Partners for Stability
Chapter 1960

Section 3

Graphic Organizer 6:

TEACHING TRANSPARENCIES

Why It Matters Chapter Transparency 21

APPLICATION AND ENRICHMENT

Linking Past and Present Activity 21

Enrichment Activity 21

Primary Source Reading 21

REVIEW AND REINFORCEMENT

Reteaching Activity 21

Vocabulary Activity 21

Time Line Activity 21

Critical Thinking Skills Activity 21

Meeting NCSS Standards

The following standards are highlighted in Chapter 21:

Section 1  BX  Global Connections: B, D, E, G
Section 2  BX  Global Connections: B, C, D, E, G
Section 3  X  Civic Ideals and Practices: C, F
Section 4  VIII  Science, Technology, and Society: B, C

Local Standards

_________________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________________

_________________________________________________________________________
The following videotape programs are available from The History Channel as supplements to Chapter 21:

- Dwight D. Eisenhower: Commander-in-Chief (1-56-501807-9)
- Senator Joseph McCarthy: An American Inquisitor (1-56-501610-6)
- The Rosenbergs (0-76-700193-1)
- Harry S Truman: A New View (1-56-501449-9)

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.aande.com
The History Channel: www.historychannel.com

Use our Web site for additional resources. All essential content is covered in the Student Edition.

You and your students can visit tx.tarvol2.glencoe.com, the Web site companion to the American Republic Since 1877. This innovative integration of electronic and print media offers your students a wealth of opportunities. The student text directs students to the Web site for the following options:

- Chapter Overviews
- Self-Check Quizzes
- Textbook Updates

Answers to the student Web activities are provided for you in the Web Activity Lesson Plans. Additional Web resources and Interactive Tutor Puzzles are also available.
### Section 1: Origins of the Cold War
1. Explain the growing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union at the end of World War II.
2. Identify the goals of Stalin’s foreign policy immediately after the war.

### Section 2: The Early Cold War Years
1. Describe the American view of the Soviet Union and the policy of containment.
2. Explain the causes of the Korean War.

### Section 3: The Cold War and American Society
1. Describe the new Red Scare.
2. Discuss how American society reflected fears of the nuclear age.

### Section 4: Eisenhower’s Policies
1. Evaluate Eisenhower’s military policy known as the “New Look.”
2. Debate the effectiveness of Eisenhower’s foreign policy.

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**Out of Time?**
Assign the Chapter 21 **Reading Essentials and Study Guide.**

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- **Daily Objectives**
- **Reproducible Resources**
- **Multimedia Resources**

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*Also Available in Spanish*
Chapter 21 Resources

INDEX TO NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE

The following articles relate to this chapter.
- “Bikini’s Nuclear Graveyard,” June 1992

ADDITIONAL NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY PRODUCTS

To order the following, call National Geographic at 1-800-368-2728:
- The Complete National Geographic: 109 Years of National Geographic Magazine (CD-ROM)
- Historical Atlas of the United States (Atlas)
- 1945–1989: The Cold War
- “The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union” (Video)

NGS ONLINE

Access National Geographic’s Web site for current events, atlas updates, activities, links, interactive features, and archives.
www.nationalgeographic.com

From the Classroom of…

Tricia Hock
Heritage Academy
Fort Walton Beach, FL

Cold War Interviews

Students work in groups, pairs, or individually to conduct interviews with persons who were alive during the Cold War. Interviews can be with people of different ages, but similar questions can be asked, such as:

- What year were you born? How old were you when you realized the U.S. was in a “Cold War”?
- If you were in school during the Cold War years, did your school conduct air raid drills? How were they conducted?
- Were you afraid the United States would be the target of bombs or missiles? Who did you think would fire them?
- Did anyone you know have a bomb shelter? Did you ever see one? If so, what was it like?
- Did TV, books, or the media heighten the fear of nuclear attack? How?
- When did you realize that the Cold War was over, or coming to an end?

Students should report their findings to the class.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES FROM GLENCOE

- American Music: Cultural Traditions
- American Art & Architecture
- Outline Map Resource Book
- U.S. Desk Map
- Building Geography Skills for Life
- Inclusion for the High School Social Studies Classroom Strategies and Activities
- Teaching Strategies for the American History Classroom (Including Block Scheduling Pacing Guides)

KEY TO ABILITY LEVELS

Teaching strategies have been coded.
L1 BASIC activities for all students
L2 AVERAGE activities for average to above-average students
L3 CHALLENGING activities for above-average students
ELL ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNER activities

Block Schedule

Activities that are suited to use within the block scheduling framework are identified by:
Why It Matters
After World War II, an intense rivalry developed between the United States and the Soviet Union—two superpowers with very different political and economic systems. This rivalry, known as the Cold War, led to a massive buildup of military weapons on both sides. The determination of American leaders to contain communism also led to the Korean War, in which over 54,000 Americans died.

The Impact Today
The effects of Cold War events are still evident today.
- The NATO alliance works to guarantee the security of many democratic countries.
- The math and science training important to the space race remains an educational priority.

Introducing CHAPTER 21

Why It Matters Activity
Ask students how they think the Cold War and the fear of communism might have affected life in the 1950s. Students should evaluate their answers after they have completed the chapter. US: 6G; ELA: Gr9/10: 16E; Gr11: 15E

GLENCOE TECHNOLOGY

The American Republic Since 1877 Video Program
To learn more about the crisis of the Berlin airlift, have students view the Chapter 21 video, “Symbols of the Cold War,” from the American Republic Since 1877 Video Program.

MindJogger Videoquiz
Use the MindJogger Videoquiz to preview Chapter 21 content.

TWO-MINUTE LESSON LAUNCHER
Ask students to identify some of the issues facing the United States today in terms of its relationships with other nations. Then discuss with students how many of these events, such as the political and economic changes in the countries of the former Soviet Union and the continuing unrest in the countries of Southwest Asia, are responses to situations that originated during the post-World War II era. US: 6G
Introducing CHAPTER 21

Organizing Information Have students compare the Soviet and American views of world affairs that led to the Cold War by completing the following graphic organizers. Students’ answers will vary but should show the vastly different approaches taken by the two powers. US: 6G

Soviet Views

World Affairs

American Views

More About the Photo

The day after this meeting, The New York Times published a transcript of the exchange between Nixon and Khrushchev. After asking Nixon how long America had existed, Khrushchev is reported to have said, “One hundred and fifty years? Well then we will say America has been in existence for 150 years and this is the level she has reached. We have existed not quite 42 years and in another seven years we will be on the same level as America. . . . Plainly speaking, if you want capitalism you can live that way. That is your own affair and doesn’t concern us. We can still feel sorry for you, but since you don’t understand us—live as you do understand.”

