



CHAPTER 26

# COLD WAR CONFLICTS



Senator Joseph McCarthy, shown here, charged that Communists had infiltrated many areas of American life.

**1948** Harry S. Truman is elected president.

**1949** United States joins NATO.

**1950** U.S. sends troops to Korea.

**1952** U.S. explodes first hydrogen bomb.

**1952** Dwight D. Eisenhower is elected president.



USA  
WORLD

1945

1950

**1945** United Nations is established.

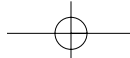
**1946** Churchill gives his "Iron Curtain" speech.

**1948** Berlin airlift begins.

**1949** China becomes communist under Mao Zedong.

**1950** Korean War begins.





## INTERACT

### WITH HISTORY

At the end of World War II, Americans begin to be haunted by a new fear. The Soviets have embraced a tightly controlled political system called communism. Many believe it threatens the American way of life. Throughout the nation, suspected communists are called before a House subcommittee for questioning. Anyone accused of un-American activity faces public humiliation and professional ruin.

*What do you do when a friend is accused?*

#### Examine the issues

- Do Americans with communist beliefs pose a threat to the nation?
- What can individual citizens do to protect the rights of all people?
- Should citizens speak out to preserve the rights of others?



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Visit the Chapter 26 links for more information about Cold War Conflicts.

**1953** Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are executed as spies.

**1954** Senator Joseph McCarthy alleges Communist involvement in U.S. Army.



**1960** Francis Gary Powers's U-2 spy plane is shot down by the Soviets.

**1960** John F. Kennedy is elected president.

**1955**

**1960**

**1953** Participants in Korean War agree on cease-fire.

**1954** French are defeated in Vietnam.

**1957** Soviets launch *Sputnik*.

**1959** Fidel Castro comes to power in Cuba.





# Origins of the Cold War

## MAIN IDEA

The United States and the Soviet Union emerged from World War II as two “superpowers” with vastly different political and economic systems.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

After World War II, differences between the United States and the Soviet Union led to a Cold War that lasted almost to the 21st century.

## Terms & Names

- United Nations (UN)
- satellite nation
- containment
- iron curtain
- Cold War
- Truman Doctrine
- Marshall Plan
- Berlin airlift
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

## One American's Story

Seventy miles south of Berlin, Joseph Polowsky and a patrol of American soldiers were scouting for signs of the Soviet army advancing from the east. As the soldiers neared the Elbe River, they saw lilacs in bloom. Polowsky later said the sight of the flowers filled them with joy.

Across the Elbe, the Americans spotted Soviet soldiers, who signaled for them to cross over. When the Americans reached the opposite bank, their joy turned to shock. They saw to their horror that the bank was covered with dead civilians, victims of bombing raids.

### A PERSONAL VOICE JOSEPH POLOWSKY

“Here we are, tremendously exhilarated, and there’s a sea of dead. . . . [The platoon leader] was much moved. . . . He said, ‘Joe, let’s make a resolution with these Russians here and also the ones on the bank: this would be an important day in the lives of the two countries.’ . . . It was a solemn moment. There were tears in the eyes of most of us. . . . We embraced. We swore never to forget.”

—quoted in *The Good War*

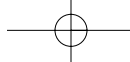
The Soviet and U.S. soldiers believed that their encounter would serve as a symbol of peace. Unfortunately, such hopes were soon dashed. After World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as rival superpowers, each strong enough to greatly influence world events.



▲ American and Soviet soldiers meet (top) at the Elbe River in Germany near the end of World War II. A 1996 postage stamp (above) commemorates the historic meeting.

## Former Allies Clash

The United States and the Soviet Union had very different ambitions for the future. These differences created a climate of icy tension that plunged the two countries into a bitter rivalry.



### Background

See *communism* on page R39 and *capitalism* on page R38 in the Economics Handbook.

Under Soviet communism, the state controlled all property and economic activity, while in the capitalistic American system, private citizens controlled almost all economic activity. In the American system, voting by the people elected a president and a congress from competing political parties; in the Soviet Union, the Communist Party established a totalitarian government with no opposing parties.

The United States was furious that Joseph Stalin—the leader of the Soviet Union—had been an ally of Hitler for a time. Stalin had supported the Allies only after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941. In some ways, the Americans and Soviets became more suspicious of each other during the war. Stalin resented the Western Allies' delay in attacking the Germans in Europe. Such an attack, he thought, would draw part of the German army away from the Soviet Union. Relations worsened after Stalin learned that the United States had kept its development of the atomic bomb secret. **A**

**THE UNITED NATIONS** In spite of these problems, hopes for world peace were high at the end of the war. The most visible symbol of these hopes was the **United Nations (UN)**. On April 25, 1945, the representatives of 50 nations met in San Francisco to establish this new peacekeeping body. After two months of debate, on June 26, 1945, the delegates signed the charter establishing the UN.

Ironically, even though the UN was intended to promote peace, it soon became an arena in which the two superpowers competed. Both the United States and the Soviet Union used the UN as a forum to spread their influence over others.

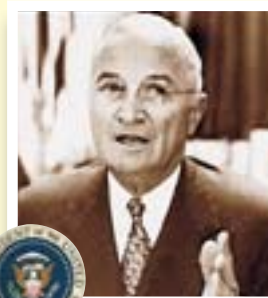
**TRUMAN BECOMES PRESIDENT** For the United States, the key figure in the early years of conflict with the Soviets was President Harry S. Truman. On April 12, 1945, Truman had suddenly become president when Franklin Roosevelt died. This former Missouri senator had been picked as Roosevelt's running mate in 1944. He had served as vice-president for just a few months before Roosevelt's death. During his term as vice-president, Truman had not been included in top policy decisions. He had not even known that the United States was developing an atomic bomb. Many Americans doubted Truman's ability to serve as president. But Truman was honest and had a willingness to make tough decisions—qualities that he would need desperately during his presidency.

### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Causes

**A** What caused the tension between the Soviet Union and the United States after the war?

## KEY PLAYERS



**HARRY S. TRUMAN**  
1884–1972

Harry S. Truman, the son of a Missouri livestock trader and his wife, did not seem destined for greatness. When he graduated from high school in 1901, he drifted from job to job. After WWI, he invested in a men's clothing store, but the business failed.

Discouraged by his business failure, Truman sought a career in politics. As a politician, his blunt and outspoken style won both loyal friends and bitter enemies. As president, his decisiveness and willingness to accept responsibility for his decisions ("The Buck Stops Here" read a sign on his desk) earned him respect that has grown over the years.

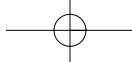


**JOSEPH STALIN**  
1879–1953

As a young revolutionary, Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili took the name *Stalin*, which means "man of steel" in Russian.

His father was a failed shoemaker and an alcoholic. His mother helped support the family as a washerwoman.

Stalin is credited with turning the Soviet Union into a world power but at a terrible cost to its citizens. He ruled with terror and brutality and saw "enemies" everywhere, even among friends and supporters. He subdued the population with the use of secret police and labor camps, and he is believed to have been responsible for the murder of millions of Soviets.



**THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE** Truman's test as a diplomat came in July 1945 when the Big Three—the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union—met at the final wartime conference at Potsdam near Berlin. The countries that participated were the same ones that had been present at Yalta in February 1945. Stalin still represented the Soviet Union. Clement Attlee replaced Churchill as Britain's representative mid-conference, because Churchill's party lost a general election. And Harry Truman took Roosevelt's place.

At Yalta, Stalin had promised Roosevelt that he would allow free elections—that is, a vote by secret ballot in a multiparty system—in Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe that the Soviets occupied at the end of the war. By July 1945, however, it was clear that Stalin would not keep this promise. The Soviets prevented free elections in Poland and banned democratic parties. **B**

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Causes

**B** What did Stalin do to make President Truman distrust him?

## Tension Mounts

Stalin's refusal to allow free elections in Poland convinced Truman that U.S. and Soviet aims were deeply at odds. Truman's goal in demanding free elections was to spread democracy to nations that had been under Nazi rule. He wanted to create a new world order in which all nations had the right of self-determination.

**BARGAINING AT POTSDAM** At the Yalta conference, the Soviets had wanted to take reparations from Germany to help repay Soviet wartime losses. Now, at Potsdam, Truman objected to that. After hard bargaining, it was agreed that the Soviets, British, Americans, and French would take reparations mainly from their own occupation zones within Germany.

Truman also felt that the United States had a large economic stake in spreading democracy and free trade across the globe. U.S. industry boomed during the war, making the United States the economic leader of the world. To continue growing, American businesses wanted access to raw materials in Eastern Europe, and they wanted to be able to sell goods to Eastern European countries.

**SOVIETS TIGHTEN THEIR GRIP ON EASTERN EUROPE** The Soviet Union had also emerged from the war as a nation of enormous economic and military strength. However, unlike the United States, the Soviet Union had suffered heavy devastation on its own soil. Soviet deaths from the war have been estimated at 20 million, half of whom were civilians. As a result, the Soviets felt justified in their claim to Eastern Europe. By dominating this region, the Soviets felt they could stop future invasions from the west.

