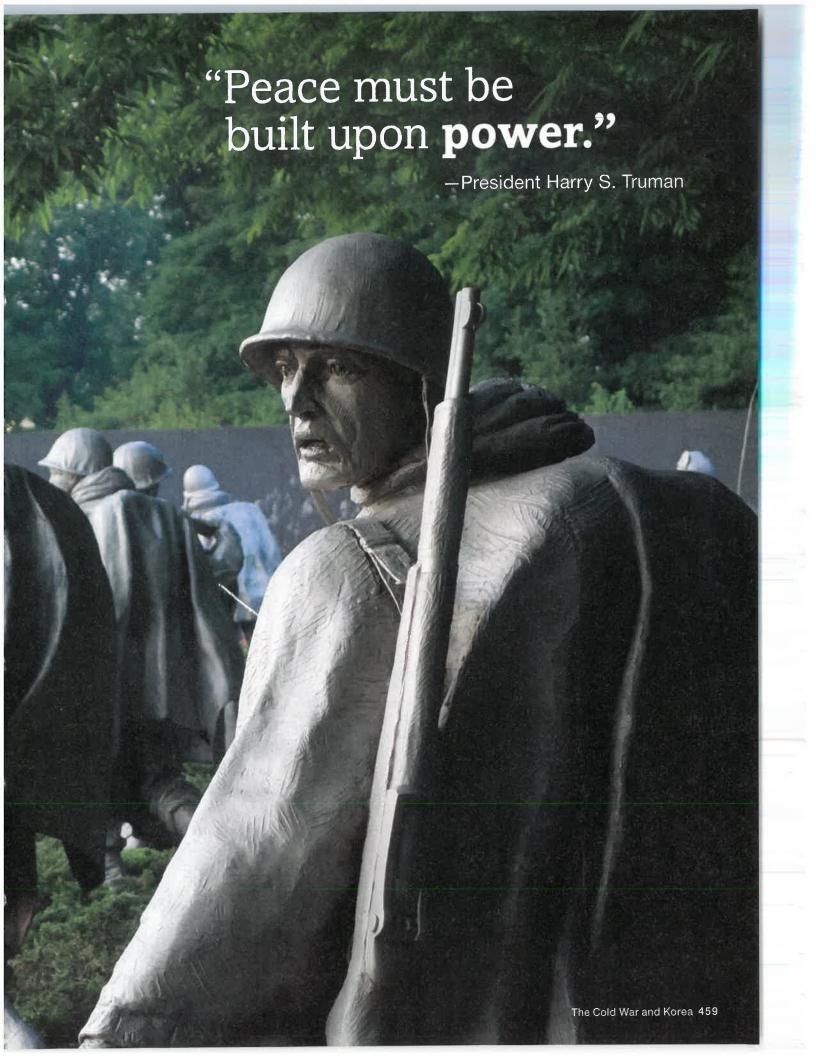
# Chapter 14



MAIN IDEA After World War II, the United States and its allies set out to rebuild Europe and promote lasting peace through greater international cooperation.

# **EUROPE REBUILDS**

When a powerful storm destroys buildings, people rebuild and try to make them stronger. Following the war, the United States and its allies worked to rebuild war-torn Europe and to strengthen international cooperation in order to keep the horrors of World War II from happening again.

#### THE UNITED NATIONS

In the autumn of 1945, the world sighed with relief. The guns were silent. Peace had arrived. As World War II ended, the Allies turned their attention to building a lasting peace. As you have read, early in the war, a number of nations signed on to the Atlantic Charter, which promoted the ideals of democracy and mutual respect among nations. The Allies acted on these ideals to create the **United Nations (UN)**, a global organization promoting cooperation among nations and working together to resolve conflicts peacefully. On October 24, 1945, the required 28 nations had ratified the organization's charter, and the United Nations became a reality. By the end of the year, it had a total of 52 member nations.

While the main focus of the United Nations was to promote international peace, it also worked proactively to help promote economic development, social progress, and human rights around the world. Officials created a number of smaller organizations within the UN to support these goals. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was created in 1945 to rebuild schools, libraries, and museums that had been destroyed during World War II. The UN Commission on Human Rights, established in 1946, aimed to protect fundamental human rights and freedoms around the world. And in 1948, the United Nations established the World Health Organization (WHO) to promote health worldwide.

#### A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

In 2016, the World Health Organization worked with local authorities in Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) to vaccinate 30 million citizens against yellow fever.