TIME LINE

ACTIVITY

Have students create a time line for events in the United States spanning 1945 through 1960 using the chapter time line and the section time lines. Instruct students to include months for all events. US: 1B, 25D; ELA: Gr9/10/11: 7D
Main Idea
The detonation of the atomic bomb and the end of World War II led to disagreements among the “Big Three” wartime Allies and a shift in American attitudes toward the Soviet Union.

Key Terms and Names
Cold War, Potsdam, satellite nation, iron curtain

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conferences</th>
<th>Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February 1945</td>
<td>Yalta conference held in the USSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1945</td>
<td>President Roosevelt dies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1945</td>
<td>Potsdam conference convenes in Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1945</td>
<td>Churchill delivers “iron curtain” speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1946</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Answer: A

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

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

Molotov began to explain the Soviet position, but Truman interrupted again and again, repeating his demand that Stalin “carry out that agreement in accordance with his word.” Astonished, Molotov blurted out, “I have never been talked to like that in my life!”

“Carry out your agreements,” the president snapped back, “and you won’t get talked to like that!”

—adapted from The Cold War: A History

A Clash of Interests

Even before World War II ended, the wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union had begun to show signs of strain. President Roosevelt had hoped that a victory over the Axis and the creation of the United Nations would lead to a more peaceful world. Instead, the United States and the Soviet Union became increasingly hostile toward each other after the war. This led to an era of confrontation and competition between the United States and the Soviet Union that lasted from about 1946 to 1990. This era became known as the Cold War.
**Soviet Security Concerns**  Tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union began to increase because the two sides had different goals. As the war ended, Soviet leaders became concerned about security. Germany had invaded Russia twice in less than 30 years. The Soviets wanted to keep Germany weak and make sure that the countries between Germany and the Soviet Union were under Soviet control.

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

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

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

Similar reasoning convinced American leaders to promote democracy and free enterprise. They believed that democratic government 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.

**The Yalta Conference**  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 leaders had 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, the Polish government had to be friendly to the Soviet Union. It was a matter of “life and death.” Eventually, the three leaders compromised. Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to recognize the Polish government set up by the Soviets. Stalin agreed that the government would include members claiming the right to govern Poland, one Communist and one non-Communist.

**Germany in Ruins**  World War II devastated many German cities. Here a woman sits among the ruins of Cologne, a northern city on the Rhine River.
of the prewar Polish government and that free elections would be held as soon as possible.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Truman Takes Control

Although inexperienced in diplomacy, Truman already had his own views about how to deal with the Soviets. Truman was strongly anticommunist and suspicious of Stalin. He believed World War II had begun because Britain had tried to appease Hitler. He was determined not to make the same mistake with Stalin. “We must stand up to the Russians,” he told Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, the day after taking office.

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

### The Potsdam Conference

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

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

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

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

To get the Soviets to accept the deal, Truman offered Stalin a small amount of German industrial equipment from the other zones but required the Soviets to pay for part of 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 told Stalin about the test. Stalin suspected Truman was trying to bully him into a deal and that the Americans were trying to limit reparations to keep the Soviets weak.

Despite his suspicions, Stalin had to accept the deal. American and British troops controlled

### Section Quiz 21-1

**Name**

**Date**

**Class**

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*Choose the correct answer.

1. The right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live is called the right to ___.
   - a. self-determination
   - b. revision
   - c. sovereignty
   - d. nationalism

2. The separation of the Communist nations of Eastern Europe from the West is known as ___.
   - a. the Cold War
   - b. the Iron Curtain
   - c. the Warsaw Pact
   - d. the Eastern Block

3. The conference where the Allies decided to divide Germany into zones was called the ___.
   - a. Potsdam Conference
   - b. Yalta Conference
   - c. Berlin Conference
   - d. Moscow Conference

---

**Score**
4 Close

Have students identify the goals of Stalin’s foreign policy immediately after the war. US: 24B

Answers:
1. Germany
2. They were occupied by Soviet troops and forced to seat Communist governments.

Geography Skills Practice

Ask: With which Communist countries did Austria share a border? (Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia) US: 8B

Reading Check

Answer: It increased tension because Stalin suspected that Truman wanted to limit reparations to keep the Soviet Union weak.

Reteach

Have students explain the growing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union at the end of World War II. US: 6D, 24B; ELA: Gr9/10: 16E; Gr11: 15E

Enrich

Ask students to read and analyze Winston Churchill’s “iron curtain” speech. US: 24A–D; ELA: Gr9/10: 16E; Gr11: 15E

Social Studies TAKS tested at Grades 10/11:
1. Obj 5: WG21C (10,11), WH26C (10,11)
2. Obj 1: US6D (11)

Chapter 21

Section 1, 654–658

Reading Check

Answer: It increased tension because Stalin suspected that Truman wanted to limit reparations to keep the Soviet Union weak.

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Ask students to read and analyze Winston Churchill’s “iron curtain” speech. US: 24A–D; ELA: Gr9/10: 16E; Gr11: 15E

4 Close

Have students identify the goals of Stalin’s foreign policy immediately after the war. US: 24B

TAKS Practice

Section 1 Assessment

Checking for Understanding
1. Define: Cold War, iron curtain.
2. Identify: Potsdam, satellite nation.
3. Reviewing Facts Why did tensions grow between the United States and the Soviet Union after World War II?

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

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

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

Section 1 Assessment Answers

1. Terms are in blue. US: 25A
2. Potsdam (p. 657), satellite nation (p. 658)
3. had different goals for Germany and Eastern Europe US: 6D
4. Germany was divided into four zones controlled by Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States. US: 9A
5. Students who think the Cold War could have been prevented might mention that Soviet needs might have been accommodated. Students who think the Cold War was inevitable may say that the Soviets had already broken several promises. US: 19B, 24G
6. disagreement over Germany, Soviets’ refusal to honor Declaration of Liberated Europe, Soviet actions in Poland, Potsdam Conference US: 6D, 25C

7. to protect itself from invasion by Germany US: 8B, 24B
8. Students’ reports will vary. Reports should include specific references to Churchill’s speech. US: 25D
The Early Cold War Years

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

Key Terms and Names
- George Kennan, containment, Marshall Plan, NATO, limited war

Reading Strategy
- Sequencing: As you read about the Cold War, complete a timeline similar to the one below by recording the major events involving the Korean War.

