



























### Key to Ability Levels

<b>BL</b> Below Level	<b>AL</b> Above Level
<b>OL</b> On Level	<b>ELL</b> English Language Learners

### Key to Teaching Resources

 Print Material	 Transparency
 CD-ROM or DVD	

Levels				Resources					Chapter Opener	Section 1	Section 2	Section 3	Section 4	Chapter Assess
BL	OL	AL	ELL											
<b>FOCUS</b>														
BL	OL	AL	ELL		Daily Focus Transparencies		22-1	22-2	22-3	22-4				
<b>TEACH</b>														
	OL	AL			History Simulations and Problem Solving, URB		p. 9							
BL	OL		ELL		Reading Skills Activity, URB			p. 89						
	OL				Historical Analysis Skills Activity, URB				p. 90					
BL	OL	AL	ELL		Differentiated Instruction Activity, URB			p. 91						
BL	OL		ELL		English Learner Activity, URB			p. 93						
BL	OL	AL	ELL		Content Vocabulary Activity, URB*		p. 95							
BL	OL	AL	ELL		Academic Vocabulary Activity, URB		p. 97							
	OL	AL			Reinforcing Skills Activity, URB			p. 99						
	OL	AL			Critical Thinking Skills Activity, URB		p. 100							
BL	OL		ELL		Time Line Activity, URB						p. 101			
	OL				Linking Past and Present Activity, URB				p. 102					
BL	OL	AL	ELL		Primary Source Reading, URB				p. 105	p. 103				
BL	OL	AL	ELL		American Art and Music Activity, URB						p. 107			
BL	OL	AL	ELL		Interpreting Political Cartoons Activity, URB				p. 109					
		AL			Enrichment Activity, URB						p. 113			
BL	OL		ELL		Guided Reading Activity, URB*		p. 116	p. 117	p. 118	p. 119				
BL	OL	AL	ELL		Reading Essentials and Note-Taking Guide*		p. 247	p. 250	p. 253	p. 256				
BL	OL	AL	ELL		Differentiated Instruction for the American History Classroom	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
BL	OL	AL	ELL		Unit Map Overlay Transparencies	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
BL	OL	AL	ELL		Unit Time Line Transparencies, Strategies, and Activities	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
BL	OL	AL	ELL		Cause and Effect Transparencies, Strategies, and Activities	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
BL	OL	AL	ELL		Why It Matters Chapter Transparencies, Strategies, and Activities	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			

Note: Please refer to the *Unit 7 Resource Book* for this chapter's URB materials.

\* Also available in Spanish



- Interactive Lesson Planner
- Interactive Teacher Edition
- Fully editable blackline masters
- Section Spotlight Videos Launch
- Differentiated Lesson Plans
- Printable reports of daily assignments
- Standards Tracking System

Levels				Resources	Chapter Opener	Section 1	Section 2	Section 3	Section 4	Chapter Assess
BL	OL	AL	ELL							
<b>TEACH</b> <i>(continued)</i>										
BL	OL	AL		Supreme Court Case Studies				p. 69	p. 77	
BL	OL	AL	ELL	The Living Constitution	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
BL	OL	AL	ELL	American Issues	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	OL	AL	ELL	American Art and Architecture Transparencies, Strategies, and Activities	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
BL	OL	AL		High School American History Literature Library	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	OL	AL		American History Primary Source Documents Library	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
BL	OL	AL	ELL	American Music: Hits Through History CD	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
BL	OL	AL	ELL	StudentWorks™ Plus	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
BL	OL	AL	ELL	The American Vision Video Program	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Teacher Resources</b>				Reading Strategies and Activities for the Social Studies Classroom	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
				Strategies for Success	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
				Presentation Plus! with MindJogger CheckPoint	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
				Success With English Learners	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>ASSESS</b>										
BL	OL	AL	ELL	Section Quizzes and Chapter Tests*		p. 315	p. 316	p. 317	p. 318	p. 319
BL	OL	AL	ELL	Authentic Assessment With Rubrics						p. 49
BL	OL	AL	ELL	Standardized Test Practice Workbook						p. 49
BL	OL	AL	ELL	ExamView® Assessment Suite		22-1	22-2	22-3	22-4	Ch. 22
<b>CLOSE</b>										
BL			ELL	Reteaching Activity, URB						p. 111
BL	OL		ELL	Reading and Study Skills Foldables™	pp. 75–76					
BL	OL	AL	ELL	American History in Graphic Novel					p. 57	

✓ Chapter- or unit-based activities applicable to all sections in this chapter.

## Using Student Web Activities

### Teach With Technology

#### What is a Student Web Activity?



A Student Web Activity uses the Internet to enrich chapter content. It also helps students to enhance their online research skills.

#### How can a Student Web Activity help my students?

A Student Web Activity can teach students how to conduct research online and extends the content provided in the textbook. Features include:

- a research topic based on the chapter
- links to Web sites with more information on the topics
- short answer questions to assess comprehension
- a form to e-mail answers to you or to themselves

Visit [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and enter a **QuickPass™** code to go to a Student Web Activity.

 Visit <a href="http://glencoe.com">glencoe.com</a> and enter <b>QuickPass™</b> code TAV9399c22T for Chapter 22 resources.		You can easily launch a wide range of digital products from your computer's desktop with the McGraw-Hill Social Studies widget. 		
	Student	Teacher	Parent	
<b>Media Library</b>				
• Section Audio	•		•	
• Spanish Audio Summaries	•		•	
• Section Spotlight Videos	•	•	•	
<b>The American Vision Online Learning Center (Web Site)</b>				
• StudentWorks™ Plus Online	•	•	•	
• Multilingual Glossary	•	•	•	
• Study-to-Go	•	•	•	
• Chapter Overviews	•	•	•	
• Self-Check Quizzes	•	•	•	
• Student Web Activities	•	•	•	
• ePuzzles and Games	•	•	•	
• Vocabulary eFlashcards	•	•	•	
• In Motion Animations	•	•	•	
• Study Central™	•	•	•	
• Web Activity Lesson Plans		•		
• Vocabulary PuzzleMaker	•	•	•	
• Historical Thinking Activities		•		
• Beyond the Textbook	•	•	•	

READING SUPPORT FROM  
**JAMESTOWN EDUCATION**

- **Timed Readings Plus in Social Studies** helps students increase their reading rate and fluency while maintaining comprehension. The 400-word passages are similar to those found on state and national assessments.
- **Reading in the Content Area: Social Studies** concentrates on six essential reading skills that help students better comprehend what they read. The book includes 75 high-interest nonfiction passages written at increasing levels of difficulty.
- **Reading Social Studies** includes strategic reading instruction and vocabulary support in Social Studies content for both ELLs and native speakers of English.

[www.jamestowneducation.com](http://www.jamestowneducation.com)

**NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC**

Index to National Geographic Magazine:

**The following articles relate to this chapter:**

- “DMZ: Korea’s Dangerous Divide,” by Tom O’Neill, July 2003.
- “Douglas MacArthur: An American Soldier,” by Geoffrey C. Ward and Cary Wolinsky, March 1992.

**National Geographic Society Products** To order the following, call National Geographic at 1-800-368-2728:

- *ZipZapMap! USA Windows* (ZipZapMap! USA).

Access National Geographic’s new dynamic MapMachine Web site and other geography resources at:

[www.nationalgeographic.com](http://www.nationalgeographic.com)  
[www.nationalgeographic.com/maps](http://www.nationalgeographic.com/maps)



The following videotape programs are available from Glencoe as supplements to this chapter:

- Berlin Airlift: The First Battle of the Cold War (ISBN 0-76-701166-X)
- Harry S. Truman: A New View (ISBN 1-56-501449)

To order, call Glencoe at 1-800-334-7344. To find classroom resources to accompany many of these videos, check the following home pages:

A&E Television: [www.aetv.com](http://www.aetv.com)

The History Channel: [www.historychannel.com](http://www.historychannel.com)

**Reading List Generator CD-ROM**

GLENCOE  
**BOOKLINK 3**

Use this database to search more than 30,000 titles to create a customized reading list for your students.

- Reading lists can be organized by students’ reading level, author, genre, theme, or area of interest.
- The database provides Degrees of Reading Power™ (DRP) and Lexile™ readability scores for all selections.
- A brief summary of each selection is included.

**Leveled reading suggestions for this chapter:**

**For students at a Grade 8 reading level:**

- *Joseph McCarthy and the Cold War*, by Victoria Sherrow

**For students at a Grade 9 reading level:**

- *I Remember Korea: Veterans Tell Their Stories of the Korean War, 1950–53*, by Linda Granfield

**For students at a Grade 10 reading level:**

- *The Emperor’s General: A Novel*, by James Webb

**For students at a Grade 11 reading level:**

- *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China*, by Jung Chang

**For students at a Grade 12 reading level:**

- *Spectacular Space Travelers*, by Jason Richie



## Focus

### MAKING CONNECTIONS

#### How Did the Atomic Bomb Change the World?

Ask students to imagine that a new, powerful weapon has been invented by an enemy nation. This new weapon is so powerful that no one, not even its inventor, knows the extent of the damage that the new weapon might cause. Have students explain what feelings they might have about the use of such a weapon and list them on the board. Explain that many Americans grew fearful of the power of the atomic bomb, especially after the Soviet Union developed a bomb of its own. **OL**

## The Big Ideas

As students study the chapter, remind them to consider the section-based Big Ideas included in each section's Guide to Reading. The **Essential Questions** in the activities below tie in to the Big Ideas and help students think about and understand important chapter concepts. In addition, the Hands-on Chapter Projects with their culminating activities relate the content from each section to the Big Ideas. These activities build on each other as students progress through the chapter. Section activities culminate in the wrap-up activity on the Visual Summary page.

# The Cold War Begins

1945–1960

**SECTION 1** The Origins of the Cold War

**SECTION 2** The Early Cold War Years

**SECTION 3** The Cold War and American Society

**SECTION 4** Eisenhower's Cold War Policies

*The world's first nuclear artillery shell is test fired on May 25, 1953. Such tests were common during the early cold war.*

Year	Event
1945	Franklin Roosevelt dies
1945	Yalta Conference is held to plan postwar world
1945	Truman 1945–1953
1945	Potsdam Conference partitions Germany
1947	Truman Doctrine is declared
1948	Berlin airlift begins
1948	State of Israel is created
1949	Communists take power in China
1950	McCarthy charges that Communists staff the U.S. State Department
1950	Korean War begins
1953	Armistice agreement is reached in Korea
1953	Eisenhower 1953–1961

**U.S. PRESIDENTS**  
**U.S. EVENTS**  
**WORLD EVENTS**

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## Section 1

### The Origins of the Cold War

**Essential Question:** How did the Cold War emerge after World War II? (Relations between the Soviet Union and the other Allies soured as the Soviets set up Communist governments in Eastern Europe.) Tell students that in this section they will learn how the Cold War began and how it affected American foreign policy. **OL**

## Section 2

### The Early Cold War Years

**Essential Question:** How did President Truman attempt to deter Communism? (Truman authorized billions of dollars of American aid to devastated European nations as well as to the Allies' former enemies, Germany and Japan.) Tell students that this section will focus on how American policies controlled the spread of Communism during the Cold War. **OL**

**MAKING CONNECTIONS**

**How Did the Atomic Bomb Change the World?**

The destructiveness of the atomic bomb raised the stakes in military conflicts. Growing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union after World War II led to a constant threat of nuclear war.

- How did the atomic bomb change relations between nations?
- Do you think the invention of the atomic bomb made the world safer?

**More About the Photo**

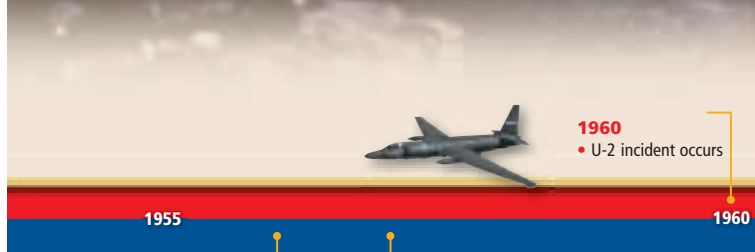
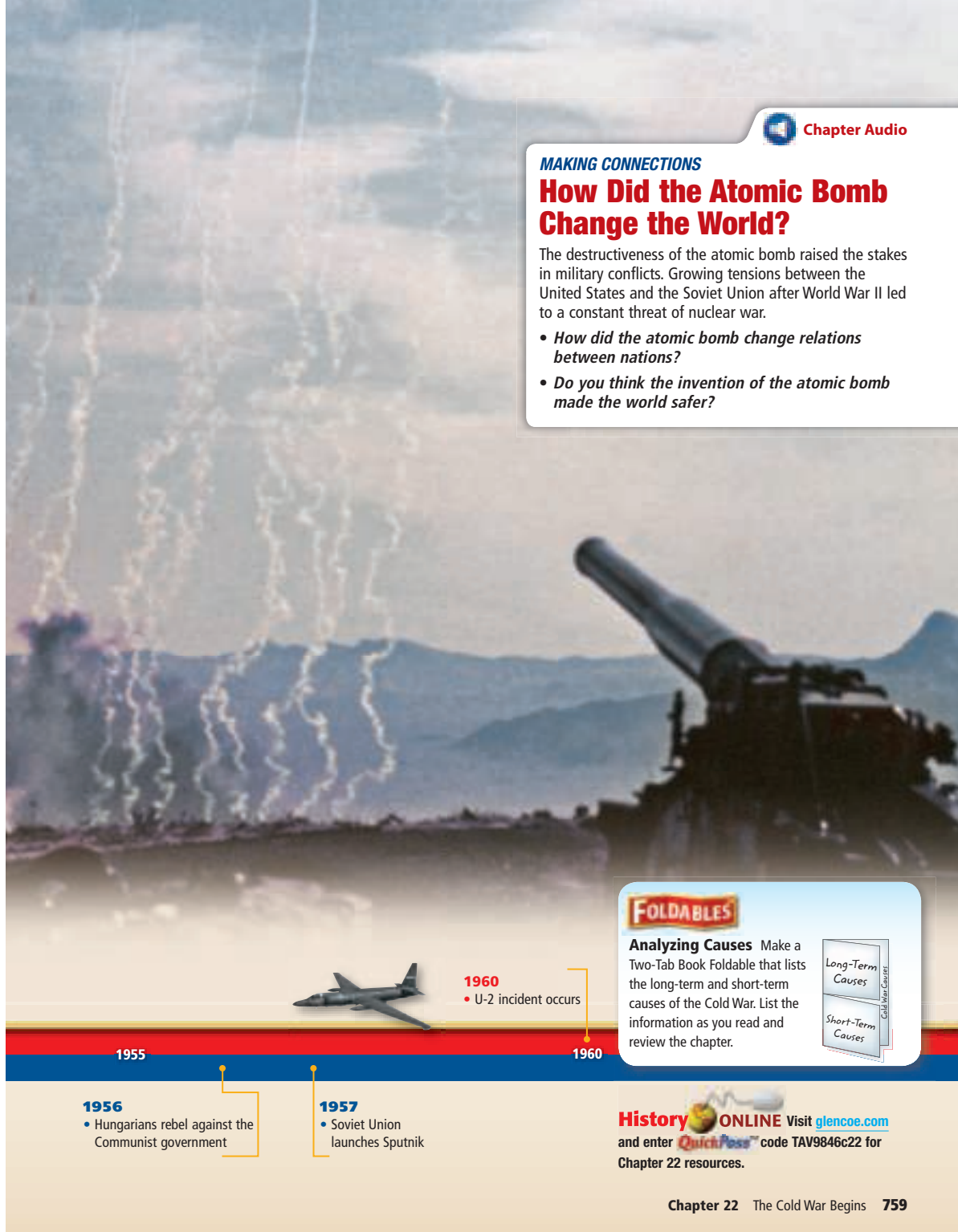
**Visual Literacy** In the 1950s, nuclear tests were regularly carried out above ground. People did not fully understand the dangerous side effects of nuclear fallout. The United States alone has conducted more than 1,000 nuclear tests, some above ground and some below ground. The Test Ban Treaty of 1963 prohibits nuclear weapons tests “or any other nuclear explosion” in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water. The treaty does not ban underground testing.