### U.S. Aims Versus Soviet Aims in Europe

#### The United States wanted to . . .

- Create a new world order in which all nations had the right of self-determination
- Gain access to raw materials and markets for its industries
- Rebuild European governments to ensure stability and to create new markets for American goods
- Reunite Germany, believing that Europe would be more secure if Germany were productive

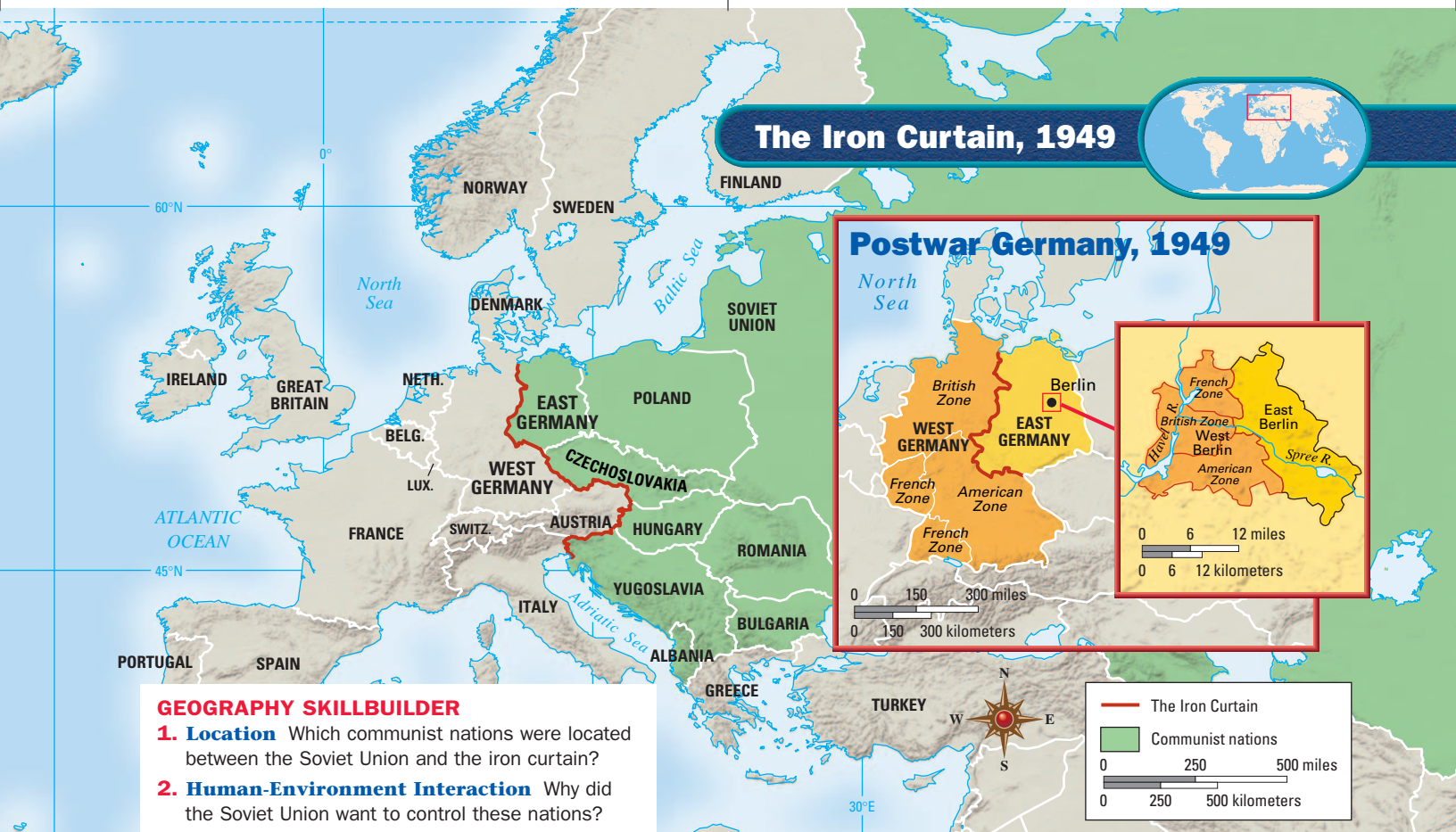
#### The Soviets wanted to . . .

- Encourage communism in other countries as part of the worldwide struggle between workers and the wealthy
- Rebuild its war-ravaged economy using Eastern Europe's industrial equipment and raw materials
- Control Eastern Europe to balance U.S. influence in Western Europe
- Keep Germany divided and weak so that it would never again threaten the Soviet Union

#### SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Charts

1. Which aims involved economic growth of the United States?
2. Which Soviet aims involved self-protection?





**GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER**

- 1. Location** Which communist nations were located between the Soviet Union and the iron curtain?
- 2. Human-Environment Interaction** Why did the Soviet Union want to control these nations?

Stalin installed communist governments in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Poland. These countries became known as **satellite nations**, countries dominated by the Soviet Union. In early 1946, Stalin gave a speech announcing that communism and capitalism were incompatible—and that another war was inevitable.

**UNITED STATES ESTABLISHES A POLICY OF CONTAINMENT** Faced with the Soviet threat, American officials decided it was time, in Truman’s words, to stop “babying the Soviets.” In February 1946, George F. Kennan, an American diplomat in Moscow, proposed a policy of **containment**. By containment he meant taking measures to prevent any extension of communist rule to other countries. This policy began to guide the Truman administration’s foreign policy. **C**

**MAIN IDEA**  
**Analyzing Motives**

**C** What were Truman’s goals in establishing the policy of containment?

Europe was now divided into two political regions, a mostly democratic Western Europe and a communist Eastern Europe. In March 1946, Winston Churchill traveled to the United States and gave a speech that described the situation in Europe.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** WINSTON CHURCHILL

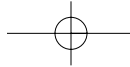
“A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. . . . From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. . . . All these famous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

—“Iron Curtain” speech in Fulton, Missouri



**Winston Churchill,**  
Prime Minister  
of Great Britain

The phrase “**iron curtain**” came to stand for the division of Europe. When Stalin heard about the speech, he declared in no uncertain terms that Churchill’s words were a “call to war.”



## Cold War in Europe

The conflicting U.S. and Soviet aims in Eastern Europe led to the **Cold War**, a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union in which neither nation directly confronted the other on the battlefield. The Cold War would dominate global affairs—and U.S. foreign policy—from 1945 until the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991.

**THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE** The United States first tried to contain Soviet influence in Greece and Turkey. Britain was sending economic and military support to both nations to prevent communist takeovers. However, Britain's economy had been badly hurt by the war, and the formerly wealthy nation could no longer afford to give aid. It asked the United States to take over the responsibility.

President Truman accepted the challenge. On March 12, 1947, Truman asked Congress for \$400 million in economic and military aid for Greece and Turkey. In a statement that became known as the **Truman Doctrine**, he declared 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.” Congress

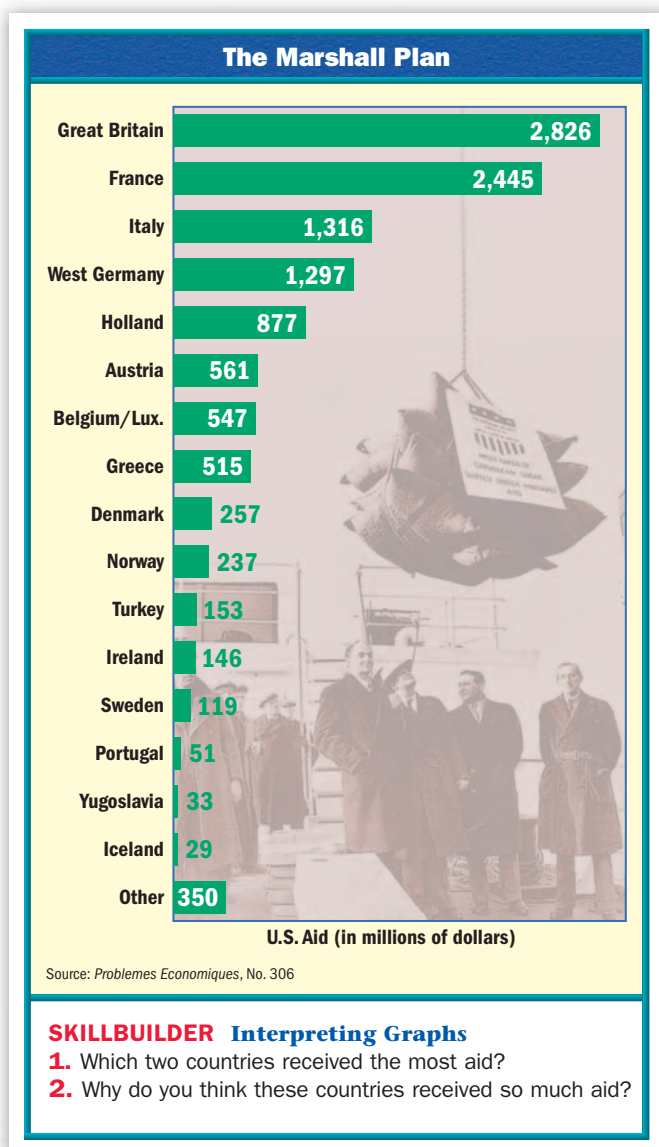
agreed with Truman and decided that the doctrine was essential to keeping Soviet influence from spreading. Between 1947 and 1950, the United States sent \$400 million in aid to Turkey and Greece, greatly reducing the danger of communist takeover in those nations.

**THE MARSHALL PLAN** Like post-war Greece, Western Europe was in chaos. Most of its factories had been bombed or looted. Millions of people were living in refugee camps while European governments tried to figure out where to resettle them. To make matters worse, the winter of 1946–1947 was the bitterest in several centuries. The weather severely damaged crops and froze rivers, cutting off water transportation and causing a fuel shortage.

In June 1947, Secretary of State George Marshall proposed that the United States provide aid to all European nations that needed it, saying that this move was directed “not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos.”

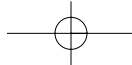
The **Marshall Plan** revived European hopes. Over the next four years, 16 countries received some \$13 billion in aid. By 1952, Western Europe was flourishing, and the Communist party had lost much of its appeal to voters.

**Vocabulary**  
**subjugation:**  
bringing under control



### Background

The Marshall Plan also benefited the United States. To supply Europe with goods, American farms and factories raised production levels. As a result, the American economy continued its wartime boom.




## Superpowers Struggle over Germany

As Europe began to get back on its feet, the United States and its allies clashed with the Soviet Union over the issue of German reunification. At the end of World War II, Germany was divided into four zones occupied by the United States, Great Britain, and France in the west and the Soviet Union in the east. In 1948, Britain, France, and the United States decided to combine their three zones into one nation. The western part of Berlin, which had been occupied by the French, British, and Americans, was surrounded by Soviet-occupied territory. (See map, page 811.)


Although the three nations had a legal right to unify their zones, they had no written agreement with the Soviets guaranteeing free access to Berlin by road or rail. Stalin saw this loophole as an opportunity. If he moved quickly, he might be able to take over the part of Berlin held by the three Western powers. In June 1948, Stalin closed all highway and rail routes into West Berlin. As a result, no food or fuel could reach that part of the city. The 2.1 million residents of the city had only enough food to last for approximately five weeks.