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

Section Theme
Global Connections: Beliefs about Soviet goals and actions had a lasting effect on American policies abroad and on the agencies used to carry them out.

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

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

—adapted from Berlin in the Balance

Containing Communism
The early Cold War shaped the politics and economics of many parts of the world, especially Europe. The airlift of supplies to Berlin, like Halvorsen’s own candy airlift, reassured Europeans that the United States would help them rebuild their lives, even in the shadow of growing Soviet hostility.
Despite the growing tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States, 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 Ernest Bevin, the British foreign minister, and James Byrnes, the American secretary of state, pushed the Soviets to hold free elections in Eastern Europe, the Soviets refused to budge. “Our relations with the Russians,” Bevin 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 came to be known as the Long Telegram, a 5,540-word cable message explaining his views of Soviet goals. According to Kennan, the Soviets’ view of the world came from a traditional “Russian sense of insecurity” and fear of the West, intensified by the Communist ideas of Lenin and Stalin. Because Communists believed that they were in a long-term historical struggle against capitalism, Kennan argued, it was impossible to reach any permanent settlement with them.

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

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

During World War II, the United States had put troops in southern Iran while Soviet troops occupied northern Iran to secure a supply line from the Persian Gulf. After the war, instead of withdrawing as promised, the Soviet troops remained 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. Secretary of State James Byrnes sent Moscow a strong message demanding that they withdraw. At the same time, the battleship USS Missouri sailed into the eastern Mediterranean. The pressure seemed to work. Soviet forces withdrew, having been promised a joint Soviet-Iranian oil company. The Iranian parliament later rejected the plan.
The Truman Doctrine  Frustrated in Iran, Stalin turned to Turkey. There the straits of the Dardanelles were a vital route from Soviet Black Sea ports to the Mediterranean. For centuries Russia had wanted to control this strategic route. In August 1946, Stalin demanded joint control of the Dardanelles with Turkey. Presidential adviser Dean Acheson saw this move as the first step in a Soviet plan to control the Mideast, and he advised Truman to make a show of force. The president declared, “We might as well find out whether the Russians are bent on world conquest.” He then ordered the new aircraft carrier Franklin D. Roosevelt to join the Missouri in protecting Turkey and the eastern Mediterranean.

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

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

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

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

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

—quoted in Marshall: A Hero for Our Times

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 21 The Cold War Begins 661

Guided Reading Activity 21–2

Answer: fight Soviet aggression in Greece and Turkey, stabilize Europe’s economy to defeat communism

Creating a Chart  Have students create a chart showing examples of Truman’s containment policies in Iran, Turkey, Greece, Germany, and China. L2 US: 6D, 24B, ELA: Gr9/10/11: 4A–D, 4F; Gr9: 7D–H; Gr10/11: 7D–G

Use the rubric for creating a map, display, or chart on pages 65–66 in the Performance Assessment Activities and Rubrics.

Marshall Opposition Senator Robert A. Taft opposed the Marshall Plan, calling it a “global give-away program.” He was concerned that the plan would bankrupt the United States.

Use Supreme Court Case Study 27, Dennis v. United States.
The Berlin Airlift  The decision to create West Germany convinced the Soviets that they would never get the reparations they wanted. In late June 1948, Soviet troops cut all road and rail traffic to West Berlin. The blockade provoked a crisis. President Truman sent long-range bombers with atomic weapons to bases in Britain. General Lucius Clay, the American commander in Germany, warned that if Berlin fell, West Germany would be next. “If we mean to hold Europe against communism, then we must not budge,” he said.

The challenge was to keep West Berlin alive without provoking war with the Soviets. In June 1948, Truman ordered the Berlin airlift to begin. For 11 months, cargo planes supplied Berliners with food, medicine, and coal. The airlift continued through the spring of 1949, bringing in over 2 million tons of supplies. Stalin finally lifted the blockade on May 12. The Berlin airlift became a symbol of American determination to resist the Soviet Union’s effort to control Berlin. For how many months did American pilots supply Berlin with food and supplies?

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

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

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

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

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

The United States kept formal diplomatic relations with only the Nationalists in Taiwan. It used its veto power in the UN Security Council to keep representatives of the new Communist China out of the UN, allowing the Nationalists to retain their seat. The Chinese revolution brought about a significant change in American policy toward Japan. At the end of World War II, General Douglas MacArthur had taken charge of occupied Japan. His mission was to introduce democracy and keep Japan from threatening war again. Once the United States lost China as its chief ally in Asia, it adopted policies to encourage the rapid recovery of Japan’s industrial economy. Just as the United States viewed West Germany as the key to defending all of Europe against communism, it saw Japan as the key to defending Asia.

The Korean War
At the end of World War II, American and Soviet forces entered Korea to disarm the Japanese troops stationed there. The Allies divided Korea at the 38th parallel. In debates over expanding American influence in Korea, MacArthur pushed for a three-way alliance against a unified China. In November 1949, the United States adopted policies to encourage the rapidly recovering economy.

The Korean War began in June 1950 when North Korea invaded South Korea. After a UN-led alliance defeated North Korea, it signed an armistice line on July 27, 1953.

Making Judgments The Truman administration’s policy toward China was met with criticism. Have students answer the following questions: Could the United States have saved China from Communist domination? If so, how? If not, why not? (Students’ answers will vary. Some might suggest that the United States should have given the Nationalists more military and economic aid. Other students might suggest that the conflict in China was a civil war and thus beyond the control of the U.S. government.) L2 US: 24B; ELA: Gr9/10: 16E; Gr11: 15E
CHAPTER 21
Section 2, 659–665

Different Viewpoints

Learning from History
Answers:
1. MacArthur believed Truman’s policy would lead to war later. Truman did not want to widen the conflict, or lose allies.
2. The president is commander in chief.

Creating a Time Line
Have students create a time line for the Korean War. Suggest that they use the time lines in this chapter as a reference. Encourage them to illustrate the time line with drawings or photographs. L2 US: 6E, 8B, 24B; ELA: Gr9/10/11: 4A–D, 4F

3 ASSESS
Assign Section 2 Assessment as homework or as an in-class activity. US: 25D

Have students use the Interactive Tutor Self-Assessment CD-ROM.

Reading Essentials and Study Guide 21–2


Should the War in Korea Be Expanded?