**FOLDABLES™** Dinah Zike's Study Organizer **Foldables**

**Dinah Zike's Foldables** are three-dimensional, interactive graphic organizers that help students practice basic writing skills, review vocabulary terms, and identify main ideas. Instructions for creating and using Foldables can be found in the Appendix at the end of this book and in the *Dinah Zike's Reading and Study Skills Foldables* booklet.

**FOLDABLES**

**Analyzing Causes** Make a Two-Tab Book Foldable that lists the long-term and short-term causes of the Cold War. List the information as you read and review the chapter.



**History ONLINE** Visit [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and enter **QuickPass™** code TAV9846c22 for Chapter 22 resources.

**Section 3**

**The Cold War and American Society**

**Essential Question:** How did the Cold War change the nation at home? (People grew fearful of the possibility of Communists infiltrating the U.S. government; others were afraid that the Soviet Union would attack the United States with nuclear weapons). Tell students that in Section 3 they will learn about how the Cold War affected all parts of American society. **OL**

**Section 4**

**Eisenhower's Cold War Policies**

**Essential Question:** How did Eisenhower's policies address Cold War issues? (Eisenhower believed the United States needed a strong economy as well as a strong military; he also used covert operations to prevent Soviet expansion.) Tell students that in Section 4 they will learn about how President Eisenhower confronted the Soviet Union during the Cold War. **OL**

**History ONLINE**

Visit [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and enter **QuickPass™** code TAV9399c22T for Chapter 22 resources, including a Chapter Overview, Study Central™, Study-to-Go, Student Web Activity, Self-Check Quiz, and other materials.



# The Origins of the Cold War

## Focus



### Bellringer

Daily Focus Transparency 22-1



### Guide to Reading

Answers:

Conferences	Outcomes
Yalta Conference	Poland's government recognized, free elections for Poland, Declaration of Liberated Europe, Germany divided, German reparations set
Potsdam Conference	German-Polish border established, German reparations to the Soviets reconstructed

### Section Spotlight Video

To generate student interest and provide a springboard for class discussion, access the Chapter 22, Section 1 video at [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) or on the video DVD.

### Resource Manager

### Guide to Reading

#### Big Ideas

**Government and Society** Although World War II was nearly over, personal and political differences among Allied leaders and the peoples they represented led to new global challenges.

#### Content Vocabulary

- satellite nations (p. 765)
- Iron Curtain (p. 765)

#### Academic Vocabulary

- liberate (p. 760)
- equipment (p. 762)

#### People and Events to Identify

- Yalta (p. 760)
- Cold War (p. 762)
- Potsdam (p. 764)

#### Reading Strategy

**Categorizing** Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by filling in the names of the conferences held among the “Big Three” Allies and the outcomes of each.

Conferences	Outcomes

After the war ended, tensions continued to rise over the amount of freedom the Soviets were going to allow the nations they controlled. Leaders of Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union held conferences but could not resolve this issue.

### The Yalta Conference

**MAIN Idea** Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin met at Yalta to discuss Poland, Germany, and the rights of liberated Europe.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you remember Wilson’s idealistic Fourteen Points and how they were changed during negotiations after World War I? Read on to learn how negotiations during and after World War II led to results different from what Roosevelt and Truman wanted.

In February 1945, with the war in Europe almost over, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin met at **Yalta**—a Soviet resort on the Black Sea—to plan the postwar world. Although the conference seemed to go well, several agreements reached at Yalta later played an important role in causing the Cold War.

### Poland

The first issue discussed at Yalta was what to do about Poland. Shortly after the Germans invaded Poland, 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. This meant there were now two governments claiming the right to govern Poland: one Communist and one non-Communist.

President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill both argued that the Poles should be free to choose their own government. “This is what we went to war against Germany for,” Churchill explained, “that Poland should be free and sovereign.”

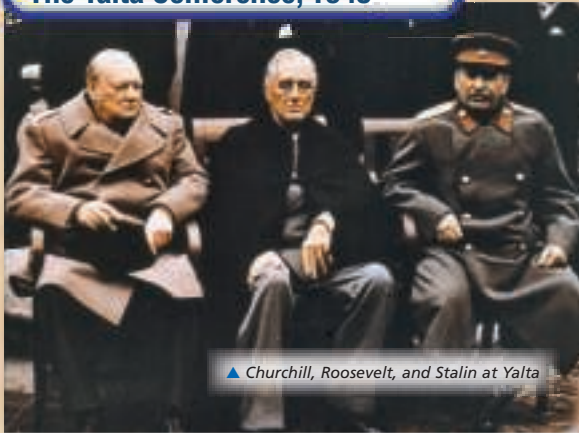
Stalin quickly responded to Churchill’s comments. According to Stalin, because Poland was on the Soviet Union’s western border, the need for its government to be friendly was a matter of “life and death” from the Soviet point of view. Every time invaders had entered Russia from the west, they had come through Poland. Eventually, the three leaders compromised. Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to recognize the Polish government set up by the Soviets. Stalin agreed that the government would include members of the prewar Polish government and that free elections would be held as soon as possible.

R Reading Strategies	C Critical Thinking	D Differentiated Instruction	W Writing Support	S Skill Practice
<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identifying, p. 762</li> <li>• Det. Importance, p. 764</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Academic Vocab. Act., URB p. 97</li> <li>• Guided Read., URB p. 116</li> </ul>	<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pred. Consequences, p. 761</li> <li>• Contrasting, p. 762</li> <li>• Hypothesizing, p. 763</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• History Simulations, URB p. 9</li> <li>• Critical Thinking Skills Act., URB p. 100</li> <li>• Quizzes/Tests, p. 315</li> </ul>	<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visual/Spatial, p. 765</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Foldables, pp. 75–76</li> </ul>	<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal Writing, p. 762</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Content Vocab. Act., p. 95</li> </ul>	<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interpreting a Map, p. 764</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Read. Essen., p. 247</li> </ul>



## PRIMARY SOURCE

## The Yalta Conference, 1945

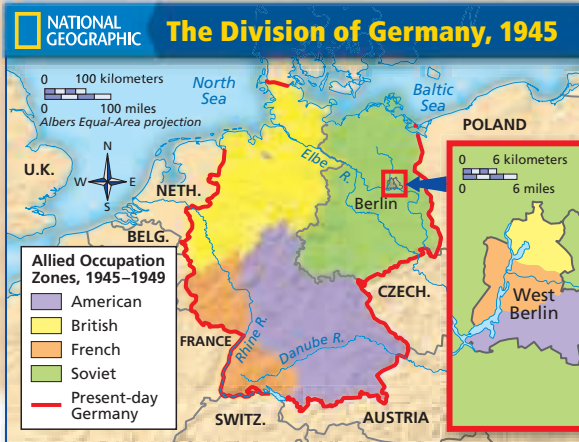


▲ Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin at Yalta

## The Declaration of Liberated Europe

At Yalta, the Allies issued the Declaration of Liberated Europe. The Soviet Union's failure to uphold the Declaration contributed to the coming of the Cold War. The Declaration contained the following commitments:

- The peoples of Europe will be allowed to create democratic institutions of their own choice, but must destroy all remaining aspects of Nazism and fascism in their societies.
- The United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union will help the peoples of Europe to do the following:
  1. Establish peace in their country
  2. Provide aid to people in distress
  3. Form temporary governments that represent all democratic elements of the society and hold free elections to choose a government that responds to the will of the people
- The United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union will continue to support the principles expressed in the Atlantic Charter.



## Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Specifying** In the Declaration of Liberated Europe, what three things did the Big Three promise to help the peoples of Europe do?
2. **Locating** In what zone in the divided Germany was Berlin located?

## The Declaration of Liberated Europe

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

The Allies promised that the people of Europe would be allowed “to create democratic institutions of their own choice.” They also promised to create temporary governments that represented “all democratic elements” and pledged “the earliest possible

establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people.”

## Dividing Germany

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

## Teach

## C Critical Thinking

## Predicting Consequences

**Ask:** What compromise did Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin reach about Poland? (Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to accept the Communist government Stalin had set up, and Stalin promised free elections for Poland as soon as possible.) Based on Stalin's actions, do you think he would honor his word about a liberated Europe? (probably not; He saw the situation from a “Soviet point of view.”) OL

## Analyzing VISUALS

## Answers:

1. to establish peace in their countries, to provide aid to people in distress, and to form temporary, free governments until a government elected by the people could be formed
2. in the Soviet zone

The Granger Collection, New York

## Activity: Economics Connection

**Making Connections** Explain to students that after World War II, millions of people were uprooted. After six years of fighting, they had fled their countries, hoping to find a place of refuge. Many large cities were completely devastated, or left in ruins. Have students use library or Internet resources to research the ways in which the United States and Great Britain provided aid to these people in distress. Organize students into three groups to conduct research

on the Marshall Plan, the American Red Cross, and UNICEF. Have groups present their findings in a chart showing the main goals of each organization, how aid was given, and the effectiveness of each organization. OL

## Additional Support

**W Writing Support**

**Personal Writing** The Soviets promised that Poland would have free elections, then refused to let the Poles vote. Have students write a journal entry about how they would feel to learn that their country was not liberated and their right to vote was suddenly gone. **OL**

**R Reading Strategy**

**Identifying Ask:** **What was the Cold War?** (*a silent war of hostility and competition between the United States and the Soviet Union.*) **OL**

**C Critical Thinking**

**Contrasting** Have students create a T-chart. On one side, have students list Soviet goals after World War II (*to keep Germany weak, to encourage communism in other countries*) and U.S. goals on the other side (*to repair the economies of European countries, to avoid future wars*) **OL**

Although pleased with the decision to divide Germany, Stalin also demanded that Germany pay heavy reparations for the war damage it had caused. Roosevelt agreed, but he insisted reparations be based on Germany's ability to pay. He also suggested, and Stalin agreed, that Germany pay reparations with trade goods and products instead of cash. The Allies would also be allowed to remove industrial machinery, railroad cars, and other **equipment** from Germany as reparations. This decision did not resolve the issue. Over the next few years, arguments about German reparations greatly increased tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.

**Tensions Begin to Rise**

The Yalta decisions shaped the expectations of the United States. Two weeks after Yalta, the Soviets pressured the king of Romania into appointing a Communist government. The United States accused the Soviets of violating the Declaration of Liberated Europe.

**W** 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.

**R** 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. This led to an era of confrontation and competition between the two nations that lasted from about 1946 to 1990. This era became known as the **Cold War**.

**Soviet Security Concerns**

**C** The tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union led to the Cold War because the two sides had different goals. 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.

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

**American Economic Issues**

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

**Debates****IN HISTORY****Did the Soviet Union Cause the Cold War?**

Many people have debated who was responsible for the Cold War. Most Americans, including diplomat George Kennan who had served in Russia, believed that it was Soviet ideology and insecurity that brought on the Cold War. On the other side, communist leaders, such as Stalin's adviser Andrei Zhdanov, believed that capitalism and imperialism caused the Cold War.

**Additional Support**

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**Activity: Interdisciplinary Connection**

**Geography** Tell students that several nations in Eastern Europe have a long history of being overrun by more powerful nations. Organize students into small groups. Give each group a blank outline map of Eastern Europe today and several overhead transparencies. Have the groups research to show how the boundaries of these countries have changed by creating a series of overlays for the map. Suggest that stu-

dents show the boundaries at the turn of each century or on other significant dates from 1500 to the present. **OL**

American advisers also thought that the Depression became so severe because nations reduced trade. They 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 was the key to peace. They wanted to promote economic growth by increasing world trade.

Similar reasoning convinced American leaders to promote democracy and free enterprise. They believed that democratic governments with protections for people's rights made countries more stable and peaceful. They also thought that the free enterprise system, with private property rights and limited government intervention in the economy, was the best route to prosperity.

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

## Truman Takes Control

**MAIN Idea** Although President Truman took a firm stand against Soviet aggression, Europe remained divided after the war.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Have you ever had to say no to someone or insist they do something? Read to learn about President Truman's actions at Potsdam.

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

## C Critical Thinking

**Hypothesizing Ask:** How can economic growth prevent a country from going to war? (If a country is prosperous, has plenty of resources, and its people are gainfully employed, there is no reason for war.) **OL**

## ✓ Reading Check

**Answer:** The Allies decided Poland's government, Europeans' right to choose their own governments, the division of Germany and Berlin into four zones, the addition of the Soviets in the war effort against Japan, and reparations from Germany.

## YES

**George F. Kennan**  
American Diplomat

### PRIMARY SOURCE

"[The] USSR still [believes] in antagonistic 'capitalist encirclement' with which in the long run there can be no permanent peaceful coexistence. . . . At bottom of [the] Kremlin's neurotic view of world affairs is traditional and instinctive Russian sense of insecurity. . . . And they have learned to seek security only in patient but deadly struggle for total destruction of rival power, never in compacts and compromises with it.

. . . 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."

—Moscow Embassy Telegram #511, 1946



## NO

**Andrei Zhdanov**  
Advisor to Stalin

### PRIMARY SOURCE

"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. . . .

. . . As embodiment of a new and superior social system, the Soviet Union reflects in its foreign policy the aspirations of progressive mankind, which desires lasting peace and has nothing to gain from a new war hatched by capitalism."

—from *For a Lasting Peace for a People's Democracy*, no. 1, November 1947



## Debates IN HISTORY

**Answers:**

1. antagonistic "capitalist encirclement"
2. to strengthen it in order to hatch an imperialist war that wants to defeat socialism and democracy

## DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. **Paraphrasing** What belief of the Soviets does Kennan say will prevent "permanent peaceful coexistence" with the United States?
2. **Identifying Central Issues** What does Zhdanov say are the goals of the "imperialist camp" led by the United States?

Chapter 22 The Cold War Begins 763

## Role-Playing to Demonstrate McCarthyism in Action

**Step 1: Researching the Army-McCarthy Hearings of 1954** Essential question: How did Senator Joe McCarthy conduct the Army-McCarthy hearings that were televised in 1954?

**Directions** Explain to students that they will be re-enacting or improvising the Army-McCarthy hearings that were so influential, and which turned the tide against

McCarthyism. For background, they can consult sources found online or in the Library. Students can also research in books on McCarthy or McCarthyism to find direct quotations from the hearings or people who witnessed them.

