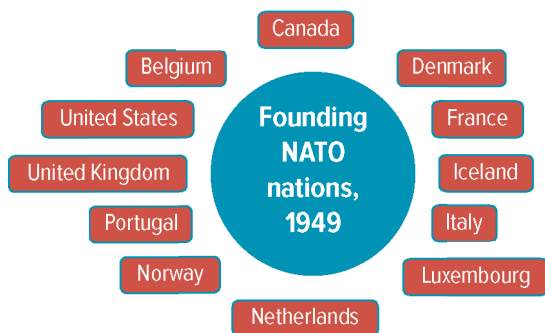
THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

LESSON 1



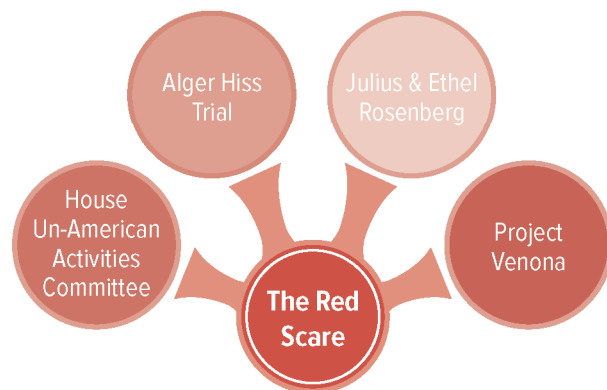
THE EARLY COLD WAR YEARS

LESSON 2



THE COLD WAR AND AMERICAN SOCIETY

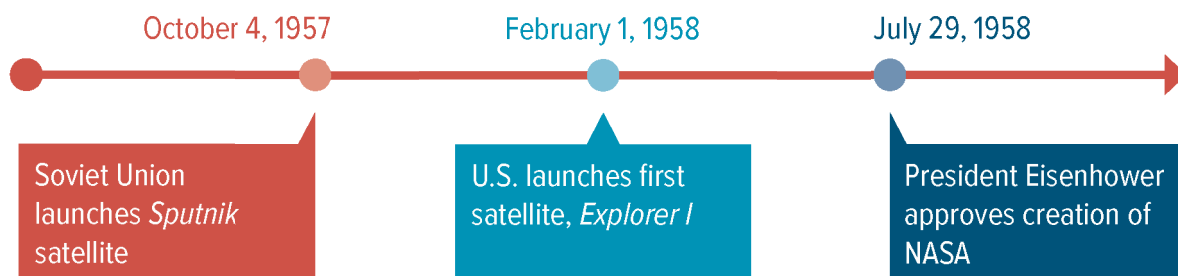
LESSON 3



EISENHOWER'S COLD WAR POLICIES

LESSON 4

The Early Space Race



CHAPTER 12 Assessment

Directions: Write your answers on a separate piece of paper.

Short Answer

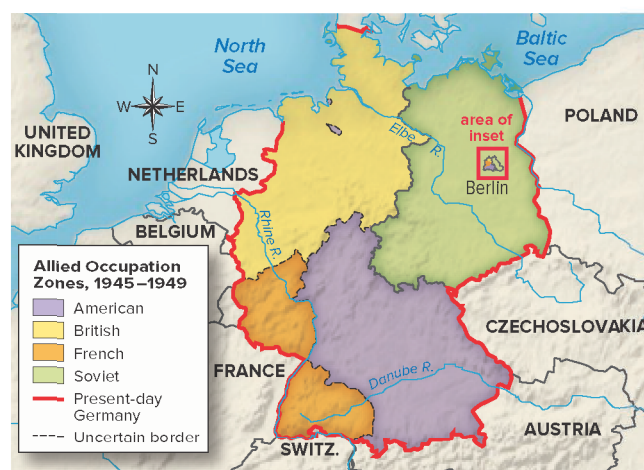
- 1 **IDENTIFYING EFFECTS** What was a weakness of the United Nations?
- 2 **SUMMARIZING** What was the purpose of the Geneva Conventions?
- 3 **IDENTIFYING CONNECTIONS** What main principle did the two organizations formed in 1944—the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund—have in common?
- 4 **SUMMARIZING** Describe the manner in which Germany was divided by Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and France.
- 5 **IDENTIFYING CONNECTIONS** How was American aid to Western Europe a key to containing communism?
- 6 **EXPLAINING EFFECTS** How did the policy of containment affect President Truman's decision to send troops to fight in the Korean War?
- 7 **IDENTIFYING CAUSES** What were the causes of the Korean War?
- 8 **SUMMARIZING** What was the purpose of the Point Four Program?
- 9 **EXPLAINING EFFECTS** How did Senator McCarthy's accusations of Communist influence affect domestic life and intensify Cold War tensions?
- 10 **INTERPRETING** How do you think Truman's Loyalty Review Program could have eased the fears of some Americans?
- 11 **SUMMARIZING** In the early 1950s, in what ways did literature and films about the H-bomb and Communist spies reflect the characteristics and issues of the era?
- 12 **IDENTIFYING CONNECTIONS** Why was brinkmanship a controversial part of Eisenhower's foreign policy?
- 13 **SUMMARIZING** What attitude did Khrushchev have toward Stalin in his secret speech to Soviet officials?