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

President Harry S. Truman defends limited war:

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

If we go it alone in Asia, we may destroy the unity of the free nations against aggression. Our European allies are nearer to Russia than we are. They are in far greater danger. . . . Going it alone brought the world to the disaster of World War II. . . . I do not propose to strip this country of its allies in the face of Soviet danger. The path of collective security is our only sure defense against the dangers that threaten us.

The UN Intervenes
Truman saw the Communist invasion of South Korea as a test of the containment policy and ordered United States naval and airpower into action. He then called on the United Nations to act. Truman succeeded because the Soviet delegate was boycotting the Security Council over its China policy and was not present to veto the American proposal. With the pledge of UN troops, Truman ordered General MacArthur to send American troops from Japan to the Korean peninsula.

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

EXTENDING THE CONTENT

Chinese Civil War
The civil war between the Chinese Nationalists and the Chinese Communists might have been avoided had the Nationalists kept their promises to the people. By denying peasants the land they were promised, by forcing friendly Communists out of the government, and by ignoring corruption, the Nationalists practically guaranteed their unpopularity and the struggle for power with the Communists.
On September 15, MacArthur ordered a daring invasion behind enemy lines at the port of Inchon. The Inchon landing took the North Koreans by surprise. Within weeks they were in full retreat back across the 38th parallel. Truman then gave the order to pursue the North Koreans beyond the 38th parallel. MacArthur pushed the North Koreans north to the Yalu River, the border with China.

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

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

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

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

Changes in Policy  Truman chose General Matthew Ridgway to replace MacArthur. By mid-1951, the UN forces had pushed the Chinese and North Korean forces back across the 38th parallel. The war then settled down into a series of relatively small battles over hills and other local objectives. In November 1951, peace negotiations began, but an armistice would not be signed until July 1953. More than 33,600 American soldiers died in action in the Korean War, and more than 20,600 died from accidents or from disease.

The Korean War marked an important turning point in the Cold War. Until 1950 the United States had preferred to use political pressure and economic aid to contain communism. After the Korean War began, the United States embarked on a major military buildup. The Korean War also helped expand the Cold War to Asia. Before 1950 the United States had focused on Europe as the most important area in which to contain communism. After the Korean War began, the United States became more militarily involved in Asia. Defense agreements were signed with Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Australia. American aid also began to flow to the French forces fighting Communist guerrillas in Vietnam.

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding
1. Define: containment, limited war.
2. Identify: George Kennan, Marshall Plan, NATO.
3. Review Facts: How did the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan address the spread of communism?

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

Analyzing Visuals
7. Analyzing Maps: Study the maps of the Korean War on page 663. When did the United Nations control the most territory in Korea? When did both sides finally agree upon an armistice line?

Writing About History
8. Persuasive Writing: Write a letter to the editor of a newspaper explaining whether you agree or disagree with President Truman’s firing of General MacArthur.

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT ANSWERS
1. Terms are in blue. US: 25A
2. George Kennan (p. 660), Marshall Plan (p. 661), NATO (p. 662) US: 6D
3. They would help any country fight against communism and they would help rebuild economies to strengthen the resistance to communism. US: 6D
4. the policy of containing communism through international aid, diplomacy, and a strong military US: 6E
5. It recommended patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansion. US: 6D
8. Students’ letters will vary. Letters should express a point of view based on facts. US: 25D

CHAPTER 21  The Cold War Begins  665

HISTORY Online
Student Web Activity  Visit the American Republic Since 1877 Web site at tx.tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on Student Web Activities—Chapter 21 for an activity on the Cold War.

Section Quiz 21-2

Answer: Truman viewed it as a test of the United States containment policy.

Reread
Have students describe the American view of the Soviet Union and containment. US: 6D, 24B, 24G; ELA: Gr9/10: 16E; Gr11: 15E

Enrich
Invite interested students to write an editorial expressing an opinion about when, if ever, it is appropriate for a military leader to override a president’s decision. US: 24B, 24G; ELA: Gr9/10/11: 1A, 1B

4 CLOSE

Have students create a cause-and-effect organizer for the Korean War. US: 6E, 24B, ELA: Gr9/10/11: 4D

Student Edition TEKS
Stalin’s Response  The impact of the Soviets’ lack of a free press—one of the keystones of the American constitutional system—is demonstrated by some of Stalin’s statements. For example, after Winston Churchill’s “iron curtain” speech, Stalin came up with his own characterization of geopolitical changes. Stalin claimed that the West was racist. He compared the West to “Hitler and his friends,” and said Churchill was arguing that “only nations speaking the English language are fully valuable nations. . . .” Under the Soviet system, no journalist or scholar could challenge the accuracy of Stalin’s statement.
American vs. Soviet Government Systems

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

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

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

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

“If you are told of discontents in your colonies, never believe that they are general, or that you have given occasion for them; therefore, do not think of applying any remedy, or of changing any offensive measure. . . .”

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

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

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

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

**Enrich**
Have students choose one of the four American leaders treated in the Looking Back... feature—Samuel Adams, Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin. Students should conduct further research in the library or on the Internet to deepen their understanding of the ideas excerpted here, and then write a short report on this research.

**ASSESS**
**Reteach**
Review the seven elements in the chart on page 667 listing specific rights under the American Constitution. Have students consider working examples of these rights in their own community. Call on students in a class discussion to elicit their examples.

**CLOSE**
Ask students to consider when, if ever, freedom of the press should be limited and how.

Have students give specific examples.
The Cold War and American Society

Main Idea
The Cold War heightened Americans’ fears of Communist infiltration and atomic attack.

Key Terms and Names
subversion, loyalty review program, Alger Hiss, perjury, McCarran Act, McCarthyism, censure, fallout, fallout shelter

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

The Cold War and American Society
I. The New Red Scare
   A. The Loyalty Review Program
   B. HUAC
   C. Alger Hiss
   D. The Rosenbergs
   E. Project Venona
   F. The Red Scare Spreads

Reading Objectives
• Describe the new Red Scare.
• Discuss how American society reflected fears of the nuclear age.

Section Theme
Civic Rights and Responsibilities 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.

An American Story

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

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

—adapted from Red Scare

A New Red Scare

During the 1950s, thousands of ordinary people—from teachers to autoworkers to high government officials—shared Ruth Goldberg’s disturbing experience. Rumors and accusations of Communists in the United States and of Communist infiltration of the government tapped into fears that the Communists were trying to take over the world.