**Putting It Together** Students should share their research and then discuss the essential elements they want to convey about McCarthyism in the performance they will do for the class. **OL** (Chapter Project continued on page 771)

## Hands-On Chapter Project Step 1



**R** Reading Strategy

**Determining Importance**

Truman was determined to demonstrate American resolve toward the Soviet Union. **Ask:** Why was President Truman's meeting with Molotov an important turning point in U.S.–Soviet diplomacy? (Truman stood up to the Soviets. He demanded that Stalin hold free elections in Poland.) **OL**

**S** Skill Practice

**Interpreting a Map** Have students look at the map. **Ask:** With which Communist countries did Austria share a border? (Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia) **BL**

**DBQ** Document-Based Questions

**Answers:**

1. a political and economic barrier between the Soviet sphere and Western Europe; The image provides a strong division between the world and the Soviets. Churchill wanted to illustrate that the Soviets would be a formidable enemy.
2. the Soviet attempts to establish communism in other countries across Europe

**Additional Support**

**Teacher Tip**

**Collaborative Learning** This activity requires students within each group to participate on some level. Have each group select a leader to help divide the work. A person from each group should be selected to lead the debate.

**NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC** The Iron Curtain in Europe, 1948



**PRIMARY SOURCE**

"A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately light 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. . . .

The Communist parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. . . .

In front of the iron curtain which lies across Europe are other causes for anxiety . . . in a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and work in . . . absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist center. . . . I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of power and doctrines."

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

**DBQ** Document-Based Questions

1. **Finding the Main Idea** What was the "iron curtain," and why do you think Churchill described it in that way?
2. **Identifying Central Issues** What "other causes for anxiety" did Churchill say the Soviets were creating?

**R**

Ten days later, Truman did exactly that during a meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov. Truman immediately brought up the issue of 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 primarily to work out a deal on Germany.

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

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

**Activity: Collaborative Learning**

**Identifying Central Issues** Ask students to imagine that they are delegates at the Potsdam Conference. Divide the class into two groups: one representing the Soviet Union, the other the United States. Have each group work together to write a paragraph defending their position on German reparations. Students may use the library or Internet to find primary sources

to use in their presentations. Remind students that the Allies were no longer sympathetic toward Stalin. Stalin was worried about the destruction in the Soviet Union. Have a representative from each group engage in a debate. Ask the class to vote on the most convincing argument. **OL**

## Section 1 REVIEW

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

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

Stalin did not like Truman's proposal. At Potsdam, Truman learned that the atomic bomb had been successfully tested, and he hinted to Stalin that the United States had developed a new, powerful weapon. Stalin suspected that Truman was trying to bully him into a deal and that the Americans were trying to limit reparations to keep the Soviets weak.

Despite his suspicions, Stalin had to accept the terms. American and British troops controlled Germany's industrial heartland, and there was no way for the Soviets to get any reparations except by cooperating. Nevertheless, the Potsdam conference marked yet another increase in tensions between the Soviets and the Americans.

### The Iron Curtain Descends

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

The Communist countries of Eastern Europe came to be called **satellite nations** because they were controlled by the Soviets, as satellites are tied by gravity to the planets they orbit. 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, Winston Churchill coined a phrase to describe what had happened. In a 1946 speech delivered in Fulton, Missouri, he referred to an "iron curtain" falling across Eastern Europe. The press picked up the term and, for the next 43 years, when someone referred to the Iron Curtain, they meant the Communist nations of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. With the **Iron Curtain** separating the Communist nations of Eastern Europe from the West, the World War II era had come to an end. The Cold War was about to begin.

**Explaining** How did the Potsdam Conference hurt Soviet-American relations?

D

#### Vocabulary

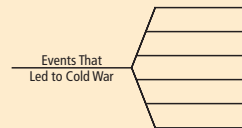
- 1. Explain** the significance of: Yalta, Cold War, Potsdam, satellite nations, Iron Curtain.

#### Main Ideas

- 2. Identifying** At Yalta, what agreement did the "Big Three" come to about Germany's future after World War II?
- 3. Summarizing** What concerns made the Soviets suspicious of the Western Allies?
- 4. Explaining** How did the Potsdam Conference help bring about the Cold War?

#### Critical Thinking

- 5. Big Ideas** How did different economic systems cause tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union?
- 6. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list events that led to the Cold War.



- 7. Analyzing Visuals** Study the map on page 764. Why did the Soviet Union want to have control over the countries on its western border?

#### Writing About History

- 8. Expository Writing** Suppose that you are an adviser to Truman. Write a report explaining your interpretation of Churchill's "iron curtain" speech.

**History ONLINE**

**Study Central™** To review this section, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.

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## D Differentiated Instruction

**Visual/Spatial** Bring in and discuss some political cartoons illustrating the Potsdam Conference and the Cold War. Then have students design their own political cartoons illustrating the tension between the Allies and the Soviets.

OL

### Reading Check

**Answer:** It increased tension because Stalin suspected that Truman wanted to limit reparations.

## Assess

### History ONLINE

**Study Central™** provides summaries, interactive games, and online graphic organizers to help students review content.

## Close

**Assessing** Have students use their graphic organizer from page 760 and evaluate the effectiveness of the conferences. **OL**

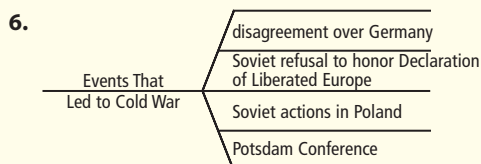
## Section 1 REVIEW

## Answers

- All definitions can be found in the section and the Glossary.
- Germany was divided into four zones controlled by Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States.
- The Soviets were suspicious that the Western Allies wanted to increase economic independence in Europe and establish free governments. They were also unwilling to make the Germans pay large reparations.
- The conference increased the tension between the Soviet Union and the United

States. It was clear that Truman, with the atomic bomb in his pocket, was not willing to make concessions.

- The United States wanted to promote strong economic growth throughout Europe. The Soviet Union wanted only to rebuild its own country.



- to protect itself from invasion by Germany
- Reports will vary but should include specific references to Churchill's speech.

765

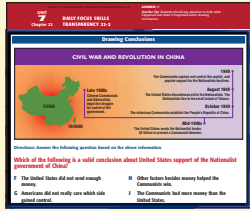


Focus



Bellringer

Daily Focus Transparency 22-2



Guide to Reading

Answers:

- Answers may include: 1945 Soviet-U.S. division of Korea; June 1950 North Korea invades South Korea; November 1950 China intervenes; April 1951 MacArthur fired



To generate student interest and provide a springboard for class discussion, access the Chapter 22, Section 2 video at [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) or on the video DVD.

Resource Manager

The Early Cold War Years

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

**Trade, War, and Migration** As the Cold War began, the United States struggled to oppose Communist aggression in Europe and Asia through political, economic, and military measures.

Content Vocabulary

- containment (p. 766)
- limited war (p. 773)

Academic Vocabulary

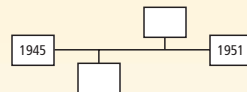
- insecurity (p. 766)
- initially (p. 769)

People and Events to Identify

- George Kennan (p. 766)
- Long Telegram (p. 766)
- Marshall Plan (p. 768)
- NATO (p. 769)
- SEATO (p. 773)

Reading Strategy

**Sequencing** Complete a time line similar to the one below by recording the major events related to the Korean War.



President Truman worked to contain communism by supporting Greece, Iran, and West Germany. When Communist North Korea invaded South Korea, Truman and the UN sent troops to aid South Korea.

Containing Communism

**MAIN Idea** The Truman Doctrine offered aid to any nation resisting communism; the Marshall Plan aided European countries in rebuilding.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Is there a conflict in the world today where you think the United States should intervene? Read on to learn how President Truman adopted policies designed to stop the spread of communism.

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 wartime 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. "Our relations with the Russians," the British foreign minister gloomily concluded, "are drifting into the same condition as that in which we had found ourselves with Hitler."

The Long Telegram

Increasingly exasperated by the Soviets' refusal to cooperate, officials at the State Department asked the American Embassy in Moscow to explain Soviet behavior. On February 22, 1946, diplomat **George Kennan** responded with what became known as the **Long Telegram**, a 5,540-word message 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 that they were in a long-term historical struggle against capitalism, Kennan argued, it was impossible to reach any permanent settlement with them.

Kennan therefore proposed what became the basic American policy throughout the Cold War: "a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant **containment** of Russian expansive tendencies." Kennan explained that, in his opinion, the Soviet system had several major economic and political weaknesses. If the United States could keep the Soviets from expanding their power, it would be only a matter of time before the Soviet system would fall apart. Communism could be beaten without going to war. The Long Telegram circulated widely in

R Reading Strategies	C Critical Thinking	D Differentiated Instruction	W Writing Support	S Skill Practice
<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identifying, p. 768</li> <li>Summarizing, p. 770</li> <li>Inferring, p. 771</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Guided Reading Act., URB p. 117</li> <li>Reading Skills Act., URB p. 89</li> </ul>	<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Analyzing Prim. Sources, p. 767</li> <li>Drawing Con., pp. 768, 772</li> <li>Det. Cause/Effect, pp. 770, 773</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Quizzes/Tests, p. 316</li> </ul>	<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Visual/Spatial p. 768</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>English Learner Act., URB p. 93</li> </ul>	<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Persuasive Writing, p. 769</li> <li>Personal Writing, p. 772</li> </ul>	<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Using Geo. Skills, pp. 767, 771</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reading Skills Act., URB p. 89</li> <li>Reinf. Skills Act., URB p. 99</li> <li>Read. Essen., p. 250</li> </ul>



## PRIMARY SOURCE

## The Truman Doctrine



▲ President Truman signs the Foreign Aid Assistance Act, providing aid to Greece and Turkey; the use of aid to support nations resisting Communist pressure became known as the Truman Doctrine.

## PRIMARY SOURCE

"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."

—Truman's address to Congress, March 12, 1947

## DBQ Document-Based Questions

- Finding the Main Idea** What was the stated goal of the Truman Doctrine?
- Drawing Conclusions** Which nation received the most aid through the Marshall Plan? Why do you think this might be?

Truman's administration. The administration based its policy of containment—keeping communism within its present territory through the use of diplomatic, economic, and military actions—on this document.

## 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 in March 1946.

During World War II, the United States had put troops in southern Iran while Soviet troops occupied northern Iran to secure a supply line from the Persian Gulf. After the war, instead of withdrawing as promised, the Soviet troops remained 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.

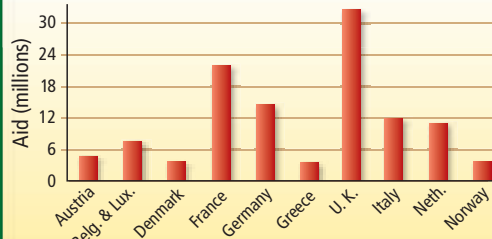
To American officials, these actions signaled a Soviet push into the Middle East. The secretary of state sent Stalin a strong message demanding that Soviet forces withdraw. At the same time, the battleship USS *Missouri* sailed into the eastern Mediterranean. The pressure seemed to work. Soviet forces 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 Black Sea ports to the Mediterranean. For centuries, Russia had wanted to control this strategic route. In August 1946, Stalin demanded joint control of the Dardanelles with Turkey.

For more of the text of Truman's Address to Congress, see page R54 in Documents in American History.

## Marshall Plan Aid to Major Countries



Source: *The Marshall Plan Fifty Years Later.*

## Teach

C Critical Thinking  
Analyzing Primary Sources

Ask students if the United States still practices the policy as set forth by Truman—that the U.S. “must assist free peoples.” Have students use current examples to support their statements. **AL**

S Skill Practice  
Using Geography Skills

Provide students with a map of Eastern Europe. Ask them to identify the following: Turkey, the straits of Dardanelles, the Black Sea, and the Mediterranean Sea.

**Ask:** Why did the Soviet Union want to gain influence over Turkey? (To secure access to the Mediterranean.) **BL**

## DBQ Document-Based Questions

## Answers:

- to support free peoples, fight Soviet aggression, and stop the spread of communism
- U.K.; it had been bombed and was America's closest ally.

## Additional Support

## Activity: Economics Connection

**Analyzing Information** The Tripartite Treaty of Alliance of January 29, 1942, was an agreement between Russia, Britain, and Iran. Allied troops agreed to withdraw from Iran within six months after the end of World War II. British and American troops left Iran, but Stalin did not. Iranian Prime Minister Ahmad Qavam tried to persuade Stalin to remove his troops by agreeing to

a Soviet oil concession and a peace agreement with the Azerbaijani Republic, a Soviet puppet republic set in the Soviet military zone in Northern Iran. When the USS *Missouri* arrived and the Soviets finally left Iran, Qavam then reclaimed his concessions. **Ask:** Why was Iran important to the Allies? Why did Stalin refuse to honor the treaty? Have students look at a current map identi-

fying oil and gas production areas. They should then write a one-page report answering the above questions. **OL**

Reading Strategy

Identifying Ask: How much money did Truman ask Congress to appropriate to fight communism? (\$400 million) Remind students of the value of the dollar in 1947. Ask: Why did the United States have to support the Greek government? (The British did not have the resources to help Greece.) BL

Differentiated Instruction

Visual/Spatial Have students draw a map of the German zones in 1948. Instruct students to use a transparency to show what West Germany and West Berlin looked like after the United States, Britain, and France merged their zones. Ask: Why was this merger not welcomed by the Soviets? (The Soviets saw this as an attempt to undermine their reparations plan.) OL

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.

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

The Marshall Plan

Meanwhile, postwar Western Europe faced grave problems. Economies were ruined, people were nearing starvation, and political chaos was at hand. In June 1947 Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed the European Recovery Program, or Marshall Plan, which would give European nations American aid to rebuild their economies. Truman saw the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine as "two halves of the same walnut," both essential for containment. Marshall offered help to all nations planning a recovery program:

PRIMARY SOURCE

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

—quoted in Marshall: Hero for Our Times

Although the Marshall Plan was offered to the Soviet Union and its satellite nations in Eastern Europe, those nations rejected the

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

In his 1949 Inaugural Address, President Truman also proposed assistance for underdeveloped countries outside the war zone. The Point Four Program aimed to make "scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas" regardless of region. The Department of State administered Point Four assistances from 1950 until its merger with other foreign aid programs in 1953.

The Berlin Airlift

President Truman and his advisers believed that Western Europe's prosperity depended on Germany's recovery. The Soviets, however, still wanted Germany to pay reparations to the Soviet Union. This dispute brought these nations to the brink of war.

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

The new nation was officially called the Federal Republic of Germany, but it became known as West Germany. The Soviet zone eventually became the German Democratic Republic, also known as East Germany. West Germany was not allowed to have a military, but in most respects, it was independent.

The decision to create West Germany convinced the Soviets that they would never get the reparations they wanted. In late June 1948, Soviet troops cut all road and rail traffic to West Berlin hoping to force the United States to either reconsider its decision or abandon West Berlin. President Truman sent bombers with atomic weapons to bases in Britain and the American commander in Germany warned: "If we mean to hold Europe against communism,

Differentiated Instruction

Leveled Activities

BL Reading Skills Activity, URB p. 89

Reading Skills Activity 22.1. Formulating Questions. DIRECTION: Read the following paragraphs about the effects of the Korean War on U.S. foreign policy. Then answer the questions below on a separate sheet of paper. Finally, discuss as a class the difference between the two types of questions.