**THE BERLIN AIRLIFT** The resulting situation was dire. In an attempt to break the blockade, American and British officials started the **Berlin airlift** to fly food and supplies into West Berlin. For 327 days, planes took off and landed every few minutes, around the clock. In 277,000 flights, they brought in 2.3 million tons of supplies—everything from food, fuel, and medicine to Christmas presents that the planes' crews bought with their own money.


West Berlin survived because of the airlift. In addition, the mission to aid Berlin boosted American prestige around the world. By May 1949, the Soviet Union realized it was beaten and lifted the blockade. 

### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Effects

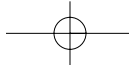
 What were the effects of the Berlin airlift?



Beginning in June 1948, planes bringing tons of food and other supplies to West Berlin landed every few minutes. 







In the same month, the western part of Germany officially became a new nation, the Federal Republic of Germany, also called West Germany. It included West Berlin. A few months later, from its occupation zone, the Soviet Union created the German Democratic Republic, called East Germany. It included East Berlin.



▲ This cartoon depicts the nations that signed the North Atlantic Pact, which created NATO in 1949. The nations, shown as hats, are arranged in a pyramid to show the bigger countries on the bottom supporting the smaller, weaker nations on top.

**THE NATO ALLIANCE** The Berlin blockade increased Western European fear of Soviet aggression. As a result, ten Western European nations—Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal—joined with the United States and Canada on April 4, 1949, to form a defensive military alliance called the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. (See map, page 830.) The 12 members of NATO pledged military support to one another in case any member was attacked. For the first time in its history, the United States had entered into a military alliance with other nations during peacetime. The Cold War had ended any hope of a return to U.S. isolationism. Greece and Turkey joined NATO in 1952, and West Germany joined in 1955. By then, NATO kept a standing military force of more than 500,000 troops as well as thousands of planes, tanks, and other equipment.



**ASSESSMENT**

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- United Nations (UN)
- iron curtain
- Marshall Plan
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- satellite nation
- Cold War
- Berlin airlift
- 
- containment
- Truman Doctrine

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

Use a graphic organizer like the one below to describe the U.S. actions and the Soviet actions that contributed most to the Cold War.

U.S. Actions	Soviet Actions

Write a paragraph explaining which country was more responsible and why you think so.

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. EVALUATING LEADERSHIP**

People who had served as aides to President Franklin Roosevelt worried that Truman was not qualified to handle world leadership. Considering what you learned in this section, evaluate Truman as a world leader.

**Think About:**

- his behavior toward Stalin
- his economic support of European nations
- his support of West Berlin

**4. MAKING INFERENCES**

Which of the two superpowers do you think was more successful in achieving its aims during the period 1945–1949? Support your answer by referring to historical events.

**5. ANALYZING MOTIVES**

What were Stalin's motives in supporting Communist governments in Eastern Europe?



## SECTION 2

# The Cold War Heats Up

### MAIN IDEA

After World War II, China became a communist nation and Korea was split into a communist north and a democratic south.

### WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Ongoing tensions with China and North Korea continue to involve the United States.

### Terms & Names

- Chiang Kai-shek
- Mao Zedong
- Taiwan
- 38th parallel
- Korean War

## One American's Story

First Lieutenant Philip Day, Jr., vividly remembers his first taste of battle in Korea. On the morning of July 5, 1950, Philip Day spotted a column of eight enemy tanks moving toward his company.

### A PERSONAL VOICE PHILIP DAY, JR.

“I was with a 75-mm recoilless-rifle team. ‘Let’s see,’ I shouted, ‘if we can get one of those tanks.’ We picked up the gun and moved it to where we could get a clean shot. I don’t know if we were poorly trained, . . . but we set the gun on the forward slope of the hill. When we fired, the recoilless blast blew a hole in the hill which instantly covered us in mud and dirt. . . . When we were ready again, we moved the gun to a better position and began banging away. I swear we had some hits, but the tanks never slowed down. . . . In a little less than two hours, 30 North Korean tanks rolled through the position we were supposed to block as if we hadn’t been there.”

—quoted in *The Korean War: Pusan to Chosin*

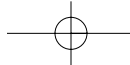
Only five years after World War II ended, the United States became embroiled in a war in Korea. The policy of containment had led the United States into battle to halt communist expansion. In this conflict, however, the enemy was not the Soviet Union, but North Korea and China.




▲ American soldiers fire mortars at communist strongholds near Mundung-ni in Korea.

## China Becomes a Communist Country

For two decades, Chinese Communists had struggled against the nationalist government of **Chiang Kai-shek** (chǎng' kǐ'shěk'). The United States supported Chiang. Between 1945 and 1949, the American government sent the Nationalists approximately \$3 billion in aid.



Nationalists Versus Communists, 1945	
Nationalists Leader: Chiang Kai-shek	Communists Leader: Mao Zedong
	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ruled in southern and eastern China</li> <li>• Relied heavily on aid from United States</li> <li>• Struggled with inflation and a failing economy</li> <li>• Suffered from weak leadership and poor morale</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ruled in northern China</li> <li>• Relied heavily on financial aid from Soviet Union</li> <li>• Attracted peasants with promises of land reform</li> <li>• Benefited from experienced guerrilla army and a highly motivated leadership</li> </ul>

Many Americans were impressed by Chiang Kai-shek and admired the courage and determination that the Chinese Nationalists showed in resisting the Japanese during the war. However, U.S. officials who dealt with Chiang held a different view. They found his government inefficient and hopelessly corrupt.

Furthermore, the policies of Chiang's government undermined Nationalist support. For example, the Nationalists collected a grain tax from farmers even during the famine of 1944. When city dwellers demonstrated against a 10,000 percent increase in the price of rice, Chiang's secret police opened fire on them.

In contrast, the Communists, led by **Mao Zedong** (mou'dzǔ'dǒng'), gained strength throughout the country. In the areas they controlled, Communists worked to win peasant support. They encouraged peasants to learn to read, and they helped to improve food production. As a result, more and more recruits flocked to the Communists' Red Army. By 1945, much of northern China was under communist control.

**RENEWED CIVIL WAR** As soon as the defeated Japanese left China at the end of World War II, cooperation between the Nationalists and the Communists ceased. Civil war erupted again between the two groups. In spite of the problems in the Nationalist regime, American policy favored the Nationalists because they opposed communism.

From 1944 to 1947, the United States played peacemaker between the two groups while still supporting the Nationalists. However, U.S. officials repeatedly failed to negotiate peace. Truman refused to commit American soldiers to back up the nationalists, although the United States did send \$2 billion worth of military equipment and supplies.

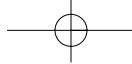
The aid wasn't enough to save the Nationalists, whose weak military leadership and corrupt, abusive practices drove the peasants to the Communist side. In May 1949, Chiang and the remnants of his demoralized government fled to the island of **Taiwan**, which Westerners called Formosa. After more than 20 years of struggle, the Communists ruled all of mainland China. They established a new government, the People's Republic of China, which the United States refused to accept as China's true government. **A**

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Causes

**A** What factors led to the Communist takeover in China?





**AMERICA REACTS TO COMMUNIST TAKEOVER** The American public was stunned that China had become Communist. Containment had failed! In Congress, conservative Republicans and Democrats attacked the Truman administration for supplying only limited aid to Chiang. If containing communism was important in Europe, they asked, why was it not equally important in Asia?

The State Department replied by saying that what had happened in China was a result of internal forces. The United States had failed in its attempts to influence these forces, such as Chiang's inability to retain the support of his people. Trying to do more would only have started a war in Asia—a war that the United States wasn't prepared to fight.

Some conservatives in Congress rejected this argument as a lame excuse. They claimed that the American government was riddled with Communist agents. Like wildfire, American fear of communism began to burn out of control, and the flames were fanned even further by events in Korea the following year.

## The Korean War

Japan had taken over Korea in 1910 and ruled it until August 1945. As World War II ended, Japanese troops north of the **38th parallel** (38° North latitude) surrendered to the Soviets. Japanese troops south of the parallel surrendered to the Americans. As in Germany, two nations developed, one communist and one democratic.

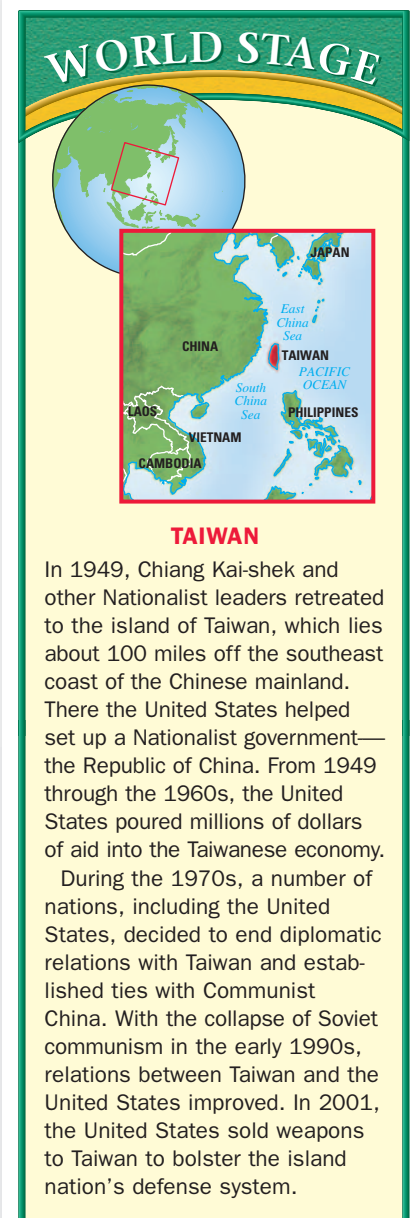
In 1948, the Republic of Korea, usually called South Korea, was established in the zone that had been occupied by the United States. Its government, headed by Syngman Rhee, was based in Seoul, Korea's traditional capital. Simultaneously, the Communists formed the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the north. Kim Il Sung led its government, which was based in Pyongyang. (See map, page 819.) **B**

Soon after World War II, the United States had cut back its armed forces in South Korea. As a result, by June of 1949 there were only 500 American troops there. The Soviets concluded that the United States would not fight to defend South Korea. They prepared to back North Korea with tanks, airplanes, and money in an attempt to take over the entire peninsula.

**NORTH KOREA ATTACKS SOUTH KOREA** On June 25, 1950, North Korean forces swept across the 38th parallel in a surprise attack on South Korea. The conflict that followed became known as the **Korean War**.