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—adapted from Red Scare
The Red Scare began in September 1945, when a clerk named Igor Gouzenko walked out of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, Canada, and defected. Gouzenko carried documents revealing a massive effort by the Soviet Union to infiltrate organizations and government agencies in Canada and the United States 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 secretly weaken a society and overthrow its government. As the Cold War intensified in 1946 and early 1947, Americans began to fear that Communists were secretly working to subvert the American government.

GOVERNMENT

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

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

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

Hoover urged HUAC to hold public hearings on Communist subversion. The committee, Hoover said, could reveal “the diabolic machinations of sinister figures engaged in un-American activities.” Once Communists were identified, he explained, the public would isolate them and end their influence. Hoover’s aim was to expose not just Communists but also “Communist sympathizers” and “fellow travelers.” Under Hoover’s leadership, the FBI sent agents to infiltrate groups suspected of subversion and wiretapped thousands of telephones.

Alger Hiss In 1948 HUAC heard startling revelations from Whitaker Chambers, a Time magazine editor. Chambers admitted that he had been a Communist courier between 1934 and 1937, and he claimed that several government officials had been Communists or spies at that time.

The most prominent among these was Alger Hiss, a lawyer and diplomat who had served in Roosevelt’s administration, attended the Yalta conference, and taken part in organizing the United Nations. Chambers claimed that in 1937 and 1938, Hiss had given him secret documents from the State Department. Hiss denied being a member of the Communist Party and also denied ever knowing Chambers.

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

To defend himself, Chambers produced copies of secret documents along with microfilm that he had hidden in a hollow pumpkin on his farm. These “pumpkin papers,” Chambers claimed, proved that Hiss was a Communist courier.

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COOPERATIVE LEARNING ACTIVITY

Role-playing To dramatize the Cold War fears, have students act out scenes that might have occurred during this period. Groups might present a skit based on one of the situations below.


A history teacher finding out that the FBI is investigating her
A blacklisted actor at an audition
Coworkers in an office discussing the Hiss or Rosenberg cases
A family talking about building a fallout shelter

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he was telling the truth. A jury agreed and convicted Hiss of perjury, or lying under oath.

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

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

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

Project Venona  The American public hotly debated the guilt or innocence of individuals like the Rosenbergs who were accused as spies. There was, however, solid evidence of Soviet espionage, although very few Americans knew it at the time. In 1946 American cryptographers working for a project code-named “Venona” cracked the Soviet spy code of the time, enabling them to read approximately 3,000 messages between Moscow and the United States collected during the Cold War. The messages confirmed extensive Soviet spying and sent federal investigators on a massive hunt. To keep the Soviets from learning how thoroughly the United States had penetrated their codes, authorities chose not to make the intercepted messages public. Not until 1995 did the government reveal Project Venona’s existence. The Venona documents provided strong evidence that the Rosenbergs were guilty.

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

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

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

Hollywood on Trial

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

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

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

MEETING SPECIAL NEEDS

Interpersonal  To help demonstrate the impact of McCarthyism, invite two volunteers to portray a HUAC member and someone called to testify before the committee. Have the HUAC member question the witness for several minutes about Communist influence in his or her workplace and among his or her friends and family. Afterward, ask participants and listeners to share their reactions. L2 US: 6F; ELA: Gr9/10: 16B; Gr11: 15B

Refer to Inclusion for the High School Social Studies Classroom Strategies and Activities in the TCR.
“A Conspiracy So Immense”

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

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

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

—quoted in The Fifties

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

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

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

**INTERDISCIPLINARY CONNECTIONS ACTIVITY**

**Psychology** Have students use library and Internet resources to learn how mass hysteria contributed to the hunt for Communists in the United States in the 1950s. Ask students to write a report that answers the following questions: What fears did people have that made them so worried about Communist infiltration? How did media and government actions fuel these fears? L2 US: 6D, 6F, 24A–D, 25A–D; ELA: Gr9/10/11: 1A, 1B, 13B, 13C; Gr10/11: 7I

**Drawing a Political Cartoon**

Have students draw a political cartoon on the effect Senator Joseph McCarthy had on the American people. The cartoon should express a clear opinion about McCarthy’s tactics. L2 US: 6D, 6F, 24B, 25C, 25D; ELA: Gr9/10/11: 4D

Use the rubric for creating a political cartoon, pamphlet, or handbill on pages 77–78 in the Performance Assessment Activities and Rubrics.

**Literature** In his 1953 play, The Crucible, playwright Arthur Miller wrote about the witch trials in Salem, Massachusetts, in the 1600s. Despite the setting, Miller made it clear that the play was referring to the McCarthy era.

**FYI**

Of the film industry people investigated by HUAC, ten went to prison. This group, often referred to as “The Hollywood Ten,” consisted of Alvah Bessie, Herbert J. Biberman, Lester Cole, Edward Dmytryk, Ring Lardner, Jr., John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Samuel Omritz, Adrian Scott, and Dalton Trumbo.
Many Americans were afraid to challenge McCarthy. Even Dwight D. Eisenhower, running for president in 1952, did not speak out against him, though Eisenhower was afraid to challenge McCarthy?

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

The McCarran Internal Security Act In 1950, with the Korean War underway and McCarthy and others accusing 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 law required all Communist Party and “Communist-front” organizations to register with the United States attorney general and publish their records. The act also created other restrictions for Communists. For example, they could not get passports to travel abroad.

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

McCarthy’s Tactics After the 1952 election gave the Republicans control of Congress, McCarthy became chairman of the Senate subcommittee on investigations. Using the power of his committee to force government officials to testify about alleged Communist influences, McCarthy turned the investigation into a witch hunt—a search for disloyalty based on flimsy evidence and irrational fears. His tactics of damaging reputations with vague and unfounded charges became known as McCarthyism.

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

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

During weeks of televised Army-McCarthy hearings in the spring of 1954, millions of Americans watched McCarthy bully witnesses. His popular support started to fade. Finally, to strike back at the army lawyer, Joseph Welch, McCarthy brought up the past of a young lawyer in Welch’s firm who had been a member of a Communist-front organization during his law school years. Welch, who was fully aware of the young man’s past, now exploded at McCarthy for possibly ruining the young man’s career: “Until this moment, I think I never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness… You have done enough. Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?”

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

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

Life During the Early Cold War

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

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

Americans prepared for a surprise Soviet attack. Schools set aside special areas as bomb shelters. In bomb drills, students learned to duck under their desks. At home, many families worked on their fallout shelters. How did such fears affect American politics?