OL Content Vocabulary Activity, URB p. 95

Content Vocabulary Activity 22.1. The Cold War Begins, 1945-1949. DIRECTION: Match each description in the left column with the correct term in the right column. Write the letter of the correct term in the space provided. Then answer the questions at the bottom of the page.

AL Primary Source Reading, URB p. 103

Primary Source Reading 22.1. Containment or Liberation? DIRECTION: Read the excerpt from a speech by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1953. Then answer the questions that follow.

ELL English Learner Activity, URB, p. 93

English Learner Activity 22.1. The Cold War Begins, 1945-1949. DIRECTION: Read the excerpt from a speech by President Truman's defense of the Berlin Airlift in Korea. Then answer the questions that follow.

then we must not budge."The challenge was to keep West Berlin alive without provoking war with the Soviets. Instead of ordering troops to fight their way to Berlin, and thereby triggering war with the Soviet Union, Truman ordered the air force to fly supplies into Berlin instead.

The Berlin airlift began in June 1948 and continued through the spring of 1949, bringing in more than 2 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.

## 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 reached to create 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 in its history, 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.

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

**History ONLINE**  
**Student Web Activity** Visit [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and complete the activity on the Berlin Airlift.

## Writing Support

**Persuasive Writing** Have students write an editorial supporting the creation of NATO. **OL**

## Did You Know?

During the Berlin airlift, a plane flew into the city every three minutes. Without the supplies those planes carried, West Berliners would have had to back down.

### PRIMARY SOURCE

#### The Berlin Airlift, 1948–1949

After the Soviet Union blockaded West Berlin, the United States delivered 4,000 tons of food, medicine, coal and other supplies that were needed every day to keep the city functioning. A cargo plane had to land with supplies every three and a half minutes. To keep the airlift running, crews stayed onboard and food was brought to them while the planes were unloaded and refueled. Meanwhile, 20,000 volunteers in Berlin built a third airport, enabling the flow of supplies to increase to 13,000 tons a day.



### Analyzing VISUALS

#### Answers:

1. United Kingdom, France, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Portugal, the Netherlands, Norway, Luxembourg, and Iceland
2. Greece, Turkey, West Germany

### Reading Check

**Answer:** Soviet blockade of West Berlin

### Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Interpreting** Which nations are the founding members of NATO?
2. **Identifying** Which NATO nations shared a border with one or more Warsaw Pact nations?

## Extending the Content

**Point Four Program** In his 1949 inaugural address, President Harry Truman announced (as the fourth point of his speech) “a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas” around the globe. The program was intended to encourage development and economic growth in poorer countries and thereby

diminish the appeal of socialist or communist doctrines. Officially titled the United States Technical Assistance Plan, the Point Four Program focused on providing technical assistance to developing nations.

## Additional Support



**R** Reading Strategy

**Summarizing** Have students state why China suspended its civil war during World War II and what happened at the end of the war. (*Communist forces and the Nationalist government suspended fighting to make sure Japan would not try to invade. Once the war was over, they continued fighting since a resolution was never obtained.*) **OL**

**C** Critical Thinking

**Determining Cause and Effect** **Ask:** What happened in China when the United States discontinued financial aid? (*The Chinese Nationalists fled to Taiwan, and China became an established Communist country.*) What effect did this have on American policy and why? (*The new strategy was to help Japan recover quickly from the war, due to its strategic location. The Americans believed that by strengthening Japan, they could fend off communism in the rest of Asia.*) **OL**

**Additional Support****The Korean War**

**MAIN Idea** Attempts to keep South Korea free from communism led the United States to military intervention.

**HISTORY AND YOU** What happens to someone who disobeys a coach, employer, or teacher? Read on to learn what happened to General MacArthur when he criticized the president.

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 made great gains, neither side could win nor agree to a compromise.

**R** To prevent a Communist revolution in Asia, the United States sent the Nationalist government \$2 billion in aid beginning in the mid-1940s, but the Nationalists 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.

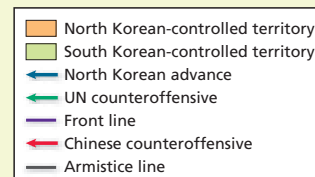
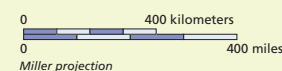
In August 1949 the U.S. State Department discontinued aid to the Chinese Nationalists. The defeated Nationalists then fled to the small island of Taiwan (Formosa). The victorious Communists established the People's Republic of China in October 1949.

**C** 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

**INFOGRAPHIC**  
**The Korean War, 1950–1953****▲ June–September 1950**

North Korean troops invade South Korea, driving South Korean and UN forces south into a small perimeter around Pusan.



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**

**C** 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

**Activity: Collaborative Learning**

**Contrasting** In 1949, Nationalists fled the Chinese mainland to the island of Taiwan. While mainland China became a Communist stronghold, Taiwan remained tied to the West. Have students work in groups and trace the development of China and Taiwan over the last 55 years. Groups should create a time line to document and illustrate main events and crises between China and Taiwan. Have groups present their

time lines in class. **Ask:** Why does China want Taiwan? How far will China go to ensure Taiwan does not become independent? What do the Taiwanese people want? **OL**



**September–November 1950**  
Led by General MacArthur, UN troops land behind North Korean lines at the port of Inchon. North Korean forces fall back rapidly, and the UN forces head north into North Korea.



**November 1950–January 1951**  
As UN forces near the Chinese border, Chinese troops cross into North Korea driving the UN back. MacArthur wants to attack Chinese territory. He publicly argues with Truman and is fired.



**January 1951–July 1953**  
Led by U.S. General Matthew Ridgway, the UN forces push the Chinese and North Korean forces out of South Korea. The war bogged down into a stalemate along the 38th parallel.



◀ Soldiers of the U.S. 2nd Infantry Division man a machine gun near the Chongchun River in Korea, December 15, 1950.

**Analyzing GEOGRAPHY**

- Human-Environment Interaction** What occurred at the port of Inchon in 1950?
- Location** What geographical feature forms the border between China and North Korea?

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 Begins**

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 Soviet Union provided military aid to the North Koreans, who quickly built up an army. On June 25, 1950, North Korean troops invaded the south, rapidly 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 United States naval and air power into action. He then called on the United Nations to act. Truman succeeded because the Soviet delegate was boycotting the UN Security Council over its China policy and was not present to veto the American proposal. With the pledge of UN troops, Truman ordered General MacArthur to send American troops from Japan to Korea.

**S Skill Practice**

**Using Geography Skills** Have students look at the map of Korea. Ask them to identify the 38th parallel of latitude. **Ask:** Why did the Allies divide Korea at the 38th parallel? (It looks like an even division.) What is the importance of Korea's geographic location? (It is close to China and the Soviet Union.) **BL**

**R Reading Strategy**

**Inferring Ask:** Why do you think Truman called on the UN to assist the United States troops in Korea? (Students might suggest that he did not want the world to think the United States was a "military bully." He wanted international approval and support.) **OL**

**Analyzing GEOGRAPHY**

**Answers:**

- U.N. forces under General MacArthur landed and cut off the North Korean army.
- The Yalu River.

**Hands-On Chapter Project Step 2**

**Role-Playing to Demonstrate McCarthyism in Action**

**Step 2: Creating the Roles and the Script** Essential question: How much of a hearing can student cast members perform and who will write the script?

**Directions** From reading about the hearings or even seeing them if a historical video exists, students will create their script and cast different students in the lead and supporting roles. These roles should include

Senator McCarthy, army lawyer Joseph Welch, other senators on the committee, and a witness.

**Putting It Together** Students should meet to finalize the product—a script outline (some improvisation might be allowed), and a definite beginning and an end that will make sense to viewers. **OL** (Chapter Project continued on page 777)

## Truman vs. MacArthur

**W** Writing Support

**Personal Writing** Have students write a journal entry expressing what they think about the MacArthur/Truman debate.

**Ask:** Should a country use all the military force at its disposal to guarantee a victory, or should a country fight a limited war, hoping to avoid a nuclear war? **OL**

**C** Critical Thinking

**Drawing Conclusions** When the Chinese came to the aid of the North Koreans, MacArthur wanted to attack China but Truman disagreed. **Ask:** Why was Truman against expanding the war to China? (Truman wanted to fight a limited war. The Chinese would be a formidable enemy. He didn't want to drop another atomic bomb.) **OL**

**Analyzing VISUALS****Answers:**

- the one on the right
- make decisions reserved for the president

**Additional Support**

▲ President Truman, Secretary of State Dean Acheson, and "The Pentagon" are held over the flame of public opinion for firing General MacArthur. "John Q." refers to "John Q. Public," or the American people.



▲ Entitled "Not a General's Job," this cartoon suggests that MacArthur had overstepped his authority in Korea.

**Analyzing VISUALS**

- Identifying Points of View** Which of the cartoons supports President Truman's decision to fire General MacArthur? Explain.
- Making Inferences** What does the cartoon on the right imply MacArthur was trying to do in Asia?

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

On September 15, 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.

**C** **China Enters the War** The Communist People's Republic of China saw the advancing UN troops as a threat and warned the forces to halt their advance. When those 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.

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

**Truman Fires MacArthur** President Truman refused MacArthur's demands because he did not want to expand the war into China or to use the atomic bomb. MacArthur persisted. He publicly criticized the president, arguing that it was a mistake to keep the war limited. "There is no substitute for victory," MacArthur insisted, by which he meant that if the United States was going to go to war, it should use all of its power to win. Keeping a war limited was, in his view, a form of appeasement, and appeasement he argued, "begets new and bloodier war."

Determined to maintain control of policy and to show that the president commanded the military, an exasperated Truman fired MacArthur for insubordination in April 1951. Later, in private conversation, Truman explained:

**Activity: Collaborative Learning**

**Identifying Central Issues** A controversy between Harry S. Truman and General Douglas MacArthur began shortly after the outbreak of the Korean War. It reached a climax when the president relieved MacArthur of his command. Truman believed in limited war; MacArthur wanted total victory.

Have students review the Constitutional powers of the president. Then ask students

to use the library or the Internet to locate and read the letter from Truman to MacArthur, dated April 11, 1951. Have students work in groups to discuss if President Truman made the correct choice. **Ask:** Do you think President Truman exercised his presidential powers according to the Constitution? Should Truman have dealt differently with MacArthur? After groups have reached their conclusions, lead a class

discussion, writing major ideas on the board. **OL**



## Section 2 REVIEW

"I was sorry to have to reach a parting of the way with the big man in Asia, but he asked for it and I had to give it to him."

MacArthur, who remained popular despite being fired, returned home to parades and a hero's welcome. Many Americans criticized the president. Congress and other military leaders, however, supported Truman's decision and his Korean strategy. American policy in Asia remained committed to **limited war**—a war fought to achieve a limited objective, such as containing communism. Truman later explained why he favored limited war in Korea:

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

"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 "Address to the Civil Defense Conference," May 7, 1951

As Truman also noted, America's allies in Europe were much closer to the Soviet Union. If war broke out, Europe would suffer the most damage and might well be attacked with atomic bombs. This concern—that all-out war in Korea might lead to nuclear war—was the main reason why Truman favored limited war. This concern shaped American foreign policy throughout the Cold War.

**Changes in Policy**

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

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

The Korean War also helped expand the Cold War to Asia. Before 1950, the United States had focused on Europe as the most important area in which to contain communism. After the Korean War began, the United States became more militarily involved in Asia. In 1954 the United States signed defense agreements with Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Australia, forming the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (**SEATO**). American aid also began flowing to French forces fighting Communists in Vietnam.

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

**Vocabulary**

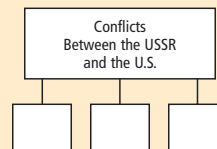
- 1. Explain** the significance of: George Kennan, Long Telegram, containment, Marshall Plan, NATO, limited war, SEATO.

**Main Ideas**

- 2. Explaining** How did the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan address the spread of communism?
- 3. Describing** What originally led to the formation of two Koreas?

**Critical Thinking**

- 4. Big Ideas** How did the Long Telegram influence U.S. foreign policy?
- 5. Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list early conflicts between the Soviet Union and the United States.



- 6. Analyzing Visuals** Study the maps of the Korean War on pages 770–771. When did the United Nations control the most territory in Korea? When did both sides finally agree on an armistice line?

**Writing About History**

- 7. Persuasive Writing** Write a letter to the editor of a newspaper explaining why you agree or disagree with President Truman's firing of General MacArthur.

**History ONLINE**

**Study Central™** To review this section, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.

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**C Critical Thinking**

**Determining Cause and Effect** **Ask:** How did the Korean War change U.S. policy in regard to communism? (Prior to the Korean War, the U.S. preferred to use political and economic pressures. After Korea, the U.S. turned toward a militaristic approach by building up its army and its arsenals.) **OL**

**Reading Check**

**Answer:** He saw it as a test of the U.S. containment policy.

**Assess****History ONLINE**

**Study Central™** provides summaries, interactive games, and online graphic organizers to help students review content.

**Close**

**Cause and Effect** Have students work in groups to create two cause and effect graphic organizers—one for the Cold War and the other for the Korean War. **OL**

## Section 2 REVIEW

**Answers**

- All definitions can be found in the section and the Glossary.
- The Truman Doctrine pledged U.S. military involvement to fight the spread of communism, and the Marshall Plan provided economic aid to strengthen resistance to communism.
- At the end of World War II, the Soviet Union and the United States both entered Korea to disarm Japanese troops. The Soviets took control of Korea north of the 38th parallel, and the U.S. took control south of the 38th parallel. Talks to unite the country broke down with the Soviets establishing a Communist government in the north and the U.S. organizing a non-Communist government in the south.
- In the Long Telegram, George Kennan recommended a policy of containment of the Soviet Union's expansion, which became a mainstay of U.S. foreign policy throughout the Cold War.
- Students should include: Crisis in Iran, Berlin crisis, Korean War, Crisis with Turkey
- November 1950; July 27, 1953
- Letters will vary but should express a point of view based on facts.

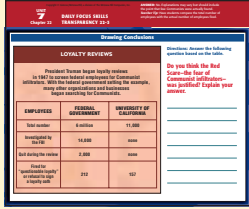


Focus



Bellringer

Daily Focus Transparency 22-3



Guide to Reading

Answers: Students should complete the outline by including all headings in the section.



To generate student interest and provide a springboard for class discussion, access the Chapter 22, Section 3 video at [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) or on the video DVD.

Resource Manager

# The Cold War and American Society

Guide to Reading

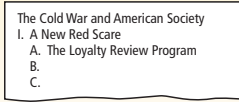
**Big Ideas**  
**Struggles for Rights** In the early part of the Cold War, the fear of communism led to a hunt for spies and to intolerance and suspicion of people with radical ideas in the United States.

- Content Vocabulary**
- subversion (p. 774)
  - loyalty review program (p. 774)
  - perjury (p. 776)
  - censure (p. 778)
  - fallout (p. 781)

- Academic Vocabulary**
- manipulate (p. 775)
  - convince (p. 776)

- People and Events to Identify**
- Red Scare (p. 774)
  - Alger Hiss (p. 776)
  - McCarran Act (p. 778)
  - McCarthyism (p. 778)

**Reading Strategy**  
**Summarizing** As you read, summarize the section content by using the major headings to create an outline similar to the one below.