Within a few days, North Korean troops had penetrated deep into South Korea. South Korea called on the United Nations to stop the North Korean invasion. When the matter came to a vote in the UN Security Council, the Soviet Union was not there. The Soviets were boycotting the council in protest over the presence of Nationalist China (Taiwan). Thus, the Soviets could not veto the UN's plan of military action. The vote passed.

On June 27, in a show of military strength, President Truman ordered troops stationed in Japan to support the South Koreans. He also sent an American fleet into the waters between Taiwan and China.



### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Events

**B** How did Korea become a divided nation after World War II?



In all, 16 nations sent some 520,000 troops to aid South Korea. Over 90 percent of these troops were American. South Korean troops numbered an additional 590,000. The combined forces were placed under the command of General Douglas MacArthur, former World War II hero in the Pacific.


## The United States Fights in Korea

At first, North Korea seemed unstoppable. Driving steadily south, its troops captured Seoul. After a month of bitter combat, the North Koreans had forced UN and South Korean troops into a small defensive zone around Pusan in the southeastern corner of the peninsula.

**MACARTHUR'S COUNTERATTACK** MacArthur launched a counterattack with tanks, heavy artillery, and fresh troops from the United States. On September 15, 1950, his troops made a surprise amphibious landing behind enemy lines at Inchon, on Korea's west coast. Other troops moved north from Pusan. Trapped between the two attacking forces, about half of the North Korean troops surrendered; the rest fled back across the 38th parallel. MacArthur's plan had saved his army from almost certain defeat.

The UN army chased the retreating North Korean troops across the 38th parallel into North Korea. In late November, UN troops approached the Yalu River, the border between North Korea and China. It seemed as if Korea was about to become a single country again.

**THE CHINESE FIGHT BACK** The Chinese, however, had other ideas. Communist China's foreign minister, Zhou En-lai, warned that his country would not stand idly by and "let the Americans come to the border"—meaning the Yalu River. In late November 1950, 300,000 Chinese troops joined the war on the side of North Korea. The Chinese wanted North Korea as a Communist buffer state to protect their northeastern provinces that made up Manchuria. They also felt threatened by the American fleet that lay off their coast. The fight between North Korea and South Korea had escalated into a war in which the main opponents were the Chinese communists and the Americans.

By sheer force of numbers, the Chinese drove the UN troops southward. At some points along the battlefield, the Chinese outnumbered UN forces ten to one. By early January 1951, all UN and South Korean troops had been pushed out of North Korea. The Chinese advanced to the south, capturing the South Korean capital, Seoul. "We face an entirely new war," declared MacArthur. 

For two years, the two sides fought bitterly to obtain strategic positions in the Korean hills, but neither side was able to make important advances. One officer remembered the standoff.

### A PERSONAL VOICE BEVERLY SCOTT

"Our trenches . . . were only about 20 meters in front of theirs. We were eyeball to eyeball. . . . We couldn't move at all in the daytime without getting shot at. Machine-gun fire would come in, grenades, small-arms fire, all from within spitting distance. It was like World War I. We lived in a maze of bunkers and deep trenches. . . . There were bodies strewn all over the place. Hundreds of bodies frozen in the snow."

—quoted in *No Bugles, No Drums: An Oral History of the Korean War*




Beverly Scott

### Vocabulary

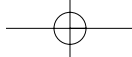
**amphibious:** capable of traveling both on land and on water

### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Causes

 How did the involvement of communist China affect the Korean War?

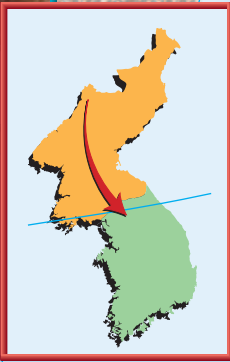




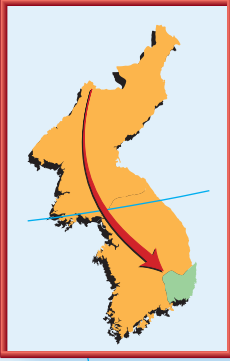
## The Korean War, 1950–1953



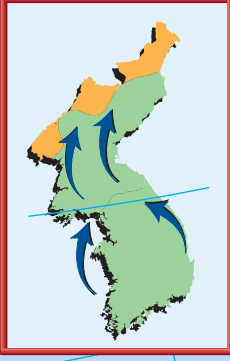
American paratroopers comb through a village in North Korea on October 20, 1950, during the Korean War.



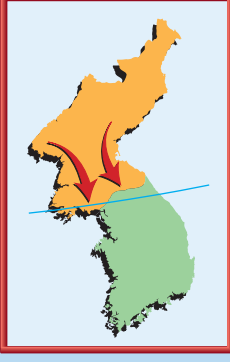
**June 1950**  
North Korean troops invade South Korea and capture the capital, Seoul.



**September 1950**  
North Koreans push South Koreans and UN troops south to the perimeter of Pusan.



**September to October 1950**  
UN troops under MacArthur land at Inchon and move north from Pusan. This two-pronged attack drives the North Koreans out of South Korea. UN troops then continue into North Korea, take Pyongyang, and advance to the Yalu River.

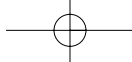


**November 1950 to January 1951**  
The Chinese intervene and force UN troops to retreat across the 38th parallel.

**GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER**

- 1. Movement** How far south did North Korean troops push the UN forces?
- 2. Place** Why do you think MacArthur chose Inchon as his landing place?





**ANOTHER  
PERSPECTIVE**



**INDIA'S VIEWPOINT**

Nonaligned nations such as India were on neither side of the Cold War and had their own perspectives. In 1951, the prime minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru (*shown above*), had this to say about the Korean War:

“This great struggle between the United States and Soviet Russia is hardly the proper role in this world for those great powers. . . . Their role should be to function in their own territories and not be a threat to others.”

**General Douglas MacArthur (left) and President Truman (right) strongly disagreed about how best to proceed in the Korean War.**



**MACARTHUR RECOMMENDS ATTACKING CHINA** To halt the bloody stalemate, in early 1951, MacArthur called for an extension of the war into China. Convinced that Korea was the place “where the Communist conspirators have elected to make their play for global conquest,” MacArthur called for the use of nuclear weapons against Chinese cities.

Truman rejected MacArthur’s request. The Soviet Union had a mutual-assistance pact with China. Attacking China could set off World War III. As General Omar N. Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said, an all-out conflict with China would be “the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy.”

Instead of attacking China, the UN and South Korean forces began to advance once more, using the U.S. Eighth Army, led by Matthew B. Ridgway, as a spearhead. By April 1951, Ridgway had retaken Seoul and had moved back up to the 38th parallel. The situation was just what it had been before the fighting began.

**MACARTHUR VERSUS TRUMAN** Not satisfied with the recapture of South Korea, MacArthur continued to urge the waging of a full-scale war against China. Certain that his views were correct, MacArthur tried to go over the president’s head. He spoke and wrote privately to newspaper and magazine publishers and, especially, to Republican leaders.

MacArthur’s superiors informed him that he had no authority to make decisions of policy. Despite repeated warnings to follow orders, MacArthur continued to criticize the president. President Truman, who as president was commander-in-chief of the armed forces and thus MacArthur’s boss, was just as stubborn as MacArthur. Truman refused to stand for this kind of behavior. He wanted to put together a settlement of the war and could no longer tolerate a military commander who was trying to sabotage his policy. On April, 1, 1951, Truman made the shocking announcement that he had fired MacArthur. **D**

Many Americans were outraged over their hero’s downfall. A public opinion poll showed that 69 percent of the American public backed General MacArthur. When MacArthur returned to the United States, he gave an address to Congress, an honor usually awarded only to heads of government. New York City honored him with a ticker-tape parade. In his closing remarks to Congress, MacArthur said, “Old soldiers never die, they just fade away.”

Throughout the fuss, Truman stayed in the background. After MacArthur’s moment of public glory passed, the Truman administration began to make its case. Before a congressional committee investigating MacArthur’s dismissal, a parade of witnesses argued the case for limiting the war. The committee agreed with them. As a result, public opinion swung around to the view that Truman had done the right thing. As a political figure, MacArthur did indeed fade away.

**Vocabulary**  
**conspirator:** a person who takes part in secretly planning something unlawful

**MAIN IDEA**

**Comparing**

**D** How did Truman and MacArthur differ over strategy in the Korean War?



**Vocabulary**

**demilitarize:** to ban military forces in an area or region

**SETTLING FOR STALEMATE** As the MacArthur controversy died down, the Soviet Union unexpectedly suggested a cease-fire on June 23, 1951. Truce talks began in July 1951. The opposing sides reached agreement on two points: the location of the cease-fire line at the existing battle line and the establishment of a demilitarized zone between the opposing sides. Negotiators spent another year wrangling over the exchange of prisoners. Finally, in July 1953, the two sides signed an armistice ending the war.

At best, the agreement was a stalemate. On the one hand, the North Korean invaders had been pushed back, and communism had been contained without the use of atomic weapons. On the other hand, Korea was still two nations rather than one.

On the home front, the war had affected the lives of ordinary Americans in many ways. It had cost 54,000 American lives and \$67 billion in expenditures. The high cost of this unsuccessful war was one of many factors leading Americans to reject the Democratic Party in 1952 and to elect a Republican administration under World War II hero Dwight D. Eisenhower. In addition, the Korean War increased fear of communist aggression and prompted a hunt for Americans who might be blamed for the communist gains.



**NOW & THEN**

**THE TWO KOREAS**

Korea is still split into North Korea and South Korea, even after 50 years. South Korea is booming economically, while North Korea, still communist, struggles with severe shortages of food and energy.

Periodically, discussions about reuniting the two countries resume. In 2000, South Korean President Kim Dae-jung won the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to improve ties with North Korea. The two nations met in North

Korea for the first time since the nations were established in 1948. Although economic and political differences continue to keep the two countries apart, there is renewed hope that one day Korea will become a united nation.

◀ South Korean President Kim Dae-jung waves to cheering North Koreans on June 13, 2000.