Nuclear Powers In 1945 the United States exploded the first atomic bomb in New Mexico. The Soviet Union tested its first atomic bomb in 1949. China, France, Great Britain, India, and Pakistan have also exploded nuclear weapons. In addition to the countries that have tested nuclear weapons, there are several countries believed to possess nuclear capabilities. L2
The Cold War inspired the marketing of Nuclear Attack Survival Kit Water, which was bottled water claiming to be “impervious to nuclear fallout.”

**Reading Check**

**Answer:** Americans prepared for a surprise Soviet attack, worried about a nuclear war, and watched films and read books about Communist infiltration of the United States.

**Reteach**

Have students describe the new Red Scare. **US:** 6F

**Enrich**

Have interested students make a poster using headlines and sayings from the McCarthy era. **US:** 6F, 24A–D, 25C, 25D

4 **CLOSE**

Have students discuss how American society reflected fears of the nuclear age. **US:** 1A, 6D–F

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**Popular Culture in the Cold War**

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

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

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

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

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**TAKS Practice**

**SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT**

1. **Define: subversion, perjury, censure, fallout, fallout shelter**
2. **Identify:** loyalty review program, Alger Hiss, McCarran Act, McCarthyism.
3. **Explain the goals of Project Venona.**
4. **Review Facts**: What did the McCarran Act propose to do?

**Reviewing Themes**

5. **Civic Rights and Responsibilities**
   - How did McCarthyism and the Red Scare change American society and government?

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**SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT ANSWERS**

1. **Terms are in blue.** **US:** 25A
2. loyalty review program (p. 669), Alger Hiss (p. 669), McCarran Act (p. 672), McCarthyism (p. 672) **US:** 6F
3. to crack the Soviet spy code, and confirm Soviet spying **US:** 6F
4. to make it illegal to associate with or be a Communist **US:** 6F
5. While people were enjoying postwar prosperity and optimism, they feared communism and an atomic attack. **US:** 6F
6. People feared communism. **US:** 6F
7. Causes: Gouzenko case, Alger Hiss trial, Rosenbergs, Russia’s successful test of an atomic bomb; Effects: Loyalty Review Program, HUAC, McCarran Act, McCarthyism, fallout shelters, etc. **US:** 6F, 24B, 25C
8. Students might suggest disgusting or annoyance. **US:** 6F, 24B
9. Students’ editorials will vary. Editorials should address the tactics McCarthy used and express a clear point of view. **US:** 25D
CHAPTER 21
Section 4, 675–680

1 FOCUS

Section Overview
This section focuses on Eisenhower’s plans to reduce world tensions and contain and compete with communism.

Eisenhower’s “New Look”

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 Americans believed that Truman’s foreign policy was not working. The Soviet Union had acquired the atomic bomb and consolidated its hold on Eastern Europe. China had fallen to communism, and American troops had been sent across the Pacific to fight in the Korean War.

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

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

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

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

—adapted from May-Day: The U-2 Affair

Francis Gary Powers

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**Guide to Reading**

1. **Reading Strategy**
   - **Organizing** As you read about Eisenhower’s presidency, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by filling in aspects of Eisenhower’s “New Look”.

2. **Reading Objectives**
   - **Evaluate** Eisenhower’s military policy known as the “New Look.”
   - **Debate** the effectiveness of Eisenhower’s foreign policy.

**Section Theme**
Science and Technology Nuclear technology enabled Eisenhower to change American military policy, while new missile technology marked the beginning of the space age.

**Reading Objectives**
- Evaluate Eisenhower’s military policy known as the “New Look.”
- Debate the effectiveness of Eisenhower’s foreign policy.

**Preteaching Vocabulary**
- brinkmanship, covert action, massive retaliation

**An American Story**

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

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

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Francis Gary Powers

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**SECTION RESOURCES**

- **Reproducible Masters**
  - Reproducible Lesson Plan 21–4
  - Daily Lecture and Discussion Notes 21–4
  - Guided Reading Activity 21–4
  - Section Quiz 21–4
  - Reading Essentials and Study Guide 21–4
  - Performance Assessment Activities and Rubrics

- **Transparencies**
  - Daily Focus Skills Transparency 21–4

- **Multimedia**
  - Interactive Tutor Self-Assessment CD-ROM
  - ExamView® Pro Testmaker CD-ROM
  - Presentation Plus! CD-ROM
  - TeacherWorks™ CD-ROM
  - Audio Program

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**BELLRINGER**

Skillbuilder Activity

Project transparency and have students answer the question.

Available as a blackline master.

**Daily Focus Skills Transparency 21–4**

**Answers to Graphic**: brinkmanship, covert action, massive retaliation

**Preteaching Vocabulary**
- Have students select two of the Key Terms and Names and use them in a sentence. **US**: 25A; **ELA**: Gr9/10/11: 6A

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**Student Edition TEKS**

CHAPTER 21
Section 4, 675–680

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

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

“More Bang for the Buck” The Cold War shaped Eisenhower’s thinking from the moment he took office. Eisenhower was convinced that the key to victory in the Cold War was not simply military might but also a strong economy. The United States had to show the world that free enterprise could produce a better and more prosperous 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, would cost far too much money. “We cannot defend the nation in a way which will exhaust our economy,” Eisenhower declared. A “New Look” in defense policy was needed. Instead of maintaining a large and expensive army, the nation “must be prepared to use atomic weapons in all forms.” Nuclear weapons, he said, gave “more bang for the buck.”

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

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

The Sputnik Crisis The New Look’s emphasis on nuclear weapons required new technology to deliver them. In 1955 the air force unveiled the huge B-52

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**TECHNOLOGY & HISTORY**

**The Hydrogen Bomb**

The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945 had an explosive force of 20,000 tons of TNT. As devastating as that bomb was, the hydrogen bomb was exponentially more powerful. Designed by Edward Teller and Stanislaw Ulam, the hydrogen test bomb, nicknamed “Mike,” was first detonated on November 1, 1952. Its explosive force was equal to 100 million tons of TNT. How did the two explosive devices combine to create an explosion?

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**COOPERATIVE LEARNING ACTIVITY**

Creating Posters Organize the class into groups of three or four. Have each group plan and prepare a poster explaining Eisenhower’s approach to one of the following events: the Korean War, the Sputnik crisis, the Taiwan crisis, the Suez crisis, or the covert battle against communism. Have the groups display their posters and then discuss the ways in which Eisenhower changed military priorities.