Fearing subversive activity, the government tried to root out Communists in government, Hollywood, and labor unions, while Americans learned to live with the threat of nuclear attack.

A New Red Scare

**MAIN Idea** Public accusations and trials followed in the wake of fears of communism and spies.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you remember reading about the fears of communism during the early twentieth century? Read on to learn of a second major scare in the 1950s.

During the 1950s, thousands of ordinary people—from teachers to autoworkers to high government officials—shared a disturbing experience. Rumors and accusations of Communists in the United States and of Communist infiltration of the government tapped into 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 revealing a massive effort by the Soviet Union to infiltrate organizations and government agencies in Canada and the United States, with the specific goal of obtaining information about the atomic bomb.

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

The Loyalty Review Program

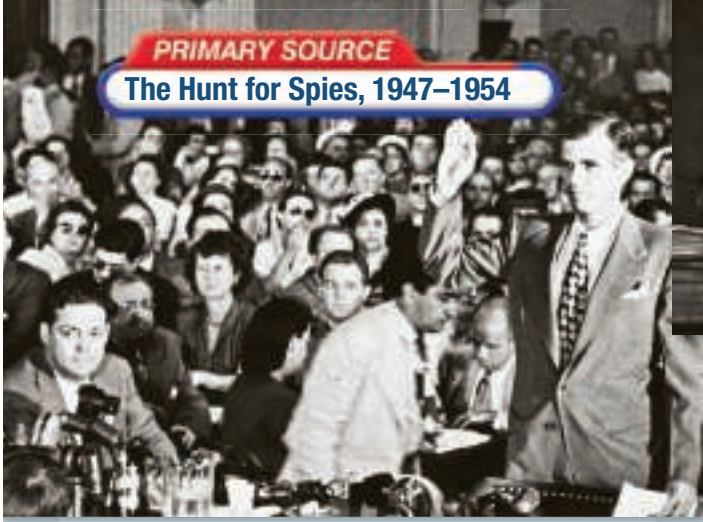
In early 1947, just nine days after his powerful speech announcing the Truman Doctrine, the president established a **loyalty review program** to screen all federal employees. Rather than calm public suspicion, Truman’s action seemed to confirm fears that Communists had infiltrated the government and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

Between 1947 and 1951, more than 6 million federal employees were screened for their loyalty—a term difficult to define. A person might become a suspect for reading certain books, belonging to various groups, traveling overseas, or even seeing certain foreign films. About 14,000 employees were subject to scrutiny by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Some 2,000 employees quit their jobs

<b>R</b> Reading Strategies	<b>C</b> Critical Thinking	<b>D</b> Differentiated Instruction	<b>W</b> Writing Support	<b>S</b> Skill Practice
<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Making Connections, pp. 775, 781</li> <li>• Inferring, p. 775</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Guided Reading Act., URB p. 118</li> <li>• Prim. Source Reading, URB p. 105</li> </ul>	<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognizing Bias, p. 776</li> <li>• Det. Cause/Effect, p. 777</li> <li>• Interpreting, p. 778</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Supreme Court Case Studies, p. 69</li> <li>• Link. Past and Present, URB p. 102</li> <li>• Interpret. Political Cartoons, URB p. 109</li> <li>• Quizzes/Tests, p. 317</li> </ul>	<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visual/Spatial, pp. 776, 780</li> <li>• Kinesthetic, p. 777</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Differentiated Instruct. Act., URB p. 91</li> </ul>	<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Descriptive Writing, p. 778</li> </ul>	<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visual Literacy p. 780</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Read. Essen., p. 253</li> <li>• Historical Analysis Skills Act., URB p. 90</li> </ul>

## PRIMARY SOURCE

## The Hunt for Spies, 1947–1954

▲ *Hiss v. Chambers*, 1948

In 1948, Whittaker Chambers, a *TIME* magazine editor and former Communist Party member, testified that U.S. diplomat Alger Hiss was a Communist. Hiss denied being a spy or a member of the Communist Party. Evidence provided by Chambers led to Hiss being convicted of perjury.

▲ *Loyalty and Dissent, Oppenheimer*, 1953

Although he had led the effort to develop the atomic bomb, Dr. Robert Oppenheimer's left-wing views and opposition to the hydrogen bomb led to the suspension of his security clearance and controversial public hearings.

## Analyzing VISUALS

- Summarizing** What were the Rosenbergs accused of and what was the result?
- Explaining** Why was Robert Oppenheimer's security clearance suspended?

▶ *The Rosenbergs Are Convicted*, 1950

In 1950 the hunt for spies who had given U.S. nuclear secrets to the Soviets led to the arrest of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Accused of running a Soviet spy network, the Rosenbergs became the first civilians executed for espionage in 1953. Their case was controversial and led to public protests.



during the check, many under pressure. Another 212 were fired for "questionable loyalty," although no actual evidence against them was uncovered.

## House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)

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

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

machinations of sinister figures engaged in un-American activities." Hoover's aim was to expose not just Communists but also "Communist sympathizers" and "fellow travelers." Under Hoover's leadership, the FBI sent agents to infiltrate groups suspected of subversion and wiretapped thousands of telephones.

**Hollywood on Trial** One of HUAC's first hearings in 1947 focused on the film industry as a powerful cultural force that Communists might **manipulate** to spread their ideas and influence. HUAC's interviews routinely began, "Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?" Future American president Ronald Reagan was head of the Screen Actors Guild at the time and, when called before HUAC, he testified that there were Communists in Hollywood.

## Teach

R<sub>1</sub> Reading Strategy

**Making Connections** Have students work in small groups and come up with a definition for *loyalty*. Discuss as a class why it is difficult to define an abstraction in absolute terms. **OL**

R<sub>2</sub> Reading Strategy

**Inferring** HUAC was concerned that Communists were using the American film industry to disseminate their ideas. **Ask:** *Why did this tactic seem plausible?* (Students might say that films reached large audiences, so many Americans would be exposed to Communist ideas—and it would happen without their knowledge or consent.) **OL**

## Analyzing VISUALS

## Answers:

- They were accused of running a Soviet spy network. They were executed.
- He opposed the hydrogen bomb and had left-wing views.

## Additional Support

## Activity: Collaborative Learning

**Identifying Points of View** Many members of Hollywood were brought before the HUAC; half provided names for the committee to investigate, the other half refused to name names. Nine screenwriters and one director went to jail. Nearly 300 writers, directors, and actors were "blacklisted," or unable to get jobs. One actor, Charlie Chaplin, left the United States. Others changed their names to get work.

Have students work in groups to research HUAC versus Hollywood. They may use actual transcripts or articles, many of which can be found on the Internet. **Ask:** *Is it un-American to produce a film that contains Communist propaganda? What films were identified as "Communistic"? Does the entertainment business have the power to manipulate public opinion? Was Hollywood a menace to society? Did HUAC*

*violate citizens' right to free speech?* Have students prepare a five minute presentation, offering their views on these questions. Ask students to use specific examples to support their findings. **OL**



## D Differentiated Instruction

**Visual/Spatial** Have students write two newspaper headlines about the execution of the Rosenbergs. One headline should be from the point of view of someone who believes that the Rosenbergs were innocent of the charges, and the other should be from the point of view of someone who is convinced of their guilt. **OL**

## G Critical Thinking

**Recognizing Bias Ask:** Do you think union members, schools or universities, churches, or businesses have the right to make members divulge information about their political views? Why or why not? (Responses will vary. Most students will suggest that political views are private and protected under the Constitution.) **OL**

### Reading Check

**Answer:** to discover Communists who might have infiltrated the U.S. government or areas of American society

## Additional Support

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. In 1950 a pamphlet called *Red Channels* was published, listing 151 blacklisted actors, directors, broadcasters, and screenwriters. The blacklist created an atmosphere of distrust and fear.

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

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

The committee was ready to drop the investigation until Representative Richard Nixon of California **convinced** his colleagues to continue the hearings to determine whether Hiss or Chambers had lied. Chambers produced copies of secret documents, along with microfilm that he had hidden in a hollow pumpkin on his farm. These “pumpkin papers,” Chambers claimed, proved Hiss was lying. A jury agreed and convicted Hiss of **perjury**, or lying under oath.

**The Rosenbergs** Another sensational spy case centered on accusations that American Communists had sold the secrets of the atomic bomb to the Soviets. Many people did not believe that the Soviet Union could have produced an atomic bomb in 1949 without help. This belief intensified the hunt for spies.

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

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

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

The messages collected using Project Venona confirmed extensive Soviet spying and an ongoing effort 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

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

The Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 required union leaders to take oaths that they were not Communists, but many union leaders did not object. Instead, they launched their own efforts to purge Communists from their organizations. The president of the CIO called Communist sympathizers “skulking cowards” and “apostles of hate.” The CIO eventually expelled 11 unions that refused to remove Communist leaders from their organization.

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

## Activity: Interdisciplinary Connection

**Civics** Many people, including Albert Einstein and Pope Pius XII urged clemency for the Rosenbergs. Files released after the fall of the Soviet Union seem to indicate that the Rosenbergs were guilty. However, information revealed in a 1996 interview with David Greenglass, Ethel Rosenberg’s brother, puts Ethel’s guilt in doubt.

Have students research the details of the trial. **Ask:** Who were the Rosenbergs? How did they come under suspicion? Why was the trial so highly publicized? What were the official charges? Why were they sentenced to death? How many people protested their execution? What exactly did the Venona transcripts reveal about them?

Have students write a two-page summary of their findings to present in class. Encourage students to include photos in their reports. **OL**

## McCarthyism

**MAIN Idea** Senator Joseph R. McCarthy used the fear of communism to increase his own power and destroy the reputations of many people.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Have you ever known anyone who spread untrue stories about others? Read on to find out about the false accusations that Senator McCarthy spread in the early 1950s.

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

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

### PRIMARY SOURCE

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

—quoted in *The Fifties*

The Associated Press picked up the statement and sent it to newspapers nationwide. While at an airport, reporters asked McCarthy to see his list of Communists. 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 to make charges and draw attention.

McCarthy's use of sensationalist charges was not new. When he ran for the Senate in 1946, he accused his opponent, Robert M. La Follette, Jr., of being "communistically inclined." McCarthy did not provide any evidence to support his accusation, but it helped him win the election.

## C Critical Thinking

**Determining Cause and Effect** McCarthy accused people of being Communists with no evidence. **Ask:** Why was McCarthy so successful in getting the press to believe his claims, even though he had no evidence? (People were extremely fearful.) **OL**

## D Differentiated Instruction

**Kinesthetic** Illustrate how baseless yet powerful McCarthy was by designating some students as "Communists" for a day. Arbitrarily assign these students to sit in a different part of the class. Do not call on them or let others talk to them. They can only rejoin the group if they identify someone else as a Communist. The accused will join the isolated group. **OL**

### POLITICAL CARTOONS PRIMARY SOURCE

#### McCarthyism



▲ President Eisenhower and CIA Director Allen Dulles try not to make any noise in the hope that the "bull," Joe McCarthy, will go away without doing much damage.



◀ The wall of the U.S. State Department is smeared by McCarthy.

### Analyzing VISUALS

- Explaining** What does the cartoon on the left imply about President Eisenhower's leadership during the McCarthy era?
- Assessing** Which cartoon do you think is more critical of McCarthy? Why?

## Role-Playing to Demonstrate McCarthyism in Action

**Step 3: Staging the Hearing** **Essential Question:** Does the role-play or mock hearing succeed in reflecting what happened and give a sense of why McCarthy ultimately failed? (Performers' Perspective)

**Directions** Students will perform the role-play before the entire class. Viewers can take notes and ask questions after the performance.

**Putting It Together** After the performance, the students who created and performed the mock-hearing should meet. They can then decide if they need to revise it in any way based on audience feedback. **OL**

(Chapter Project continued on page 785)

### Analyzing VISUALS

#### Answers:

- he refused to condemn McCarthy
- Answers will vary. Students should support their choice.

## Hands-On Chapter Project Step 3

**C Critical Thinking**

**Interpreting** Truman vetoed the McCarran Bill stating, “The basic error of this bill is that it moves in the direction of suppressing opinion and belief...that would make a mockery of the Bill of Rights and of our claims to stand for freedom in the world.” Ask students if they agree with Truman or Congress, which overrode his veto. **Ask:** Do you think a bill such as the McCarran Act could become law in present times? (Responses will vary.) **OL**

**W Writing Support**  
**Descriptive Writing**

McCarthyism was often called the “Witch Hunt of the 1950s.” Have students research and explain the metaphor in a one-page paper. (Students should compare McCarthyism to the Puritan persecution of women in Salem.) **AL**

**Reading Check**

**Answer:** it ruined many careers, colored political life, and influenced popular culture

**Additional Support**

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

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

**The McCarran Act**

In 1950, with the Korean War underway and McCarthy and others arousing fears of Communist spies, Congress passed the Internal Security Act, usually called the **McCarran Act**. Declaring that “world Communism has as its sole purpose the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship in America,” Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada offered a way to fight “treachery, infiltration, sabotage, and terrorism.” The act made it illegal to “combine, conspire, or agree with any other person to perform any act which would substantially contribute to . . . the establishment of a totalitarian government.”

The McCarran Act required all Communist Party and “Communist-front” organizations to publish their records and register with the United States attorney general. Communists could not have passports to travel abroad and, in cases of a national emergency, Communists and Communist sympathizers 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, however, limited the scope of the McCarran Act.

**McCarthy's Tactics**

After the Republicans won control of Congress in 1952, McCarthy became chairman of the Senate subcommittee on investigations. Using the power of his committee to force government officials to testify about alleged

Communist influences, McCarthy turned the investigation into a witch hunt—a search for disloyalty based on flimsy evidence and irrational fears. His tactic of damaging reputations with vague and unfounded charges became known as **McCarthyism**.

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

**McCarthy's Downfall**

In 1954 McCarthy began to look for Soviet spies in the United States Army. During weeks of televised Army-McCarthy 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, now exploded at McCarthy for possibly ruining the young man’s career: “Until this moment, I think I never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness. . . . You have done enough. Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?”

Spectators cheered. Welch had said aloud what many Americans had been thinking. As Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri commented, “The American people have had a look at you for six weeks. You are not fooling anyone.” McCarthy had lost the power to arouse fear. Newspaper headlines repeated: “Have you no sense of decency?”

Later that year, the Senate passed a vote of **censure**, or formal disapproval, against McCarthy—one of the most serious criticisms it can level against a member. Although he remained in the Senate, McCarthy had lost all influence. He died in 1957.

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

**Activity: Technology Connection**

**Identifying Points of View** News writers, radio broadcasters, average Americans, and even well-known and respected politicians were afraid to speak out against McCarthy for fear they would be next to face his committee (HUAC). When the McCarthy hearings were televised, it drew national attention. The American people were able to witness the bullying techniques of McCarthy.

When McCarthy began attacking the United States Army, he had gone too far. Those who had remained silent finally spoke up, including Edward R. Murrow, an experienced television broadcaster. On March 9, 1954, Murrow used his television program, *See It Now*, to express his views on McCarthyism. Have students use the Internet and library to discover what Murrow said and how the American public reacted. Have students

work in groups to present a “live” or “prerecorded” TV talk show that reflects Murrow’s stance, public reaction, and McCarthy’s spin on the broadcast. **AL**





## Are There Limits on Congressional Power?

### ★ *Watkins v. United States*, 1957

#### Background to the Case

In 1954 labor organizer John Watkins testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee. He agreed to discuss his own connections with the Communist Party and to identify people he knew who were still members, but he refused to give information 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.