**ASSESSMENT**

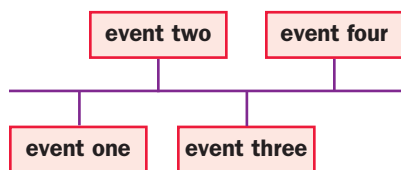
**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Chiang Kai-shek
- Taiwan
- Korean War
- Mao Zedong
- 38th parallel

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

On a time line such as the one shown below, list the major events of the Korean War.



Choose two events and explain how one event led to the other.

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. HYPOTHESIZING**

What might have happened if MacArthur had convinced Truman to expand the fighting into China? How might today's world be different?

**4. ANALYZING EVENTS**

Many Americans have questioned whether fighting the Korean War was worthwhile. What is your opinion? Why? **Think About:**

- the loss of American lives
- the fear of communism that enveloped the country at the time
- the stalemate that ended the war

**5. EVALUATING DECISIONS**

At the end of China's civil war, the United States refused to accept the communist People's Republic of China as China's true government. What were the advantages of such a policy? What were the disadvantages? Do you agree with this decision? Why or why not?



# The Cold War at Home

## MAIN IDEA

During the late 1940s and early 1950s, fear of communism led to reckless charges against innocent citizens.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Americans today remain vigilant about unfounded accusations.

## Terms & Names

- HUAC
- Hollywood Ten
- blacklist
- Alger Hiss
- Ethel and Julius Rosenberg
- Joseph McCarthy
- McCarthyism

## One American's Story

Tony Kahn made the neighbors uncomfortable because they thought his father, Gordon Kahn, was a Communist. In 1947, Gordon Kahn was a successful screenwriter. However, when a congressional committee began to investigate Communists in Hollywood, Kahn was blacklisted—named as unfit to hire. Later, in 1951, he was scheduled to testify before the committee himself.

To save himself, Gordon Kahn simply had to name others as Communists, but he refused. Rather than face the congressional committee, he fled to Mexico. Tony Kahn remembers how the Cold War hurt him and his family.

### A PERSONAL VOICE TONY KAHN

“The first time I was called a Communist, I was four years old. . . . I’ll never forget the look in our neighbors’ eyes when I walked by. I thought it was hate. I was too young to realize it was fear.”

—from *The Cold War Comes Home*

The members of the Kahn family were among thousands of victims of the anti-Communist hysteria that gripped this country in the late 1940s and early 1950s. By the end of the period, no one was immune from accusations.



Tony Kahn



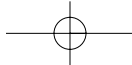
**VIDEO**

**THE COLD WAR  
COMES HOME  
Hollywood  
Blacklists the  
Kahn Family**

## Fear of Communist Influence

In the early years of the Cold War, many Americans believed that there was good reason to be concerned about the security of the United States. The Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and the Communist takeover of China shocked the American public, fueling a fear that communism would spread around the world. In addition, at the height of World War II, about 80,000 Americans claimed membership in the Communist Party. Some people feared that the first loyalty of these American Communists was to the Soviet Union.





**LOYALTY REVIEW BOARD** Strongly anti-Communist Republicans began to accuse Truman of being soft on communism. Consequently, in March 1947, President Truman issued an executive order setting up the Federal Employee Loyalty Program, which included the Loyalty Review Board. Its purpose was to investigate government employees and to dismiss those who were found to be disloyal to the U.S. government. The U.S. attorney general drew up a list of 91 “subversive” organizations; membership in any of these groups was grounds for suspicion.

From 1947 to 1951, government loyalty boards investigated 3.2 million employees and dismissed 212 as security risks. Another 2,900 resigned because they did not want to be investigated or felt that the investigation violated their constitutional rights. Individuals under investigation were not allowed to see the evidence against them. **A**

**MAIN IDEA**

**Drawing Conclusions**

**A** How did the Loyalty Review Board pose a threat to civil liberties?

**THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE**

Other agencies investigated possible Communist influence, both inside and outside the U.S. government. The most famous of these was the **House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)**. HUAC first made headlines in 1947, when it began to investigate Communist influence in the movie industry. The committee believed that Communists were sneaking propaganda into films. The committee pointed to the pro-Soviet films made during World War II when the Soviet Union had been a United States ally.

HUAC subpoenaed 43 witnesses from the Hollywood film industry in September 1947. Many of the witnesses were “friendly,” supporting the accusation that Communists had infiltrated the film industry. For example, the movie star Gary Cooper said he had “turned down quite a few scripts because I thought they were tinged with Communistic ideas.” However, when asked which scripts he meant, Cooper couldn’t remember their titles.

Ten “unfriendly” witnesses were called to testify but refused. These men, known as the **Hollywood Ten**, decided not to cooperate because they believed that the hearings were unconstitutional. Because the Hollywood Ten refused to answer questions, they were sent to prison.

**HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT**



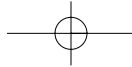
**PAUL ROBESON**

Paul Robeson was an all-American football player and Phi Beta Kappa member at Rutgers University. After earning a law degree in 1923, he began a distinguished international career as a singer and actor. He was a vocal civil rights activist, and he was sympathetic to the Soviet culture and political philosophy.

In 1950, when he refused to sign an affidavit indicating whether he had ever been a member of the Communist Party, the State Department revoked his passport for eight years. During that time, he was unable to perform abroad and was blacklisted at home. His income fell from \$150,000 a year to \$3,000 a year.

**Protesters demonstrate in support of the Hollywood Ten.**





In response to the hearings, Hollywood executives instituted a **blacklist**, a list of people whom they condemned for having a Communist background. People who were blacklisted—approximately 500 actors, writers, producers, and directors—had their careers ruined because they could no longer work. **B**

**THE MCCARRAN ACT** As Hollywood tried to rid itself of Communists, Congress decided that Truman's Loyalty Review Board did not go far enough. In 1950, Congress passed the McCarran Internal Security Act. This made it unlawful to plan any action that might lead to the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship in the United States. Truman vetoed the bill, saying, "In a free country, we punish men for the crimes they commit, but never for the opinions they have." But Congress enacted the law over Truman's veto.

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Causes

**B** Why was Hollywood a target of anti-Communist investigations by Congress?

## Spy Cases Stun the Nation

Two spy cases added to fear that was spreading like an epidemic across the country. One case involved a former State Department official named Alger Hiss.

**ALGER HISS** In 1948, a former Communist spy named Whittaker Chambers accused **Alger Hiss** of spying for the Soviet Union. To support his charges, Chambers produced microfilm of government documents that he claimed had been typed on Hiss's typewriter. Too many years had passed for government prosecutors to charge Hiss with espionage, but a jury convicted him of perjury—for lying about passing the documents—and sent him to jail. A young conservative Republican congressman named Richard Nixon gained fame for pursuing the charges against Hiss. Within four years of the highly publicized case, Nixon was elected vice president of the United States.

Hiss claimed that he was innocent and that Chambers had forged the documents used against him. However, in the 1990s, Soviet cables released by the National Security Agency seemed to prove Hiss's guilt.

### NOW & THEN

#### TELEVISION: MAKING NEWS

Historians of popular culture believe that the early 1950s were the best years of television. Most programs were filmed live and had a fresh, unrehearsed look. Along with variety shows, early television presented some of the best serious drama of the age.

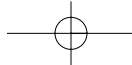
Since the 1950s, television has also become a major vehicle for reporting the news. Not only does television report the news, it also has increasingly helped to shape it.

**1954** In 1954, the Communist-hunting senator Joseph McCarthy, in U.S. Senate hearings that were televised live, accused the U.S. Army of "coddling Communists." As many as 20 million Americans watched the combative senator malign people who had no chance to defend themselves.



**1960** In the 1960 presidential election, a major factor in John Kennedy's victory over Richard Nixon was a series of four televised presidential debates, the first televised presidential debates in history. An estimated 85 million to 120 million Americans watched one or more of the debates, which turned the tide in favor of Kennedy.





**THE ROSENBERGS** Another spy case rocked the nation even more than the Hiss case, partially because of international events occurring about the same time. On September 3, 1949, Americans learned that the Soviet Union had exploded an atomic bomb. Most American experts had predicted that it would take the Soviets three to five more years to make the bomb. People began to wonder if Communist supporters in the United States had leaked the secret of the bomb.

This second spy case seemed to confirm that suspicion. In 1950, the German-born physicist Klaus Fuchs admitted giving the Soviet Union information about America's atomic bomb. The information probably enabled Soviet scientists to develop their own atomic bomb years earlier than they would have otherwise. Implicated in the Fuchs case were **Ethel and Julius Rosenberg**, minor activists in the American Communist Party.

When asked if they were Communists, the Rosenbergs denied the charges against them and pleaded the Fifth Amendment, choosing not to incriminate themselves. They claimed they were being persecuted both for being Jewish and for holding radical beliefs. The Rosenbergs were found guilty of espionage and sentenced to death. In pronouncing their sentence, Judge Irving Kaufman declared their crime "worse than murder." To him, they were directly responsible for one of the deadliest clashes of the Cold War. 🕒

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Causes

🕒 Why did the cases of Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs heighten the anti-Communist mood of Americans?



▲ Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were executed in June 1953 despite numerous pleas to spare their lives.

#### A PERSONAL VOICE IRVING KAUFMAN

**"I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea. . . ."**

—quoted in *The Unquiet Death of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*

**1967** By 1967, American support for the Vietnam War had plummeted as millions of TV viewers witnessed the horrors of war on the nightly news.



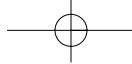
**2000** During the 2000 presidential election, TV networks first declared Al Gore the winner and then declared George W. Bush the winner. The latter declaration led Al Gore to concede. However, Gore subsequently retracted his concession because the election was too close to call. This "election muddle" blurs even further the already indistinct line between reporting the news and making it.



**1974** The Watergate scandal that toppled Richard Nixon's presidency in 1974 played to a rapt TV audience. During the Senate hearings in 1973, the televised testimony of John Dean, the president's counsel, had convinced two out of three Americans that the president had committed a crime.







## Analyzing Political Cartoons

### "IT'S OK—WE'RE HUNTING COMMUNISTS"

The fear of Communist subversion affected the entire society. People were so suspicious that almost any unusual opinion might be labeled "un-American." The climate of suspicion was most severe in the years 1947–1954, but it lasted throughout the 1950s.

#### SKILLBUILDER Analyzing Political Cartoons

1. What organization does the car represent?
2. What does the cartoon imply about the methods of this organization?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R24.