Use the rubric for a cooperative group management plan on pages 71–72 in the Performance Assessment Activities and Rubrics.
bomber, which was designed to fly across continents and drop nuclear bombs anywhere in the world. Because bombers could be shot down, Eisenhower also began development of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) that could deliver bombs anywhere in the world. He also began a program to build submarines capable of launching nuclear missiles.

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

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

Brinkmanship In Action

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

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

—quoted in Rise to Globalism

Critics called this brinkmanship—the willingness to go to the brink of war to force the other side to back down—and argued that it was too dangerous.

Several times, however, President Eisenhower felt compelled to threaten nuclear war during a crisis.

The Korean War Ends During his campaign for the presidency, Eisenhower had said, “I shall go to Korea,” promising to end the costly and increasingly unpopular war. On November 29, 1952, just weeks after his election, he kept his promise. Bundled against the freezing Korean winter, the president-elect talked with frontline commanders and their troops.

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

The threat to go to the brink of nuclear war seemed to work. In July 1953, negotiators signed an armistice. The battle line between the two sides, which was very near the prewar boundary, became the border between North Korea and South Korea. A “demilitarized zone” (DMZ) separated them. There was no victory, but the war had at least stopped the spread of communism in Korea—the goal of containment. American troops are still based in Korea, helping South Korea defend its border.
CHAPTER 21
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Creating a Chart  Have students create a chart to list the five countries most directly involved in the Suez Crisis and each country’s role in the crisis. **L2 US:** 6G, 8B, 9A, 24B; ELA: Gr9/10/11: 4D, 7D

Use the rubric for creating a map, display, or chart on pages 65–66 in the *Performance Assessment Activities and Rubrics.*

FYI

The Suez Canal, which connects the Mediterranean and Red Seas, opened in 1869. It cut approximately 4,000 miles off voyages between Britain and India.

**CURRICULUM CONNECTION**

World History  Many historians recognize Gamal Abdel Nasser’s move to seize control of the Suez Canal as the beginning of a process that would eventually dissolve the British Empire.

Geography Skills Practice

Ask: Which major nation on the Adriatic Sea was Communist but not a member of the Warsaw Pact? (Yugoslavia)

Answers:

1. eight; nine if one views the Soviet Union as European, which some scholars do at least to the Ural Mountains

INTERDISCIPLINARY CONNECTIONS ACTIVITY

Communication  Have students work as a team to prepare a thirty-minute special news report about the 1956 Suez Canal crisis. Organize students into groups of at least five students. Instruct each group to organize itself into a team, including a segment producer, researchers, and writers. After the segments are produced, ask for volunteers to present the special report. Remind students that a news report will include graphics. **L2 US:** 6G, 8A, 8B, 24A–D, 25A–D, 26A; ELA: Gr9/10/11: 1A, 1B, 13B, 13C
fellows start something, we may have to hit them—and if necessary, with everything in the bucket.”

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

**Reading Check** Identifying What was brinkmanship?

**Fighting Communism Covertly**

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

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

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

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

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

**Uprising in Hungary** Covert operations did not always work as Eisenhower hoped. In 1953 Stalin died, and a power struggle began in the Soviet Union. By 1956 Nikita Khrushchev had emerged as the leader of the Soviet Union. That year, Khrushchev delivered a secret speech to Soviet leaders. He attacked Stalin’s policies and insisted there were significant personality differences between the two leaders. Khrushchev delivered a secret speech to Soviet leaders. He attacked Stalin’s policies and insisted there were significant personality differences between the two leaders.

Many people in Iran resented the Shah’s close ties with the West. Their anger at the Shah’s attachment to Western ideas and customs helped fuel the 1979 revolt against him. Mohammed Reza Pahlavi died in exile in 1980.

**ASSESS**

Assign Section 4 Assessment as homework or as an in-class activity. **US: 25D**

Have students use the Interactive Tutor Self-Assessment CD-ROM.

**Reading Essentials and Study Guide 21–4**

**CRITICAL THINKING ACTIVITY**

**Evaluating Action** The overthrow of the leftist Guatemalan government was made possible by the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency. Ask students the following questions: Is secret aggression, such as that by the CIA, justifiable? Why or why not? What events in your lifetime have helped shape your opinion? **L2 US: 6H, 24B**
many ways to build a Communist society. Although the speech was secret, the CIA obtained a copy. With Eisenhower’s permission, the CIA arranged for it to be broadcast to Eastern Europe.

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

Continuing Tensions

The uprising in Hungary forced Khrushchev to reassess Soviet power and the superiority of communism. Previously, he had supported “peaceful coexistence” with capitalism. Now he accused the “capitalist countries” of starting a “feverish arms race.” In 1957, after the launch of Sputnik, Khrushchev boasted, “We will bury capitalism. . . . Your grandchildren will live under communism.”

In late 1958 Khrushchev demanded that the United States, Great Britain, and France withdraw their troops from West Berlin. 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.

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

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

In this climate of heightened tension, President Eisenhower prepared to leave office. In January 1961, he delivered a farewell address to the nation. In the address, he pointed out that a new relationship had developed between the military establishment and the defense industry. He warned Americans to be on guard against the immense influence of this military-industrial complex in a democracy. Although he had avoided war and kept communism contained, Eisenhower admitted to some frustration: “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.”

TAKS Practice

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Critical Thinking

5. Interpreting Do you think Eisenhower’s foreign policy was successful? Why or why not?

6. Organizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list Eisenhower’s strategies for containing Communism.

Analyzing Visuals

7. Analyzing Maps Study the map on page 678. How many nations belonged to NATO? How many nations belonged to the Warsaw Pact? Which nations did not belong to either NATO or the Warsaw Pact?

Writing About History

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

Section Quiz 21-4

Multiple Choice

DIRECTIONS: Write the correct letters in the blanks. (10 points each)

In the blank at the left, write the letter of the choice that matches each item in Column A with the items in Column B.

Name Class

Score

1. Terms are in blue. US: 25A

2. Sputnik (p. 677), Central Intelligence Agency (p. 679) US: 6F

3. It stunned Americans and led to the creation of NASA and the passage of the NDEA. US: 6F

4. It allowed him to pursue the policy of brinkmanship since the nuclear arsenal was a real threat. It also allowed covert operations in Iran and Guatemala. US: 19A

5. Students’ answers will vary. Students should cite specific events to support their conclusion. US: 24G

6. strong economy, nuclear weapons for massive retaliation, brinkmanship

7. 12 NATO on map (Iceland also a member, but not shown on map); 8 Warsaw Pact; 7 did not belong to NATO or the Warsaw Pact

8. Students’ answers should express a point of view supporting or opposing brinkmanship.

Class B, 4F, 8B

Gr9/10: 16E; Gr9/10/11: 1A, 1B, 4A, 4B, 4D, 4F, 6A, 7B–D, 8B, 10A, 10B, 19B, 20B; Gr9: 7I; Gr9/10/11: 7H

Answers should express a point of view supporting or opposing brinkmanship.
Making Decisions

Why Learn This Skill?
Suppose you have been given the choice of taking an art class or a music class during your free period during school. How will you decide which class to take?