#### How the Court Ruled

The Watkins case raised the question: Is it constitutional for a congressional committee to ask any question or investigate any topic, whether or not it is directly related to Congress’s law-making function? In a 6-to-1 decision—two members did not participate—the Supreme Court held that the activities of HUAC during its investigations were, indeed, beyond the scope of the stated aims of the committee, as well as the authority of congressional powers.

#### PRIMARY SOURCE

##### The Court’s Opinion

“The power of the Congress to conduct investigations is inherent in the legislative process. That power is broad. . . . But, broad as is this power of inquiry, it is not unlimited. There is no general authority to expose the private affairs of individuals without justification in terms of the functions of the Congress. . . . Nor is the Congress a law enforcement or trial agency. These are functions of the executive and judicial departments of government. No inquiry is an end in itself; it must be related to, and in furtherance of, a legitimate task of the Congress. Investigations conducted solely for the personal aggrandizement of the investigators or to “punish” those investigated are indefensible.”

—Chief Justice Earl Warren, writing for the majority in *Watkins v. United States*



▲ Senator Joseph McCarthy (above) symbolized the fears of the early 1950s, when communist spies were suspected to have infiltrated all aspects of American society. Together, McCarthy’s committee in the Senate and the House Un-American Activities Committee used their power to subpoena people to investigate their loyalty. As a result many reputations were smeared and careers ruined.

#### PRIMARY SOURCE

##### Dissenting View

“It may be that at times the House Committee on Un-American Activities has, as the Court says, “conceived of its task in the grand view of its name.” And, perhaps, as the Court indicates, the rules of conduct placed upon the Committee by the House admit of individual abuse and unfairness. But that is none of our affair. So long as the object of a legislative inquiry is legitimate and the questions propounded are pertinent thereto, it is not for the courts to interfere with the committee system of inquiry. To hold otherwise would be an infringement on the power given the Congress to inform itself. . . .”

—Justice Tom Campbell Clark, author of the dissenting opinion in *Watkins v. United States*

#### More About the Case

Watkins, who was an active leader in the labor movement, was identified by witnesses as Communist. Watkins testified freely about his own activities, admitting to participating in some Communist activities and to making contributions. As a union official, he also worked closely with the Communist Party. However, Watkins denied that he was ever a “card carrying member” of the Communist Party, and he refused to answer questions about others who may have been members of the Communist Party, claiming that information was not relevant to the Committee’s work.

#### DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. must be based on the law-making, or legislative duties, of Congress
2. He argued that Congress was pursuing an inquiry on a “legitimate” topic, and the judicial branch should not interfere.
3. Warren appears to have been hostile to HUAC.

#### DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. **Explaining** On what does Warren say a congressional inquiry must always be based?
2. **Discussing** Why does Clark disagree with the majority opinion?
3. **Making Inferences** What opinion do you think Warren had of HUAC?

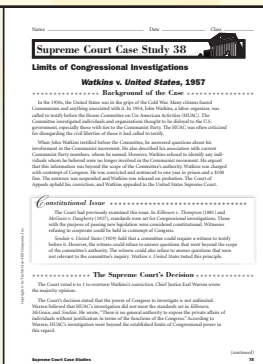
## Differentiated Instruction

## Analyzing a Supreme Court Decision

- Objective:** Learn how judicial review was applied to a refusal to answer questions of the HUAC.
- Focus:** Identify the central issue of the case: Congressional powers of investigation are not unlimited.
- Teach:** Discuss the Court’s opinion.
- Assess:** Explain the importance of the case (First and Fifth Amendment rights).
- Close:** Write a paragraph summarizing the case.

#### Differentiated Instruction Strategies

- BL** Define *judicial review* using your own words.
- AL** Write a brief essay in which you argue against the Court’s decision.
- ELL** Create a list of all of the unfamiliar words in the reading. Then work with a partner to define them.



Case Study 38: *Watkins v. United States*, p. 75

## D Differential Instruction

**Visual/Spatial** Have students create a chart that includes all the nations that have developed nuclear weapons since 1945. The chart should include the name of the country and the year it conducted its first nuclear test. **OL**

## S Skill Practice

**Visual Literacy** Have students look at the school picture and the bomb shelter. **Ask:** *How did people think they were going to survive a nuclear bomb?* (by covering their heads and eyes, hiding underground, eating canned food) **Ask:** *Have you seen any old fallout shelter signs in your community? If so, where are they located?* (Answers will vary.) **BL**

## Analyzing VISUALS

### Answers:

1. to protect people from a nuclear bomb blast
2. If a nuclear bomb were dropped, most services would not be available. Each person would have to fend for himself.

## Additional Support

## Life During the Early Cold War

**MAIN Idea** Obsessed with fear of a nuclear attack, many Americans took steps to protect themselves.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Have you ever felt the need to protect yourself from something dangerous or scary? Read to learn more about how Americans tried to deal with their fears during the early 1950s.

The Red Scare and the spread of nuclear weapons had a profound impact on American life in the 1950s. Fear of communism and of nuclear war affected the thinking and choices of many ordinary Americans, as well as their leaders in government. Some Americans responded by preparing to survive a nuclear

attack, while others became active in politics in an effort to shape government policy. Writers responded by describing the dangers of atomic war and the threat of communism—sometimes to convince people to take action and sometimes to protest policies they feared might lead to war.

## Facing the Bomb

Already upset by the first Soviet atomic test 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 prepared for a surprise Soviet attack. Schools set aside special areas as bomb shelters. In bomb drills, students learned to

### PRIMARY SOURCE

## Living with the Bomb in the 1950s

The Cold War convinced many in American society that they needed to be prepared to survive a nuclear attack. While authorities made Civil Defense plans, individuals took it upon themselves to build bomb shelters and stockpile supplies.

**S** In the 1950s school children took part in “duck-and-cover” drills designed to give them a chance at surviving a nuclear blast if they were far enough from the epicenter.



**▲** The Civil Defense Agency set up bomb shelters in cities, and made plans to assist survivors after an attack. Today the Civil Defense Agency is known as FEMA—the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

**◀** Some Americans invested in personal bomb shelters stocked with food to allow them to survive a bomb blast and the radiation that would follow.

### Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Explaining** What was the purpose of the “duck-and-cover” drills and bomb shelters?
2. **Making Inferences** Even if some preparations would not work, why might the government have wanted people to prepare for war?



780 Chapter 22 The Cold War Begins

## Activity: Interdisciplinary Connection

**Literature** The literature and pop culture of the 1950s reflected themes that were often in conflict with one another. On one side, the view was annihilistic, filled with anti-Communism hysteria and the threat of nuclear war. Ray Bradbury’s *The Martian Chronicles* features a doomsday view of the future. Science fiction movies such as *The Invasion of the Body Snatchers* were allegories for communist (alien) subversion.

The other side portrayed an unrealistic view of family life in suburbia. Houses were filled with new appliances and perfect children. Television shows such as *Ozzie and Harriet* and *Leave It To Beaver* portrayed families who were not concerned about bomb shelters or communism.

Have students read some of Bradbury’s stories, look at movie posters from the 1950s,

and watch a few episodes of 1950s sitcoms to create a poster with a 1950s theme to be shared with the class. **OL**



## Section 3 REVIEW

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

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

### Popular Culture in the Cold War

Worries about nuclear war and Communist infiltration filled the public’s imagination. Cold War themes soon appeared in films, plays, television, the titles of dance tunes, and popular fiction.

In 1953 Arthur Miller’s thinly veiled criticism of the Communist witchhunts, *The Crucible*, appeared on Broadway. The play remains popular today as a cautionary tale about how hysteria can lead to false accusations. Matt Cvetich was an FBI undercover informant who secretly infiltrated the Communist Party in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. His story captivated magazine readers in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1950 and came to movie screens the next year as *I Was a Communist for the FBI*. Another suspense film, *Walk East on Beacon* (1951), features the FBI’s activities in an espionage case.

In 1953 television took up the theme with a series about an undercover FBI counterspy who was also a Communist Party official. Each week, *I Led Three Lives* kept television viewers on edge. Popular tunes such as “Atomic Boogie” and “Atom Bomb Baby” played on the radio.

In 1954 author Philip Wylie published *Tomorrow!* This novel describes the horrific effects of nuclear war on an unprepared American city. As an adviser on civil defense, Wylie had failed to convince the federal government to play a strong role in building bomb shelters. Frustrated, he wrote 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 entire contents of the August 1946 edition of *The New Yorker* magazine, the book provides the firsthand accounts of six survivors of the U.S. dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan. Not only did it make some Americans question the use of the bomb, *Hiroshima* also underscored the real and personal horrors of a nuclear attack.

At the same time that these fears were haunting Americans, 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 secure.

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

#### Vocabulary

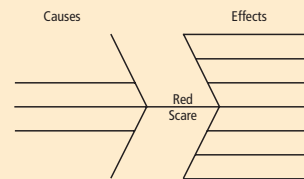
- 1. Explain** the significance of: Red Scare, subversion, loyalty review program, Alger Hiss, perjury, McCarran Act, McCarthyism, censure, fallout.

#### Main Ideas

- 2. Explaining** What was the result of President Truman’s loyalty review program?
- 3. Analyzing** Hearings to investigate Communist subversion in what organization led to McCarthy’s downfall?
- 4. Identifying** What event made Americans fearful of a nuclear attack by the Soviets?

#### Critical Thinking

- 5. Big Ideas** How did the Red Scare and McCarthyism change American society and government?
- 6. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the causes and effects of the Red Scare of the 1950s.



- 7. Analyzing Visuals** Study the cartoons on page 777. Which cartoon do you think makes the stronger point? Explain.

#### Writing About History

- 8. Persuasive Writing** Suppose that you are a newspaper editor during the Army-McCarthy hearings. Write an editorial giving reasons why people should support or condemn Senator McCarthy.

#### History ONLINE

**Study Central™** To review this section, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.

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## R Reading Strategy

**Making Connections Ask:** Why would John Hersey’s book *Hiroshima* have been so popular during the Cold War? (It tied together the recent history of using an atomic bomb to people’s fears that the U.S. would soon be victims of a nuclear attack.) **OL**

### Reading Check

**Answer:** Americans prepared for a surprise Soviet attack, worried about a nuclear war, and watched films and read books about Communist infiltrations.

## Assess

### History ONLINE

**Study Central™** provides summaries, interactive games, and online graphic organizers to help students review content.

## Close

**Identifying** Have students break into groups and discuss how American society reflected fears of the nuclear age. **OL**

## Section 3 REVIEW

## Answers

- All definitions can be found in the section and the Glossary.
- Six million federal employees were screened for their loyalty, 2,000 employees quit their jobs, and 212 were fired.
- the U.S. Army
- The Soviets successfully tested a hydrogen bomb in 1953.
- While people were enjoying postwar prosperity and optimism, they feared communism and an atomic attack.
- Causes: Alger Hiss Trial, Rosenbergs, Russia’s successful test of an atomic bomb  
Effects: Loyalty Review Program, HUAC, McCarran Act, McCarthyism, fallout shelters, blacklists, duck-and-cover, and so on
- Responses will vary. Students should support their answers with sound reasoning.
- Editorials will vary but should reflect a position supported with persuasive reasons.





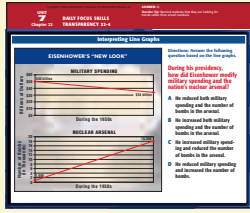
# Eisenhower's Cold War Policies

## Focus



### Bellringer

Daily Focus Transparency 22-4



### Guide to Reading

**Answers:**

brinkmanship, covert operations, massive retaliation



To generate student interest and provide a springboard for class discussion, access the Chapter 22, Section 4 video at [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) or on the video DVD.

### Guide to Reading

**Big Ideas**  
**Science and Technology** Nuclear technology enabled Eisenhower to change U.S. military policy, while new missile technology marked the beginning of the space age.

- Content Vocabulary**
- massive retaliation (p. 783)
  - brinkmanship (p. 783)
  - covert (p. 785)
  - developing nation (p. 785)
  - military-industrial complex (p. 787)

- Academic Vocabulary**
- imply (p. 786)
  - response (p. 787)
- People and Events to Identify**
- Central Intelligence Agency (p. 785)
  - Sputnik (p. 787)

**Reading Strategy**  
**Organizing** Complete a concept web similar to the one below by filling in aspects of Eisenhower's Cold War Policies.



President Eisenhower believed developing new technology to deliver nuclear weapons would help prevent war. He also directed the CIA to use covert operations in the struggle to contain communism.

### Massive Retaliation

**MAIN Idea** Eisenhower fought the Cold War by increasing the U.S. nuclear arsenal and using the threat of nuclear war to end conflicts in Korea, Taiwan, and the Suez.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you know anyone who uses threats to get his or her way? Read further to learn about Eisenhower's use of nuclear threats to achieve foreign policy goals.

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 no 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 in 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 in the Cold War was not simply military might but also a strong economy. The United States had to show the world that free enterprise could produce 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."

### Resource Manager

R Reading Strategies	C Critical Thinking	D Differentiated Instruction	W Writing Support	S Skill Practice
<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Explaining, p. 787</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Guided Reading Act., URB p. 119</li> <li>• Am. History in Graphic Novel, p. 57</li> <li>• Prim. Source Reading, URB p. 103</li> </ul>	<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Analyzing Info., p. 783</li> <li>• Speculating, p. 784</li> <li>• Drawing Con., p. 785</li> <li>• Evaluating, p. 786</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Supreme Court Case Studies, p. 77</li> <li>• Quizzes/Tests, p. 318</li> <li>• Authentic Assess., p. 49</li> </ul>	<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visual/Spatial, p. 784</li> <li>• Gifted and Talented, p. 786</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• American Art and Music Act., URB p. 107</li> <li>• Enrichment Act., URB p. 113</li> <li>• Reteaching Act., URB p. 111</li> </ul>	<p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cont. Vocab. Act., URB p. 95</li> <li>• Academic Vocab. Act., URB p. 97</li> </ul>	<p><b>Teacher Edition</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Using Geo. Skills, p. 785</li> </ul> <p><b>Additional Resources</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Time Line Act., URB p. 101</li> <li>• Read. Essen., p. 256</li> </ul>

# TECHNOLOGY & HISTORY

**Cold War Technology** President Eisenhower's emphasis on nuclear weapons required new technology to deliver them. Eisenhower 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 in Europe.



**▲ Long-Range Bombers**

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

**▶ ICBMs**

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 (right) was the first American ICBM. It was also used to launch the first seven U.S. astronauts. It is still used today to launch satellites.



Sixteen missiles were carried in silos located here.



**◀ Missile Submarines**

Eisenhower also began a program to build submarines capable of launching nuclear missiles from underwater. The Polaris submarine (left) launched in 1960 and carried 16 nuclear missiles.

**Analyzing VISUALS**

- 1. Determining Cause and Effect** How did Eisenhower's nuclear strategy lead to the development of new technologies?
- 2. Defining** What is an ICBM and what is its purpose?