People from all over the world appealed for clemency for the Rosenbergs. Many considered the evidence and the testimony too weak to warrant the death sentence. The case was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, but the Court refused to overturn the conviction. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg died in the electric chair in June 1953, leaving behind two sons. They became the first U.S. civilians executed for espionage.

## McCarthy Launches His "Witch Hunt"

The most famous anti-Communist activist was Senator **Joseph McCarthy**, a Republican from Wisconsin. During his first three years in the Senate, he had acquired a reputation for being an ineffective legislator. By January 1950, he realized that he was going to need a winning issue in order to be reelected in 1952. Looking for such an issue, McCarthy charged that Communists were taking over the government.

**MCCARTHY'S TACTICS** Taking advantage of people's concerns about communism, McCarthy made one unsupported accusation after another. These attacks on suspected Communists in the early 1950s became known as **McCarthyism**. Since that time, McCarthyism has referred to the unfair tactic of accusing people of disloyalty without providing evidence. At various times McCarthy claimed to have in his hands the names of 57, 81, and 205 Communists in the State Department. (He never actually produced a single name.) He also charged that the Democratic Party was guilty of "20 years of treason" for allowing Communist infiltration into the government. He was always careful to do his name-calling only in the Senate, where he had legal immunity that protected him from being sued for slander.

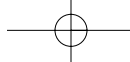
The Republicans did little to stop McCarthy's attacks because they believed they would win the 1952 presidential election if the public saw them purging the nation of Communists. But one small group of six senators, led by Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, did speak out.

**Vocabulary**  
**infiltration:** the act of penetrating a group or organization without being noticed for purposes such as spying

### A PERSONAL VOICE MARGARET CHASE SMITH

"I speak as a Republican. I speak as a woman. I speak as a United States senator. I speak as an American. . . . I am not proud of the way in which the Senate has been made a publicity platform for irresponsible sensationalism. I am not proud of the reckless abandon in which unproved charges have been hurled from this side of the aisle."

—Declaration of Conscience



**MCCARTHY'S DOWNFALL** Finally, in 1954, McCarthy made accusations against the U.S. Army, which resulted in a nationally televised Senate investigation. McCarthy's bullying of witnesses alienated the audience and cost him public support. The Senate condemned him for improper conduct that "tended to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute." Three years later, Joseph McCarthy, suffering from alcoholism, died a broken man.

**OTHER ANTI-COMMUNIST MEASURES** Others besides Joseph McCarthy made it their mission to root communism out of American society. By 1953, 39 states had passed laws making it illegal to advocate the violent overthrow of the government, even though such laws clearly violated the constitutional right of free speech. Across the nation, cities and towns passed similar laws.

At times, the fear of communism seemed to have no limits. In Indiana, professional wrestlers had to take a loyalty oath. In experiments run by newspapers, pedestrians on the street refused to sign petitions that quoted the Declaration of Independence because they were afraid the ideas were communist. The government investigated union leaders, librarians, newspaper reporters, and scientists. It seemed that no profession was safe from the hunt for Communists.

Causes and Effects of McCarthyism	
<b>Causes</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Soviets successfully establish Communist regimes in Eastern Europe after World War II.</li> <li>• Soviets develop the atomic bomb more quickly than expected.</li> <li>• Korean War ends in a stalemate.</li> <li>• Republicans gain politically by accusing Truman and Democrats of being soft on communism.</li> </ul>	
<b>Effects</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Millions of Americans are forced to take loyalty oaths and undergo loyalty investigations.</li> <li>• Activism by labor unions goes into decline.</li> <li>• Many people are afraid to speak out on public issues.</li> <li>• Anti-communism continues to drive U.S. foreign policy.</li> </ul>	
<b>SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Charts</b>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How did world events help lead to McCarthyism?</li> <li>2. How did McCarthyism affect the behavior of individual Americans?</li> </ol>	

**SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT**

- 1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- HUAC
  - blacklist
  - Ethel and Julius Rosenberg
  - McCarthyism
  - Hollywood Ten
  - Alger Hiss
  - Joseph McCarthy

**MAIN IDEA**

- 2. TAKING NOTES**  
Re-create the web below on your paper and fill in events that illustrate the main idea in the center.



Which event had the greatest impact on the country?

**CRITICAL THINKING**

- 3. HYPOTHESIZING**  
If you had lived in this period and had been accused of being a Communist, what would you have done? **Think About:**
- the Hollywood Ten, who refused to answer questions
  - the Rosenbergs, who pleaded the Fifth Amendment
- 4. ANALYZING MOTIVES**  
Choose one of the following roles: Harry Truman, a member of HUAC, Judge Irving Kaufman, or Joseph McCarthy. As the person you have chosen, explain your motivation for opposing communism.



- 5. ANALYZING VISUAL SOURCES**  
What does this cartoon suggest about McCarthy's downfall?



# Two Nations Live on the Edge

## MAIN IDEA

During the 1950s, the United States and the Soviet Union came to the brink of nuclear war.

## WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The Cold War continued into the following decades, affecting U.S. policies in Cuba, Central America, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East.

## Terms & Names

- H-bomb
- Dwight D. Eisenhower
- John Foster Dulles
- brinkmanship
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
- Warsaw Pact
- Eisenhower Doctrine
- Nikita Khrushchev
- Francis Gary Powers
- U-2 incident

## One American's Story

Writer Annie Dillard was one of thousands of children who grew up in the 1950s with the chilling knowledge that nuclear war could obliterate their world in an instant. Dillard recalls practicing what to do in case of a nuclear attack.

### A PERSONAL VOICE ANNIE DILLARD

“At school we had air-raid drills. We took the drills seriously; surely Pittsburgh, which had the nation’s steel, coke, and aluminum, would be the enemy’s first target. . . . When the air-raid siren sounded, our teachers stopped talking and led us to the school basement. There the gym teachers lined us up against the cement walls and steel lockers, and showed us how to lean in and fold our arms over our heads. . . . The teachers stood in the middle of the room, not talking to each other. We tucked against the walls and lockers. . . . We folded our skinny arms over our heads, and raised to the enemy a clatter of gold scarab bracelets and gold bangle bracelets.”

—An American Childhood



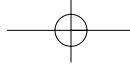
▲ A father helps his daughter practice getting into a bomb shelter.

The fear of nuclear attack was a direct result of the Cold War. After the Soviet Union developed its atomic bomb, the two superpowers embarked on an arms race that enormously increased both the number and the destructive power of weapons.

## Brinkmanship Rules U.S. Policy

Although air-raid drills were not common until the Eisenhower years (1953–1961), the nuclear arms race began during Truman’s presidency. When the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb in 1949, President Truman had to make a terrible decision—whether to develop an even more horrifying weapon.





**RACE FOR THE H-BOMB** The scientists who developed the atomic bomb had suspected since 1942 that it was possible to create an even more destructive thermonuclear weapon—the hydrogen bomb, or **H-bomb**. They estimated that such a bomb would have the force of 1 million tons of TNT (67 times the power of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima). But they argued vehemently about the morality of creating such a destructive weapon.

Despite such concerns, the United States entered into a deadly race with the Soviet Union to see which country would be the first to produce an H-bomb. On November 1, 1952, the United States won the race when it exploded the first H-bomb. However, the American advantage lasted less than a year. In August 1953, the Soviets exploded their own thermonuclear weapon. **A**

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Causes

**A** How did the U.S. and the Soviet Union start the arms race?

#### THE POLICY OF BRINKMANSHIP

By the time both countries had the H-bomb, **Dwight D. Eisenhower** was president. His secretary of state, **John Foster Dulles**, was staunchly anti-Communist. For Dulles, the Cold War was a moral crusade against communism. Dulles proposed that the United States could prevent the spread of communism by promising to use all of its force, including nuclear weapons, against any aggressor nation. The willingness of the United States, under President Eisenhower, to go to the edge of all-out war became known as **brinkmanship**. Under this policy, the United States trimmed its army and navy and expanded its air force (which would deliver the bombs) and its buildup of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union followed suit.

The threat of nuclear attack was unlike any the American people had ever faced. Even if only a few bombs reached their targets, millions of civilians would die. Schoolchildren like Annie Dillard practiced air-raid procedures, and some families built underground fallout shelters in their back yards. Fear of nuclear war became a constant in American life for the next 30 years.



**A** dramatic civil defense poster shows the fear of nuclear attack.

## The Cold War Spreads Around the World

As the nation shifted to a dependence on nuclear arms, the Eisenhower administration began to rely heavily on the recently formed **Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)** for information. The CIA used spies to gather information abroad. The CIA also began to carry out covert, or secret, operations to weaken or overthrow governments unfriendly to the United States.

**COVERT ACTIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND LATIN AMERICA** One of the CIA's first covert actions took place in the Middle East. In 1951, Iran's prime minister, Mohammed Mossadegh, nationalized Iran's oil fields; that is, he placed the formerly private industries (owned mostly by Great Britain) under Iranian control. To protest, the British stopped buying Iranian oil. As the Iranian economy

#### Background

From ancient times until 1935, Iran was known as Persia. Persia once ruled a great empire that stretched from the Mediterranean Sea to India's Indus River.



### GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

- 1. Region** Which nations shown on the map belonged to NATO, and which to the Warsaw Pact?
- 2. Region** Which nations shown on the map did not belong to either defense alliance?

faltered, the United States feared that Mossadegh might turn to the Soviets for help. In 1953, the CIA gave several million dollars to anti-Mossadegh supporters. The CIA wanted the pro-American Shah of Iran, who had recently been forced to flee, to return to power. The plan worked. The Shah returned to power and turned over control of Iranian oil fields to Western companies.

In 1954, the CIA also took covert actions in Guatemala, a Central American country just south of Mexico. Eisenhower believed that Guatemala's government had Communist sympathies because it had given more than 200,000 acres of American-owned land to peasants. In response, the CIA trained an army, which invaded Guatemala. The Guatemalan army refused to defend the president, and he resigned. The army's leader then became dictator of the country. **B**

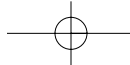
**THE WARSAW PACT** In spite of the growing tension between the superpowers, U.S.-Soviet relations seemed to thaw following the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953. The Soviets recognized West Germany and concluded peace treaties with Austria and Japan. However, in 1955, when West Germany was allowed to rearm and join NATO, the Soviet Union grew fearful. It formed its own military alliance, known as the **Warsaw Pact**. The Warsaw Pact linked the Soviet Union with seven Eastern European countries.