Learning the Skill
When you make a decision, you are making a choice between alternatives. In order to make that choice, you must be informed and aware. There are five key steps you should follow that will help you through the process of making decisions.

• Identify the problem. What are you being asked to choose between?
• Gather information to identify and consider various alternatives that are possible.
• Determine the consequences for each alternative. Identify both positive and negative consequences.
• Evaluate the consequences. Consider both the positive and negative consequences for each alternative.
• Determine which alternative seems to have more positive than negative consequences. Then make your decision.

Practicing the Skill
Decisions throughout history have affected the outcome of events and defined history as we know it today. Identify the alternatives and describe their consequences for each of the following events that occurred after World War II. Each of these events took place as a result of a decision made by a person or a group of people.

1. Britain and the United States recognize the Soviet-backed government that takes control in Poland.
2. The United States orchestrates the Berlin airlift to assist residents of West Berlin after Stalin cuts off surface transportation bringing supplies from the West.
3. President Truman relieves General Douglas MacArthur of his command because of insubordination.

Skills Assessment
Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 683 and the Chapter 21 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

Applying the Skill
Making Decisions Use a newspaper or magazine to find a current issue that directly affects your life. Identify the issue, and then review the facts and what you already know about the issue. Identify various alternatives and determine the consequences for each. Use this information to evaluate both positive and negative consequences. Make a sound decision about which alternative would be best for you, and write a paragraph defending your decision.

ANSWERS TO PRACTICING THE SKILL
1. Nonrecognition leads to tension and possible war.
2. No airlift makes Berlin residents suffer and the United States look weak.
4. Leaving MacArthur in command might lead to war with China and greater American involvement in Asia.

Applying the Skill
Students’ reasoning should be clearly evident.

GLENCOE TECHNOLOGY
CD-ROM Glencoe Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2
This interactive CD-ROM reinforces student mastery of essential social studies skills.
CHAPTER 21
Assessment and Activities

GLSENCO TECHNOLOGY

MindJogger Videoquiz
Use the MindJogger Videoquiz to review Chapter 21 content.

Available in VHS

Reviewing Key Terms
Students’ answers will vary. The pages where the words appear in the text are shown in parentheses.

1. Cold War (p. 654)
2. iron curtain (p. 658)
3. containment (p. 660)
4. limited war (p. 665)
5. subversion (p. 669)
6. perjury (p. 670)
7. censure (p. 673)
8. fallout
9. fallout shelter (p. 674)
10. massive retaliation (p. 676)
11. brinkmanship (p. 677)
12. covert (p. 679)
13. developing nation (p. 679)
14. military-industrial complex

Reviewing Key Facts

15. Identify: Potsdam, Marshall Plan, NATO, McCarthyism.
16. How did Stalin’s postwar foreign policy goals add to the growing tensions between the United States and the USSR?
17. Why were NATO and the Warsaw Pact formed?
18. What was the long-term strategy of the United States during the Cold War?
19. What were the effects of the new Red Scare on federal employees?
20. What was President Eisenhower’s “new look” for the military?

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Critical Thinking

21. Analyzing Themes: Global Connections How did the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan cause the United States to change its foreign policy goal of isolationism?
22. Evaluating How did the Korean War affect American domestic and international policy?
23. Organizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the causes of the Cold War.

24. Interpreting Primary Sources Margaret Chase Smith, a Republican from Maine, was elected to the Senate in 1948. As a newcomer and the only woman in the Senate, she had very little power. Smith was upset by Joseph McCarthy’s accusations, but she hoped her senior colleagues would reprimand him. When they failed to do so, Smith made her “Declaration of Conscience” speech. Read the excerpt and answer the questions that follow.

Chapter Summary

Soviet Union

• To create a protective sphere of Communist countries along European border
• To promote the spread of communism

General Goals

Western Allies

• To contain the spread of communism by supporting capitalist democratic governments

In Europe

In the Middle East

In Asia

At Home

• Expected free elections to occur in Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe

• Forced Soviet withdrawal from Iran
• Pledged aid to halt Soviet threats to Turkey and Greece

• Aided China’s Nationalist government
• Dedicated money and troops to establish democratic stronghold in Japan
• United Nations troops sent to fight for South Korea in Korean War

• Focused on the development of advanced technology weapons

19. Federal employees faced stricter screening and termination if they were suspected of being disloyal. US: 24B
20. Eisenhower favored the use of atomic weapons, instead of maintaining a large and expensive army. ELA: Gr9/10/11: 10B

Critical Thinking

21. They highlighted the possibility of Communist influence in Turkey, Greece, and Europe, resulting in the containment policy and increased foreign aid. US: 6D, 24B
22. domestic: reinforced the idea of containment and greater military readiness; international: brought the Cold War to Asia, and led to United States defense agreements with Asian countries US: 6E

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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 hurled from this side of the aisle. . . . I am not proud of the way we smear outsiders from the Floor of the Senate and hide behind the cloak of congressional immunity.

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

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

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

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

Test-Taking Tip: Think about the definition of McCarthyism, the use of unsubstantiated accusations to discredit people. Which of the answers relates best to this definition?

Answer: D

Test-Taking Tip: Tell students to try using the process of elimination to help rule out answers that cannot possibly be correct. For example, if a student knows that communism often takes hold in poor countries, he or she can eliminate B.

ELA: Gr9/10/11: 1A, 1B, 4A, 4B, 4F

28. The map above shows the occupation of Berlin after World War II. Study the map and answer the questions below.

a. Interpreting Maps: How was West Berlin's location a disadvantage? How did Stalin use this disadvantage against the Western Allies?

b. Applying Geography Skills: What transportation advantage did West Berlin have over East Berlin? How did the United States use this advantage when West Berlin was strangled?

29. a. It was completely surrounded by East Germany; blockaded it; b. It had three airports that were used to shuttle food and supplies to the Berliners.

30. a. With whom is Smith angry, and why?

b. According to Smith, who is really dividing the nation?