## Teach

**C Critical Thinking**

**Analyzing Information** Have students create a T-chart. One column should list the advantages of massive retaliation; the other column should list the disadvantages. Lead a discussion as to whether massive retaliation is a sound policy. **OL**

**Analyzing VISUALS**

**Answers:**

- Nuclear weapons had to be delivered quickly and with little or no harm to Americans. Special planes required new technology—their range had to be longer with an ability to fly higher. Missiles that were launched from land and from submarines were also developed.
- intercontinental ballistic missile; its purpose was to reach its target within 30 minutes—no pilot required.

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 from happening 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**.

The new policy enabled Eisenhower to cut military spending from \$50 billion to \$34 billion. He did this by reducing the size of the army, which was expensive to maintain. At the same time, he increased the U.S. nuclear arsenal from about 1,000 bombs in 1953 to about 18,000 bombs in 1961.

### Brinkmanship

President Eisenhower's willingness to threaten nuclear war to maintain peace worried some people. However, Secretary of State

John Foster Dulles, the dominant figure in the nation's foreign policy in the 1950s, strongly defended this approach:

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

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

—quoted in *Rise to Globalism*

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

## Differentiated Instruction

## Writing a Narrative Essay

- Objective:** Examine a speech regarding the policy of containment.
- Focus:** Read the speech to determine the message.
- Teach:** List the reasons Dulles gives to support his argument.
- Assess:** Write an essay either supporting or contradicting Dulles' opinion.
- Close:** Ask students: In your opinion, why did containment fail?

**Differentiated Instruction Strategies**

- BL** List the examples Dulles gives. Why does he give these examples?
- AL** Find another primary source about containment.
- ELL** Outline the speech.

Primary Source Reading 22-1

**Containment or Liberation?**

**About the Selection**

Excerpted from a speech given by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in 1951, this selection discusses the U.S. policy of containment. In his words, a "policy of which the purpose is to prevent the spread of communism." The speech also discusses the U.S. policy of massive retaliation.

**Reader's Dictionary**

**Reading to Learn**

**Guided Reading**

**Close Reading**

**Writing to Learn**

**1. Analyzing Cause and Effect**

How did the U.S. policy of containment lead to the development of nuclear weapons?

**2. Analyzing Cause and Effect**

How did the U.S. policy of massive retaliation lead to the development of nuclear weapons?

**3. Analyzing Cause and Effect**

How did the U.S. policy of massive retaliation lead to the development of nuclear weapons?

**C Critical Thinking**

**Speculating** Remind students that during the Korean War, Truman did not want to fight China; MacArthur wanted to use atomic weapons. Eisenhower “hinted” that he would use nuclear bombs, and the Chinese backed off. **Ask:** **Did Eisenhower do the right thing? Should Truman have used a similar threat?** Write student responses on the board and decide as a class which president took the best approach to end the war. **OL**

**D Differentiated Instruction**

**Visual/Spatial** Have students create a time line, listing actions the North Koreans have taken in the last ten years. **Ask:** **How should the U.S. and the world deal with North Korea?** (Responses will vary.) **OL**

**Turning Point**

Essays will vary but should include an opinion supported with information from the text.

**Additional Support**

**History ONLINE Student Skill Activity** To learn how to create a multimedia presentation visit [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and complete the skill activity.

**The Korean War Ends**

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

**C** Eisenhower became convinced that the ongoing battle was costing too many lives and bringing too few victories. He was determined to bring the war to an end. The president then quietly let the Chinese know that the United States might continue the Korean War “under circumstances of our own choosing”—a hint at a nuclear attack.

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

**The Taiwan Crisis**

Shortly after the Korean War ended, a new crisis erupted in Asia. Although Communists had taken power in mainland China, the Nationalists still controlled Taiwan and several

**Turning Point**

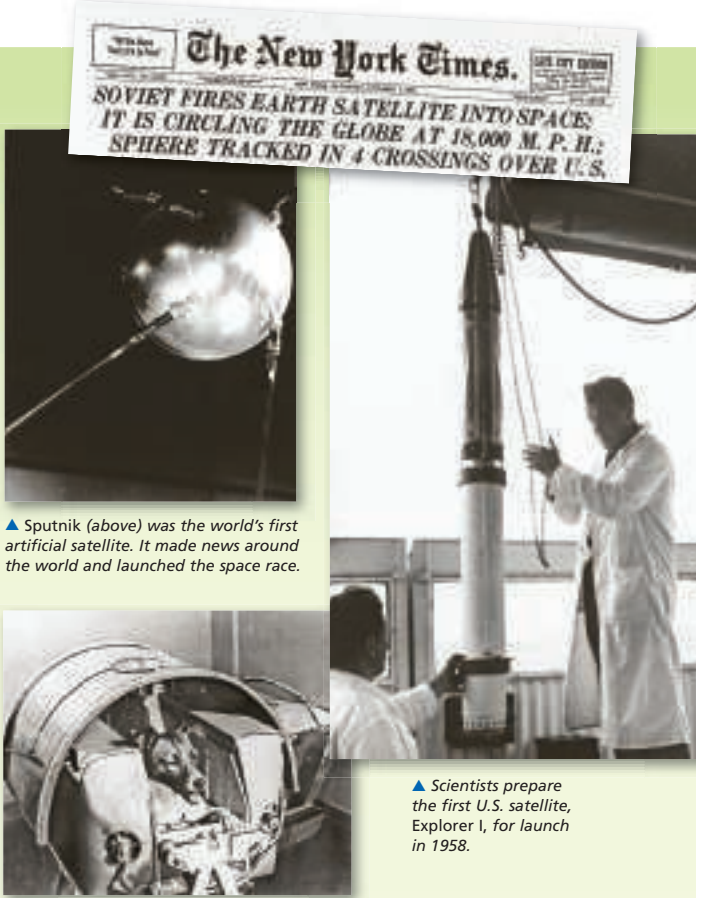
**Sputnik Launches a Space Race**

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 demonstrated this technology by launching *Sputnik*, the first artificial satellite to orbit Earth.

Worried that the United States was falling behind, Congress created the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) to coordinate missile research and space exploration. It also passed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA), which provided funds for education in science, math, and foreign languages.

*Sputnik* marked 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 the other nation. Today, satellites are a vital part of modern communications and travel. They transmit television and cell phone signals, and the satellites of the Global Positioning System (GPS) help ships and airplanes to navigate. Hikers and drivers can also buy GPS receivers to help determine where they are.

**ANALYZING HISTORY** Do you think missile and satellite technology helped prevent conflict during the Cold War or made the Cold War worse? Create a multimedia presentation on the Space Race and how it has changed American society.



▲ Sputnik (above) was the world’s first artificial satellite. It made news around the world and launched the space race.

▲ Scientists prepare the first U.S. satellite, Explorer I, for launch in 1958.

▲ Sputnik II, launched only a month after Sputnik, carried the first living creature into orbit—an “astro” dog named Laika.

**Extending the Content**

**Space Race** New technology led to planes that could fly across continents at very high altitudes and deliver nuclear bombs. Americans were sure they were ahead of the Russians in the arms race. But *Sputnik* shocked and terrified them. Then, on November 3, 1957, the Soviets stunned the Americans again when they launched *Sputnik 2* with a live dog on board! America met this challenge head on. On January 31, 1958,

*Explorer 1* lifted off from Cape Canaveral, Florida. The United States had just launched its first artificial satellite. Less than a year after the launch of *Sputnik 1*, Congress approved the creation of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). Its mission was to develop an unmanned moon probe, hoping to be the first to the moon. Its goal, however, was a human space exploration program.



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 the Chinese that any attack on Taiwan would be resisted by U.S. naval forces stationed nearby and hinted that they would use nuclear weapons to stop an invasion. Soon afterward, China backed down.

## The Suez Crisis

The following year, a serious crisis erupted in the Middle East. Eisenhower's goal in that region was 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 was forced to withdraw the offer. A week later, Egyptian troops seized control of the Suez Canal from the Anglo-French company that had controlled it. The Egyptians intended to use the canal's profits to pay for the dam.

The British and French responded quickly to the Suez Crisis. In October 1956, British and French troops invaded Egypt. Eisenhower was furious with Britain and France. 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 them—and if necessary, with everything in the bucket."

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

 **Identifying** What was brinkmanship?

## Covert Operations

**MAIN Idea** Eisenhower directed the Central Intelligence Agency to use covert operations to limit the spread of communism and Soviet influence.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you enjoy reading spy novels? Read on to learn of the development and work of a spy agency in the United States.

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

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, where 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 U.S. objectives took place in Iran and Guatemala. By 1953, Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh had already nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. He seemed ready to make an oil deal with the Soviet Union. The pro-American Shah of Iran tried to force Mossadegh out of office, but 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.

## C Critical Thinking

**Drawing Conclusions** First with Korea and then again with Taiwan, Eisenhower "hints" to China that the U.S. may use nuclear weapons. **Ask:** **How many times do you think a threat like this will work? Is brinkmanship a good diplomatic tool?** (Answers will vary. Students may suggest that it will only work a few times.) **OL**

## S Skills Practice

**Using Geography Skills** Have students locate the Suez Canal on a map. **Ask:** **What two bodies of water does the Suez Canal connect?** (the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea) **BL**

## Reading Check

**Answer:** Brinkmanship is the willingness to go to the brink of war to force the other side to back down.

## Hands-On Chapter Project Step 4

### Role-Playing to Demonstrate McCarthyism in Action

**Step 4: Critiquing the Performance**  
**Essential Question:** **Does the role-play or mock hearing succeed in reflecting what happened and give a sense of why McCarthy ultimately failed?** (Viewers' Perspective)

**Directions** Viewers of the performance should divide into groups or meet as whole to critique the performance. Using their

notes, viewers should evaluate the performance by answering and discussing the following questions:

- What was the main message of the performance?
- How did the performance compare with the description of McCarthyism in the textbook?
- Why did McCarthy's early targets not challenge him when they stood accused?

- Why did support for McCarthy eventually fade?

**Putting It Together** After the discussion, have students divide into groups and each choose one of the questions cited above. Give groups a few minutes to agree on an answer. Then have each group recite their answers. **OL** (Chapter Project continued on the Visual Summary page)

**C Critical Thinking**

**Evaluating** Ask: Is secret aggression by the CIA, such as in Guatemala and Eastern Europe justifiable? Why or why not? What events in your lifetime have shaped your answer? (Responses and examples will vary.) **OL**

**D Differentiated Instruction**

**Gifted and Talented** Have interested students research the cultural, social, and historical factors that affected the Hungarians' reaction to Communist control. Have students present their findings in a brochure form, complete with photos and captions. **AL**

**Analyzing VISUALS**

**Answers:**

1. war
2. Because the U-2 flew so high, it might go undetected.

**Additional Support**

The following year, the CIA intervened in Guatemala. In 1951, with Communist support, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán was elected president of Guatemala. 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 leader of the Soviet Union. 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. With Eisenhower's permission, the CIA arranged for it to be broadcast to Eastern Europe.

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 Budapest, the capital of Hungary, and crushed the rebellion.

**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

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

**The U-2 Incident**

In 1960, the Soviet Union shot down an American U-2 spy plane in Soviet air space. The incident led to a dramatic confrontation at the U.S.-Soviet summit in Paris in 1960.



◀ Calling President Eisenhower "a thief caught red-handed," Soviet Premier Khrushchev warns the Paris summit that further spy flights will lead to war.

▲ The U-2 (above left) was America's most sophisticated spy plane, able to fly higher than any other plane at the time. The pilot, Francis Gary Powers (above right), was captured but later released.

**Analyzing VISUALS**

1. **Paraphrasing** What did Nikita Khrushchev say would be the result of further U.S. aerial spying?
2. **Making Inferences** Why was the U-2 used as a spy plane?

**Activity: Collaborative Learning**

**Determining Cause and Effect** In 1959 Premier Khrushchev visited several cities in the United States and met with President Eisenhower. The two leaders agreed to a summit in Paris the following year. The U-2 incident occurred just weeks before the summit. When Eisenhower thought the pilot was dead, he denied the allegations, but he admitted the truth when

he learned pilot Francis Gary Powers was alive. Khrushchev left Paris before the meeting and withdrew an invitation to Eisenhower to visit the Soviet Union. The focus of the summit was disarmament. Have students use the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library on the Internet to create a poster of the U-2 incident and write a one-page report about what happened to Powers.

**Ask:** Do you think Khrushchev overreacted or do you think he was justified in leaving the summit? **OL**

## Section 4 REVIEW

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 that 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 February 1958 Eisenhower’s concerns appeared to be confirmed when left-wing rebels, believed to be backed by Nasser and the Soviet Union, seized power in Iraq. Fearing that his government was next, the president of Lebanon asked the United States for help. Eisenhower immediately ordered 5,000 marines to Lebanon to protect its capital, Beirut. At the same time, British forces went into Jordan at the request of King Hussein to protect his government. 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.”

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.

At Eisenhower’s invitation, Khrushchev visited the United States in late 1959. After the success of that visit, the two leaders agreed to hold a summit in Paris. A summit is a formal face-to-face meeting of leaders from different countries to discuss important issues.

Shortly before the summit was to begin 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. Eisenhower refused to apologize, saying the flights had protected American security. In **response**, Khrushchev broke up the summit.

In this climate of heightened tension, President Eisenhower prepared to leave office. In January 1961 he delivered a farewell address to the nation. In the address, he pointed out that a new relationship had developed between the military establishment and the defense industry. He warned Americans to be on guard against the influence of this **military-industrial complex** in a democracy. Although he had avoided war and kept communism contained, Eisenhower was also frustrated: “I confess I lay down my official responsibility in this field with a definite sense of disappointment. . . . I wish I could say that a lasting peace is in sight.”

**Reading Check** **Explaining** In what nations did the United States intervene with covert operations?

#### Vocabulary

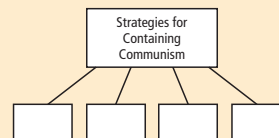
- 1. Explain** the significance of: massive retaliation, brinkmanship, covert, Central Intelligence Agency, developing nation, *Sputnik*, military-industrial complex.

#### Main Ideas

- 2. Summarizing** Why did Eisenhower want to depend on nuclear weapons instead of traditional military approaches to war?
- 3. Defining** What was the goal of the Eisenhower Doctrine?

#### Critical Thinking

- 4. Big Ideas** How did technology shape Eisenhower’s military policy?
- 5. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list Eisenhower’s strategies for containing communism.



- 6. Analyzing Visuals** Study the photograph of Khrushchev on page 786. How does this photograph illustrate the U.S. and Soviet relationship at this point in the Cold War?

#### Writing About History

- 7. Persuasive Writing** Suppose that you are a member of Eisenhower’s Cabinet. Defend or attack brinkmanship as a foreign policy tactic. Be sure to provide specific reasons for your opinions.

#### History ONLINE

**Study Central™** To review this section, go to [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) and click on Study Central.