**A SUMMIT IN GENEVA** In July 1955, Eisenhower traveled to Geneva, Switzerland, to meet with Soviet leaders. There Eisenhower put forth an "open skies" proposal. The United States and the Soviet Union would allow flights over each other's territory to guard against surprise nuclear attacks. Although the Soviet Union rejected this proposal, the world hailed the "spirit of Geneva" as a step toward peace.

### MAIN IDEA

#### Summarizing

- B** What was the role of the CIA in the Cold War?



**THE SUEZ WAR** In 1955, the same year in which the Geneva Summit took place, Great Britain and the United States agreed to help Egypt finance construction of a dam at Aswan on the Nile River. However, Gamal Abdel-Nasser, Egypt's head of government, tried to play the Soviets and the Americans against each other, by improving relations with each one in order to get more aid. In 1956, after learning that Nasser was making deals with the Soviets, Dulles withdrew his offer of a loan. Angered, Nasser responded by nationalizing the Suez Canal, the Egyptian waterway that was owned by France and Great Britain. The French and the British were outraged.

Egyptian control of the canal also affected Israel. Nasser refused to let ships bound for Israel pass through the canal, even though the canal was supposed to be open to all nations. Israel responded by sending troops. So did Great Britain and France. The three countries seized the Mediterranean end of the canal. The UN quickly stepped in to stop the fighting. It persuaded Great Britain, France, and Israel to withdraw. However, it allowed Egypt to keep control of the canal. **C**

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Analyzing Effects

**C** What were the results of the Suez War?

**THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE** The Soviet Union's prestige in the Middle East rose because of its support for Egypt. To counterbalance this development, President Eisenhower issued a warning in January 1957. This warning, known as the **Eisenhower Doctrine**, said that the United States would defend the Middle East against an attack by any communist country. In March, Congress officially approved the doctrine.

**THE HUNGARIAN UPRISING** Even as fighting was raging in the Middle East, a revolt began in Hungary. Dominated by the Soviet Union since the end of World War II, the Hungarian people rose in revolt in 1956. They called for a democratic government.

Imre Nagy, the most popular and liberal Hungarian Communist leader, formed a new government. He promised free elections, denounced the Warsaw Pact, and demanded that all Soviet troops leave Hungary.

The Soviet response was swift and brutal. In November 1956, Soviet tanks rolled into Hungary and killed approximately 30,000 Hungarians. Armed with only pistols and bottles, thousands of Hungarian freedom fighters threw up barricades in the streets and fought the invaders to no avail. The Soviets overthrew the Nagy government and replaced it with pro-Soviet leaders. Nagy himself was executed. Some 200,000 Hungarians fled to the west.

Although the Truman Doctrine had promised to support free peoples who resisted communism, the United States did nothing to help Hungary break free of Soviet control. Many

## WORLD STAGE

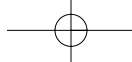
ISRAEL

On May 14, 1948, the United Nations created the nation of Israel by partitioning Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab. Thousands of Jews had immigrated to Palestine from Europe before and during World War II, and Israel became the “promised land” they had been seeking since biblical times. The creation of Israel was one of the few issues upon which the United States and the Soviet Union agreed, as the world reacted uniformly to the horror that had befallen the Jews in the Holocaust.

Crowds surround a captured Russian tank during the anti-Communist revolution in Hungary.



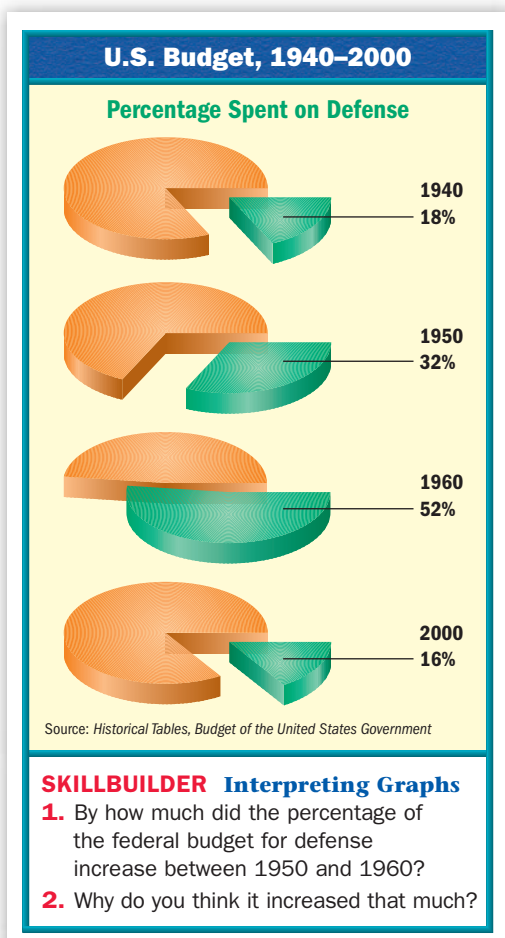




Hungarians were bitterly disappointed. The American policy of containment did not extend to driving the Soviet Union out of its satellites.

No help came to Hungary from the United Nations either. Although the UN passed one resolution after another condemning the Soviet Union, the Soviet veto in the Security Council stopped the UN from taking any action.

## The Cold War Takes to the Skies



After Stalin's death in 1953, the Soviet Union had no well-defined way for one leader to succeed another. For the first few years, a group of leaders shared power. As time went by, however, one man did gain power. That man was **Nikita Khrushchev** (krōsh'chěf). Like Stalin, Khrushchev believed that communism would take over the world, but Khrushchev thought it could triumph peacefully. He favored a policy of peaceful coexistence in which two powers would compete economically and scientifically. **D**

**THE SPACE RACE** In the competition for international prestige, the Soviets leaped to an early lead in what came to be known as the space race. On October 4, 1957, they launched *Sputnik*, the world's first artificial satellite. *Sputnik* traveled around the earth at 18,000 miles per hour, circling the globe every 96 minutes. Its launch was a triumph of Soviet technology.

Americans were shocked at being beaten and promptly poured money into their own space program. U.S. scientists worked frantically to catch up to the Soviets. The first attempt at an American satellite launch was a humiliating failure, with the rocket toppling to the ground. However, on January 31, 1958, the United States successfully launched its first satellite.

**A U-2 IS SHOT DOWN** Following the rejection of Eisenhower's "open skies" proposal at the 1955

Geneva summit conference, the CIA began making secret high-altitude flights over Soviet territory. The plane used for these missions was the U-2, which could fly at high altitudes without detection. As a U-2 passed over the Soviet Union, its infrared cameras took detailed photographs of troop movement and missile sites.

By 1960, however, many U.S. officials were nervous about the U-2 program for two reasons. First, the existence and purpose of the U-2 was an open secret among some members of the American press. Second, the Soviets had been aware of the flights since 1958, as **Francis Gary Powers**, a U-2 pilot, explained.

### A PERSONAL VOICE FRANCIS GARY POWERS

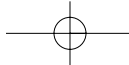
"We . . . knew that the Russians were radar-tracking at least some of our flights. . . . We also knew that SAMs [surface-to-air missiles] were being fired at us, that some were uncomfortably close to our altitude. But we knew too that the Russians had a control problem in their guidance system. . . . We were concerned, but not greatly."

—Operation Overflight: The U-2 Spy Pilot Tells His Story for the First Time

#### MAIN IDEA

#### Comparing

**D** Compare Joseph Stalin with Nikita Khrushchev. How were they alike? How were they different?



Finally, Eisenhower himself wanted the flights discontinued. He and Khrushchev were going to hold another summit conference on the arms race on May 15, 1960. "If one of these aircraft were lost when we were engaged in apparently sincere deliberations, it could . . . ruin my effectiveness," he told an aide. However, Dulles persuaded him to authorize one last flight.

That flight took place on May 1, and the pilot was Francis Gary Powers. Four hours after Powers entered Soviet airspace, a Soviet pilot shot down his plane, and Powers was forced to parachute into Soviet-controlled territory. The Soviets sentenced Powers to ten years in prison.



Francis Gary Powers's military identification card

**Background**

After 18 months, Francis Gary Powers was released from the Soviet Union in exchange for Soviet agent Rudolf Abel, who had been convicted of spying in the United States.

**RENEWED CONFRONTATION** At first, Eisenhower denied that the U-2 had been spying. The Soviets had evidence, however, and Eisenhower finally had to admit it. Khrushchev demanded an apology for the flights and a promise to halt them. Eisenhower agreed to stop the U-2 flights, but he would not apologize.

Khrushchev angrily called off the summit. He also withdrew his invitation to Eisenhower to visit the Soviet Union. Because of the **U-2 incident**, the 1960s opened with tension between the two superpowers as great as ever.

Image not available for use on CD-ROM. Please refer to the image in the textbook.

**SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT**

**1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- H-bomb
- brinkmanship
- Warsaw Pact
- Francis Gary Powers
- Dwight D. Eisenhower
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
- Eisenhower Doctrine
- U-2 incident
- John Foster Dulles
- Nikita Khrushchev

**MAIN IDEA**

**2. TAKING NOTES**

List Cold War trouble spots in Iran, Guatemala, Egypt, and Hungary. For each, write a newspaper headline that summarizes the U.S. role and the outcome of the situation.

Trouble Spot	Headline

Choose one headline and write a paragraph about that trouble spot.

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**3. HYPOTHESIZING**

How might the Cold War have progressed if the U-2 incident had never occurred? **Think About:**

- the mutual distrust between the Soviet Union and the United States
- the outcome of the incident

**4. EVALUATING**

Which of the two superpowers do you think contributed more to Cold War tensions during the 1950s?

**5. FORMING GENERALIZATIONS**

Should one nation have the right to remove another nation's head of government from power? If so, when? If not, why?



AMERICAN

LITERATURE

# Science Fiction Reflects Cold War Fears

**1950–1959** Many writers of science fiction draw on the scientific and social trends of the present to describe future societies that might arise if those trends were to continue. Nuclear proliferation, the space race, early computer technology, and the pervasive fear of known and unknown dangers during the Cold War were the realities that prompted a boom in science fiction during the 1950s and 1960s.