- 14 **ANALYZING EVENTS** What event took place as a result of the Eisenhower Doctrine?
- 15 **IDENTIFYING PERSPECTIVES** Why were Americans anxious about mass retaliation?

History and Social Science Analysis

- 16 **SUMMARIZING** Summarize the decisions that were made at Yalta.

Use the map to answer the following questions.



- 17 **PATTERNS AND MOVEMENT** Identify and explain the main reason for the Germany's political boundaries after World War II.
- 18 **PATTERNS AND MOVEMENT** Based on the geography and control of the zones, what challenges would have existed for each of the Allied countries, and would any country have been more or less affected?

Research and Presentation

- 19 **GATHERING EVIDENCE** Use Internet or print resources to research what NATO is like today. Create a short digital presentation that summarizes NATO, explains its importance to the world, and how it has changed over time.

Need Extra Help?

If You've Missed Questions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Review Lesson	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	1	1	1	1

CHAPTER 12 **Assessment,** continued

Reading and Analyzing Primary Sources

In 1950, Senator Margaret Chase Smith was angered by Senator McCarthy's behavior. She had hoped that her colleagues would reprimand him. They failed to do so, and Smith then made her "Declaration of Conscience" speech.

"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. . . . 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."

—Margaret Chase Smith, speech to Congress, June 1, 1950

- 20 INTERPRETING** What do you interpret Smith to mean when she uses the phrase "publicity platform for irresponsible sensationalism"?
- A. a platform to express unbiased and reasoned views and opinions
 - B. a platform to express biased and sensational views and opinions
 - C. a platform for presenting facts
 - D. a platform for soliciting facts
- 21 EVALUATING** What was Smith referencing when she used the phrase "confuse, divide, and conquer"?
- A. Republican strategy of united Americans against Communism
 - B. Democratic strategy of opposing McCarthy's behavior
 - C. Communist tactic of causing divisions among Americans
 - D. Capitalist tactic of opposing Communism at any cost
- 22 DETERMINING MEANING** Read this phrase from the excerpt: "when we fought the enemy instead of ourselves." Which of the following best explains the meaning of this phrase?
- A. finding an enemy to fight
 - B. starting a civil war
 - C. fighting each another instead the enemy
 - D. fighting the enemy independently

Need Extra Help?

If You've Missed Questions	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Review Lesson	3	3	3	3	1	4	1

- 23 CITING TEXT EVIDENCE** According to the document, how does Smith feel about how the Senate has been made a publicity platform for irresponsible sensationalism?
- A. She is proud of this.
 - B. She is not proud of this and feels that it is irresponsible.
 - C. She feels it is was necessary.
 - D. She feels that it was responsible, not irresponsible.

Writing About History

- 24 EXPLANATORY WRITING** Write an essay comparing and contrasting the international leadership of Franklin Roosevelt at the Yalta Conference with Harry Truman's leadership at the Potsdam Conference. Compare the relationship of the United States with its allies at both conferences, identify the goals of Roosevelt and Truman, and evaluate their success in achieving their goals. To help you cover all the relevant points, create an outline before you write.

Speaking and Listening About History

- 25 COLLABORATING** Meet in a small group to discuss the following questions: Why is important to remember the effects of the Cold War? How does this apply to us today? Have one member of each group serve as a moderator of the group discussion.
- 26 USING MULTIMEDIA** Design a Web site describing the origins of the Cold War and its effects on 1950s society. On a sheet of paper, describe the Web site and the way you would organize the site's information. Include maps, biographies, and accounts of historic events to show ways Cold War tensions affected postwar international relations. Present a visual presentation of your Web site to the class.