787

## R Reading Strategy

**Explaining Ask:** Why did Eisenhower warn the American people about the military-industrial power? (He thought a military-industrial power would threaten democracy.) **OL**

### Reading Check

**Answer:** Iran, Guatemala, and the countries of Eastern Europe

## Assess

### History ONLINE

**Study Central™** provides summaries, interactive games, and online graphic organizers to help students review content.

## Close

**Evaluating** Have groups debate the effectiveness of Eisenhower’s foreign policy. **OL**

## Section 4 REVIEW

## Answers

- All definitions can be found in the section and the Glossary.
- He thought large-scale conventional wars were too expensive and would exhaust the economy. Nuclear weapons provided “more bang for the buck.”
- to extend military aid to the Middle East in order to contain communism
- It allowed him to pursue the policy of brinkmanship since the nuclear arsenal was a real threat. It also allowed the U.S. to spy on other nations with satellites and spy planes.

- ```

            graph TD
              A[Strategies for Containing Communism] --- B[ ]
              A --- C[ ]
              A --- D[ ]
              A --- E[ ]
            
```

strong economy  
nuclear weapons for massive retaliation  
brinkmanship  
covert operations

- Khrushchev looks strained and defensive, with his fists clenched, an image that reflects the strained relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.
- Responses will vary but should express an opinion supporting or opposing brinkmanship.





You can study anywhere, anytime by downloading quizzes and flashcards to your PDA from [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).

**Visual/Spatial** Instruct students to use the information on the page and prepare two cause and effect graphic organizers—one for immediate causes of the Cold War and one for long term causes. **OL**

**Evaluating** Ask students to create a T-chart. In one column, have them identify positive effects of the Cold War (*rebuilding Europe, rebuilding Japan, NATO is created*). In the other column, have them list negative effects (*Germany is divided, China falls to communism, HUAC invades people's private lives, more weapons of mass destruction are built*). **Ask: Which effects do you think are neutral?** (*Responses will vary.*) **OL**

## Causes of the Cold War

### Long-Range Causes

- Both the United States and the Soviet Union believe their economic and political systems are superior.
- Defeat of Germany creates a power vacuum in Europe and leaves U.S. and Soviet forces occupying parts of Europe.
- The U.S. wants to rebuild Europe's economy and support democratic governments to ensure peace and security.
- The USSR wants Germany weak and believes nations on the Soviet border should have Communist governments.

### Immediate Causes

- At Yalta, Soviets promise to allow free elections in Eastern Europe but instead gradually impose Communist regimes.
- At Potsdam, Soviets want German reparations, but the U.S. supports rebuilding Germany's economy.
- Soviet troops help Communists in northern Iran, but U.S. pressure forces a withdrawal.
- George Kennan sends the Long Telegram to U.S. officials, explaining that the Soviets need to be contained.
- Soviets send aid to Communist rebels in Greece and demand Turkey share control of the Dardanelles with the USSR; Truman issues the Truman Doctrine and sends aid to Greece and Turkey.



▲ From left to right: British Prime Minister Clement Attlee, U.S. President Harry Truman, and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin at the Potsdam Conference in 1945. The conference contributed to the onset of the Cold War because of disagreements over how to handle postwar Europe.

## Effects of the Cold War

### Effects in Europe

- U.S. launches the Marshall Plan to rebuild Europe.
- Germany is divided into two separate nations.
- The USSR blockades Berlin; U.S. organizes the Berlin Airlift.
- The U.S. creates NATO; the USSR creates the Warsaw Pact.

### Global Effects

- When China falls to communism, the U.S. responds by helping Japan build up its economy and military.
- When Communist North Korea invades South Korea, the U.S. organizes an international force to stop the invasion.

### Effects on the United States

- Soviet spies are arrested.
- A new Red Scare leads to laws restricting the Communist Party in the U.S. and to investigations by the House Un-American Activities Committee and Senator Joseph McCarthy.
- Americans practice civil defense; some build bomb shelters.
- President Eisenhower orders the development of new rockets, bombers, and submarines that can carry nuclear weapons.
- Eisenhower uses the CIA to covertly contain communism.



▲ The Soviet Union displays its nuclear capabilities in the form of these short-range missiles during celebrations commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1957. The nuclear arms race was a part of the Cold War for nearly 40 years.

## Hands-On Chapter Project Step 5: Wrap Up

### Role-Playing to Demonstrate McCarthyism in Action

**Step 5: Wrap Up Essential Question:** What was the impact of McCarthyism? How did it shape American history?

**Directions** Students should draw from each step of the chapter project to write a brief essay that answers the essential question (above). You may want to give students the option of recording their answer to the

essential question and submitting it to you as an audio file.

**Putting It Together** Students will synthesize the information presented and the discussions following each step to summarize the big idea—how McCarthyism impacted the history of the United States. **OL**

# Chapter 22 ASSESSMENT

## Reviewing Vocabulary

Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete the sentence.

- After World War II, the Soviet Union wanted to establish a buffer zone of \_\_\_\_\_ on its European border.
  - developing nations
  - capitalist nations
  - satellite nations
  - demilitarization
- The policy of \_\_\_\_\_ became the main approach in U.S. foreign policy toward the Soviet Union during the Cold War.
  - democracy
  - limited war
  - free trade
  - containment
- Once the Soviet Union tested an atomic bomb, Americans began to fear the effects of \_\_\_\_\_, assuming they initially survived a nuclear attack.
  - fallout
  - censure
  - subversion
  - duck-and-cover
- In his farewell address, President Eisenhower warned the American people about the dangers of \_\_\_\_\_.
  - the Central Intelligence Agency.
  - massive retaliation.
  - the military-industrial complex.
  - brinkmanship.
- Though a professional soldier, President Eisenhower adopted \_\_\_\_\_ as the proper way to battle communism.
  - détente
  - implied response
  - inversion
  - massive retaliation

### Need Extra Help?

|                               |     |     |         |     |     |         |         |     |     |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|---------|-----|-----|---------|---------|-----|-----|
| If You Missed Questions . . . | 1   | 2   | 3       | 4   | 5   | 6       | 7       | 8   | 9   |
| Go to Page . . .              | 765 | 766 | 780–781 | 787 | 783 | 760–761 | 764–765 | 766 | 771 |

## Reviewing Main Ideas

Directions: Choose the best answer for each of the following questions.

### Section 1 (pp. 760–765)

- Which of the following was a major outcome of the Yalta Conference?
  - the division of Germany
  - the terms of Germany's surrender
  - the establishment of satellite nations
  - the establishment of NATO
- At Potsdam, the main conflict was over which of the following?
  - the United Nations
  - the invasion of Japan
  - German reparations
  - nuclear weapons

### Section 2 (pp. 766–773)

- George Kennan first suggested which foreign policy?
  - brinkmanship
  - containment
  - massive retaliation
  - the Marshall Plan
- Which of the following events set off the Korean War?
  - The Japanese invaded South Korea.
  - Soviet-controlled North Korea invaded South Korea.
  - Chinese-controlled North Korea invaded South Korea.
  - The Soviet Union invaded North Korea.

### TEST-TAKING TIP

When you first start a test, review it completely so that you can budget your time most efficiently. For example, if there are essay questions at the end, you will want to be sure you leave enough time to write complete answers.

## Answers and Analyses Reviewing Vocabulary

**1. C** Developing nations are nations that are transforming economically, and are not relevant to the question. Capitalist nations are the opposite of what the USSR would want to set up. Demilitarization is an action, not an object, and does not make grammatical sense.

**2. D** The United States wanted to stop, or contain, the spread of communism. Democracy is not a foreign policy approach. Free trade does not make sense in the context of the Cold War.

**3. A** Fallout is the aftereffect of a nuclear attack. Censure is a political term. Subversion does not make sense in the context of the sentence. Duck and cover was an action that was to be taken during an attack, not after.

**4. C** Eisenhower issued the warning due to the new relationship that had developed between the military and the defense industry. He was afraid their influence would be too far reaching and warned Americans to be on guard.

**5. D** Eisenhower's theory of massive retaliation was that the threat of total nuclear destruction would prevent all war. Fighting small-scale wars would not bring an end to the Cold War.

## Reviewing Main Ideas

**6. A** At the conference, Germany was divided into four parts, one each controlled by the U.S., Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. Berlin was also divided between the four nations. Satellite nations and NATO were not established until after the conference.

**7. C** Truman and Stalin met at Potsdam to discuss mainly what to do with Germany. Truman

believed Germany needed industry to survive and needed money to fuel industry. Stalin wanted reparations from Germany. He was not concerned with the German economy, because the Soviet economy was so devastated.

**8. B** Kennan's proposal of containment of Communism became the basis for American Cold War foreign policy. Brinkmanship and massive retaliation were later policies instituted by Eisenhower's administration. The Marshall Plan was a plan to help rebuild Europe after WWII.

**9. B** It is important that students understand the Korean conflict was between North Korea and South Korea, which eliminates *A* and *D*. However, students may have trouble choosing between *B* and *C*. Students should remember that the Korean War involved the two main players in the Cold War: the U.S. and USSR.

**10. B** The Marshall Plan was aimed at rebuilding Europe after the war. An underlying motivation was to stop the spread of communism—strong European economies would help keep European nations from falling to communism.

**11. A** Remind students that HUAC stands for House Un-American Activities Committee. Un-American activities are anti-American. During the Red Scare that swept the nation in the years following WWII, Communists or those who were believed to be communist “sympathizers” were considered un-American—a threat to the nation.

**12. C** Although many local governments, businesses, unions, etc., asked employees to take loyalty oaths, such as the University of California, all government employees did not have to take an oath. The government did not order all Communist Party chapters to disband. The act did require these organizations to register with the government. The act was passed over Truman’s veto.

**13. B** Students should relate attack to retaliation, which may help them remember the policy of massive retaliation. Containment was the policy under the Truman administration. Subversion is a rebellion or treason, and does not fit. Duck-and-cover was a plan to “survive” a nuclear attack.

**14. D** The Truman Doctrine offered aid to any nation resisting communism and was connected to the policy of containment. The Eisenhower Doctrine was issued in response to the Pan-Arabism movement, which some feared would lead to communism in the Middle East.

- 10.** What was the underlying goal of the Marshall Plan?
- A** to contain Soviet expansion in the Middle East and Asia
  - B** to rebuild European economies to prevent the spread of communism
  - C** to monitor the growth of the military-industrial complex in the United States
  - D** to Americanize Western European nations

**Section 3** (pp. 774–781)

- 11.** After World War II, the purpose of HUAC was to
- A** hold public hearings on Communist subversion.
  - B** locate chapters of the Communist Party.
  - C** administer the loyalty review program.
  - D** create the McCarran Act.
- 12.** The McCarran Act required
- A** every government employee to take a loyalty oath.
  - B** all Communist Party chapters to disband.
  - C** all Communist organizations to register with the government.
  - D** the censure of members of Congress who would not support HUAC.

**Section 4** (pp. 782–787)

- 13.** Eisenhower’s administration developed an approach to foreign policy based on the threat of nuclear attack, known as
- A** containment.
  - B** massive retaliation.
  - C** subversion.
  - D** duck-and-cover.
- 14.** The Eisenhower Doctrine extended the Truman Doctrine to which region?
- A** Asia
  - B** Eastern Europe
  - C** South America
  - D** the Middle East

**Need Extra Help?**

|                               |     |     |     |         |         |         |         |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| If You Missed Questions . . . | 10  | 11  | 12  | 13      | 14      | 15      | 16      |
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**Critical Thinking**

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

Base your answers to questions 15 and 16 on the map below and on your knowledge of Chapter 22.



- 15.** Why was Stalin initially able to control access to West Berlin?
- A** West Berlin was in the Soviet Union.
  - B** West Berlin was ruled by Communists.
  - C** West Berlin was in the Soviet sector of Germany.
  - D** West Berlin had been invaded and occupied by the Red Army.
- 16.** Why did Stalin order a blockade of West Berlin?
- A** West Berlin was primarily agricultural and would help feed the Soviet army.
  - B** Stalin wanted to unite Berlin and organize free elections for Germany.
  - C** Stalin was afraid of the U.S. nuclear technology and wanted a larger buffer zone.
  - D** Stalin wanted the United States to abandon West Berlin.

**Critical Thinking**

**15. C** Although the map is helpful, the incorrect answers are easily eliminated. The map is labeled East Germany, which eliminates A. West Berlin included the American, British, and French sectors, according to the map key, so it was not ruled by Communists and not occupied by the Soviet Army. Berlin was, however, in the Soviet sector.

**16. D** A blockade attempts to keep supplies and food out of a certain area. Keeping food out of West Berlin would not help feed the Soviet army. Stalin wanted to unite Berlin under his own control, and would not want free elections. He wanted the U.S. to leave. West Berlin would not create a significant buffer zone.



# Chapter 22 ASSESSMENT

17. One historical lesson from the McCarthy era is the realization that
- loyalty oaths prevent spying.
  - communism is attractive in prosperous times.
  - Communist agents had infiltrated all levels of the U.S. government.
  - public fear of traitors can lead to intolerance and discrimination.

Analyze the cartoon and answer the question that follows. Base your answer on the cartoon and on your knowledge of Chapter 22.



18. In this cartoon, the cartoonist is expressing
- pride in America's technological know-how.
  - anxiety that America is behind in the space race.
  - a wish for larger, more elaborate cars.
  - the need to share auto technology with Russia.

## Document-Based Questions

Directions: Analyze the document and answer the short-answer questions that follow the document.

Margaret Chase Smith, a Republican senator from Maine, was a newcomer and the only woman in the Senate. Smith was upset by McCarthy's behavior and hoped that her colleagues would reprimand him. When they failed to do so, Smith 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 from this side of the aisle. I am not proud of the obviously staged, undignified countercharges that have been attempted in retaliation from the other side of the aisle. . . . I am not proud of the way we smear outsiders from the Floor of the Senate and hide behind a cloak of congressional immunity. . . .*

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

—from Declaration of Conscience

19. In the speech, Smith expresses anger with whom? Why?
20. According to Smith, who is really dividing the nation?

## Extended Response

21. Many factors contributed to the development of the Cold War, but could it have been avoided? Write a persuasive essay arguing that actions of the United States or the Soviet Union following World War II might have prevented the Cold War, or that it was inevitable.



### History ONLINE

For additional test practice, use Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 22 at [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com).

#### Need Extra Help?

|                               |         |     |     |     |         |
|-------------------------------|---------|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| If You Missed Questions . . . | 17      | 18  | 19  | 20  | 21      |
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**17. D** The Red Scare during the McCarthy era led many people to discriminate and accept poor or legally suspect treatment of people considered to be Communists and subversives. The culture of fear during the era allowed this discrimination to take place.

**18. B** The car salesman in the cartoon is expressing pride in American know-how, but Uncle Sam looks concerned. Direct students to read the caption. The caption pokes fun at American technology; it says that Americans

were making strides in frivolous things like fins on cars while the USSR had already launched a satellite into space.

## Document-Based Questions

**19.** Smith expresses anger with the members of Senate, both Republican and Democrat, who took part in irresponsible charges and accusations against fellow Americans. She also expresses anger at the way they hide behind congressional immunity to do so.

**20.** Smith believes the Republicans and Democrats in Senate are dividing the nation, playing into the Soviet plan or "confuse, divide, and conquer."

## Extended Response

**21.** Students must take a position either that the Cold War could have been prevented or could not have been prevented. Students should use evidence from the chapter, and possible topics for discussion include Yalta, the Marshall Plan, the Berlin Airlift, and the formation of NATO. Essays should adhere to the guidelines for writing a persuasive essay and should present a clear and well-reasoned argument.

### History ONLINE

Have students visit the Web site at [glencoe.com](http://glencoe.com) to review Chapter 22 and take the Self-Check Quiz.

#### Need Extra Help?

Have students refer to the pages listed if they miss any of the questions.