## THE BODY SNATCHERS

Published in 1955 at the height of the Great Fear, Jack Finney's *The Body Snatchers* (on which the movie *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* was based) tells of giant seed pods from outer space that descend on the inhabitants of a California town. The pods create perfect physical duplicates of the townspeople and lack only one thing—human souls.

“Miles, he looks, sounds, acts, and remembers exactly like Ira. On the outside. But *inside* he's different. His responses”—she stopped, hunting for the word—“aren't *emotionally* right, if I can explain that. He remembers the past, in detail, and he'll smile and say 'You were sure a cute youngster, Willy. Bright one, too,' just the way Uncle Ira did. But there's something *missing*, and the same thing is true of Aunt Aleda, lately.” Wilma stopped, staring at nothing again, face intent, wrapped up in this, then she continued. “Uncle Ira was a father to me, from infancy, and when he talked about my childhood, Miles, there was—always—a special look in his eyes that meant he was remembering the wonderful quality of those days for him. Miles, that look, 'way in back of the eyes, is gone. With this—*this* Uncle Ira, or whoever or whatever he is, I have the feeling, the absolutely certain *knowledge*, Miles, that he's talking by rote. That the facts of Uncle Ira's memories are all in his mind in every last detail, ready to recall. But the emotions are not. There *is* no emotion—none—only the pretense of it. The words, the gestures, the tones of voice, everything else—but not the feeling.”

Her voice was suddenly firm and commanding: “Miles, memories or not, appearances or not, possible or impossible, that is not my Uncle Ira.”

—Jack Finney, *The Body Snatchers* (1955)





## THE MARTIAN CHRONICLES

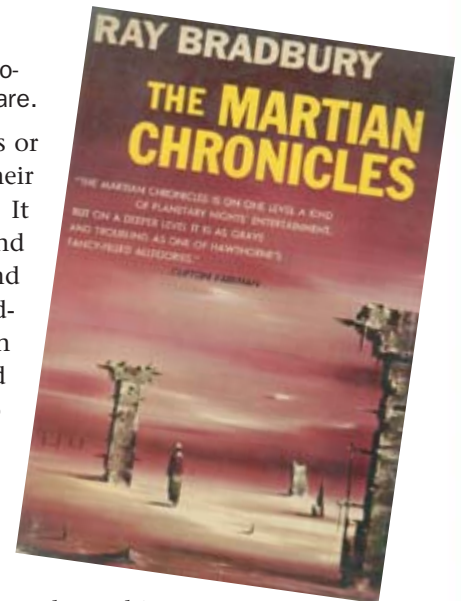
In *The Martian Chronicles*, Ray Bradbury describes how earthlings who have colonized Mars watch helplessly as their former planet is destroyed by nuclear warfare.

They all came out and looked at the sky that night. They left their suppers or their washing up or their dressing for the show and they came out upon their now-not-quite-as-new porches and watched the green star of Earth there. It was a move without conscious effort; they all did it, to help them understand the news they had heard on the radio a moment before. There was Earth and there the coming war, and there hundreds of thousands of mothers or grandmothers or fathers or brothers or aunts or uncles or cousins. They stood on the porches and tried to believe in the existence of Earth, much as they had once tried to believe in the existence of Mars; it was a problem reversed. To all intents and purposes, Earth now was dead; they had been away from it for three or four years. Space was an anesthetic; seventy million miles of space numbed you, put memory to sleep, depopulated Earth, erased the past, and allowed these people here to go on with their work. But now, tonight, the dead were risen, Earth was reinhabited, memory awoke, a million names were spoken: What was so-and-so doing tonight on Earth? What about this one and that one? The people on the porches glanced sidewise at each other's faces.

At nine o'clock Earth seemed to explode, catch fire, and burn.

The people on the porches put up their hands as if to beat the fire out.

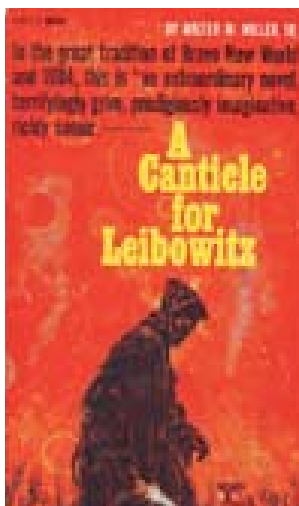
They waited.



—Ray Bradbury, *The Martian Chronicles* (1950)

## A CANTICLE FOR LEIBOWITZ

In *A Canticle for Leibowitz*, Walter M. Miller, Jr., portrays the centuries after a nuclear holocaust as a new “Dark Age” for humanity on earth.



He had been wandering for a long time. The search seemed endless, but there was always the promise of finding what he sought across the next rise or beyond the bend in the trail. When he had finished fanning himself, he clapped the hat back on his head and scratched at his bushy beard while blinking around at the landscape. There was a patch of unburned forest on the hillside just ahead. It offered welcome shade, but still the wanderer sat there in the sunlight and watched the curious buzzards. . . .

Pickings were good for a while in the region of the Red River; but then out of the carnage, a city-state arose. For rising city-states, the buzzards had no fondness, although they approved of their eventual fall. They shied away from Texarkana and ranged far over the plain to the west. After the manner of all living things, they replenished the Earth many times with their kind.

Eventually it was the Year of Our Lord 3174.

There were rumors of war.

—Walter M. Miller, Jr., *A Canticle for Leibowitz* (1959)

### THINKING CRITICALLY

- 1. Comparing** What themes, or general messages about life or humanity, do you think these three books convey? How might readers' interpretations of these messages today differ from readers' interpretations during the Cold War?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R8.

- 2. INTERNET ACTIVITY** [CLASSZONE.COM](http://CLASSZONE.COM)

Visit the links for American Literature to learn more about Ray Bradbury and *The Martian Chronicles*. When was *The Martian Chronicles* published? How does it reflect Cold War fears? What does the writing tell you about Ray Bradbury's view of American society at the time?



# CHAPTER 26 ASSESSMENT

## VISUAL SUMMARY

### COLD WAR CONFLICTS

#### CAUSES

- Soviet domination of Eastern Europe
- Communist victory in China
- Mutual suspicion between United States and Soviet Union



### THE COLD WAR



#### IMMEDIATE EFFECTS

- Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan
- East-West tensions over Berlin
- Establishment of NATO and Warsaw Pact
- McCarthyism

#### LONG-TERM EFFECTS

- Arms race between superpowers
- Superpower rivalry for world power

### TERMS & NAMES

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance to the Cold War.

- |  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. containment                               | 6. John Foster Dulles                |
| 2. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) | 7. brinkmanship                      |
| 3. Mao Zedong                                | 8. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) |
| 4. Korean War                                | 9. Nikita Khrushchev                 |
| 5. McCarthyism                               | 10. U-2 incident                     |

### MAIN IDEAS

Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

#### Origins of the Cold War (pages 808–814)

1. What were the goals of U.S. foreign policy in the Cold War?
2. Describe the Truman Doctrine and how America reacted to it.
3. What was the purpose of the NATO alliance?

#### The Cold War Heats Up (pages 815–821)

4. What global events led to U.S. involvement in Korea?
5. What issue between General Douglas MacArthur and President Truman eventually cost MacArthur his job?

#### The Cold War at Home (pages 822–827)

6. What actions of Joseph McCarthy worsened the national hysteria about communism?
7. How did the Rosenberg case fuel anti-communist feeling?

#### Two Nations Live on the Edge (pages 828–833)

8. How did the U.S., including the CIA, wage the Cold War in the 1950s?

### CRITICAL THINKING

1. **USING YOUR NOTES** Create a cause-and-effect diagram like the one shown for each of these events: (a) the United States' adoption of a policy of containment, and (b) the beginning of the nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union.



2. **ANALYZING EVENTS** What government actions during the Communist scare conflicted with the Bill of Rights? Explain.
3. **INTERPRETING MAPS** Look carefully at the map on page 811. How did the absence of a natural barrier on the western border of the Soviet Union affect post-World War II Soviet foreign policy? Explain your answer.



## Standardized Test Practice

Use the quotation below and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 1.

**“In 1945 I had ordered the A Bomb dropped on Japan at two places devoted almost exclusively to war production. We were at war. We were trying to end it in order to save the lives of our soldiers and sailors. . . . We stopped the war and saved thousands of casualties on both sides.**

**In Korea we were fighting a police action with sixteen allied nations to support the World Organization which had set up the Republic of Korea. We had held the Chinese after defeating the North Koreans and whipping the Russian Air Force. I just could not make the order for a Third World War. I know I was *right*.”**

—*Off the Record: The Private Papers of Harry S. Truman*

- According to President Truman, what was the main difference between using the atomic bomb on Japan in 1945 and the possibility of using it on China in 1951?
  - Japan was more of a military power in 1945 than China was in 1951.
  - In 1945 we had many allies, but in 1951 we had only two.
  - In 1945 the bomb ended a world war, but in 1951 it would have started one.
  - The Japanese were much fiercer fighters than the Chinese were.

Use the cartoon below and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 2.



- What point of view about the arms race does this 1950 cartoon *best* support?
  - The arms race between “Russia” and the United States is as dangerous as a war.
  - Communism uncontained will spread.
  - The bombs of the United States only threaten countries other than the United States.
  - The United States needs to build up its arsenal in order to compete with “Russia.”

**ADDITIONAL TEST PRACTICE, pages S1–S33.**



**TEST PRACTICE CLASSZONE.COM**

## ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT

- INTERACT**  
WITH HISTORY

 Recall your discussion of the question on page 807:

***What do you do when a friend is accused?***

Suppose your best friend has been accused of being a Communist. You have been called to serve as a character witness for him or her.

Write a speech that you will present to the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). In your speech explain why you feel that your friend’s constitutional rights are being violated.

- VIDEO**

**LEARNING FROM MEDIA** View the *American Stories* video, “The Cold War Comes Home: Hollywood Blacklists the Kahn Family.” Discuss the following questions, and then do the activity:

- How was Gordon Kahn caught up in events beyond his control?
- What alternatives did Gordon have? Do you think he chose the right path? Explain your opinion.

**Cooperative Learning Activity** With a small group, create a step-by-step flowchart to show how Gordon Kahn’s life, reputation, and career were ruined by blacklisting.