In this photo, a nurse vaccinates a young woman at a clinic in Kinshasa, the capital of the DRC. Yellow fever causes severe flu symptoms and in some cases can be fatal. Nearly 1,000 cases of the disease had been confirmed in the 2 countries before the end of the outbreak was declared in July 2016.



In addition to establishing a much-needed structure of organizations to rebuild and promote peace, the United Nations also formally documented basic human rights. In 1948, the UN adopted its **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**, which set out the fundamental rights of all people of all nations. These rights include freedom of thought and religion as well as freedom of expression and the right to assemble peacefully.

Several other organizations were created after the war to help battle-scarred nations recover economically. Proposed in 1944, the International Monetary Fund was officially established in 1945 to standardize worldwide financial relations and rates of exchange between countries. Its purpose is to safeguard and stabilize the global monetary system. The World Bank was founded in 1944 to provide financial support to countries that needed to rebuild after World War II. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was launched in 1947 and created rules for world trade.

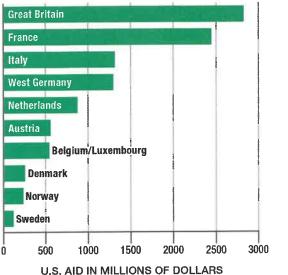
In addition to working toward a lasting peace, the United States and its allies also sought to make any future wars more humane and just. In 1949, a number of nations agreed to the **Geneva Conventions**. This was the collective name of a revised set of three earlier treaties establishing rules for the humane treatment of prisoners of war as well as wounded or sick soldiers. Nations created and agreed to a fourth treaty that called for fair treatment and protection of civilians living in and around war zones.

## THE MARSHALL PLAN

Across Europe, from Germany to Poland and the Soviet Union, the destruction from World War II was immense. Rail lines lay in ruin, roads were impassable, and major parts of cities were piles of rubble. Economies were no longer functioning, and the threat of mass starvation hung over the continent. In contrast, the United States had emerged from the war as the world's strongest economic and military power. The United States was determined to rebuild Europe and keep its economy from collapsing.

In June 1947, U.S. Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed a massive financial aid plan he called the **European Recovery Program**. Marshall assured Europeans that it was a helping hand and not a way for the United States to control the continent. "Our policy is not directed against any country or doctrine," Marshall said, "but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and fear." Most Americans agreed and broke from their isolationist past. As citizens of the

#### The Marshall Plan



Source: Nicholas Grafts (2011)."The Marshall Plan: A Reality Check"

wealthiest and most powerful nation, they accepted the idea that they had some responsibility to keep the peace and help countries rebuild. Congress granted the billions of dollars needed to fund the proposal, which became known as the "Marshall Plan," and committed more than 10 percent of the U.S. federal budget to restore Europe's economic health.

As the Marshall Plan came together, the nations of Europe, including the Soviet Union, met to assess their common needs. But the Soviets soon walked out. They objected to giving critical Soviet economic information to outsiders. The Soviets also believed that accepting aid from capitalist countries might undermine their communist system. With the Soviets out, the Marshall Plan targeted mainly Western Europe. In the end, the program proved to be a tremendous success. It helped to rebuild Britain, Germany, and France and restore economic confidence to many European nations. Helping rebuild Europe also increased American trade and investment in Europe, creating new markets for U.S. goods.

- 1. READING CHECK What are the main goals of the United Nations?
- 2. DRAW CONCLUSIONS What might the Soviet Union's response to the Marshall Plan meeting have indicated about the potential for tension with the United States?
- 3. INTERPRET GRAPHS In total, how much did the Marshall Plan give to the top three aid recipients?

**MAIN IDEA** Sharp divisions between Western capitalist countries, led by the United States, and communist countries, led by the Soviet Union, created a new threat to world peace.

# THE SOVIET THREAT

Did you ever work with someone you didn't like in order to win a game or complete a project? The United States and the Soviet Union put aside their differences to help win World War II—but then their differences re-emerged and ushered in a new struggle.

#### THE DIVISION OF EUROPE

The Allies had fought hard together to defeat Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, and the Soviet Union had been essential to that effort. Soon, however, relations between the Soviets and the West began to decline. As you have read, President Franklin Roosevelt, Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin, and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill met at Yalta in 1945 to make plans for postwar Europe. The leaders had difficulty reaching any agreements. Underlying the rift was a vast difference between the political and economic structures of the United States and Soviet Union.

The disagreement was based on differing visions of government and economic policy. The United States and Great Britain wanted capitalist democratic governments established throughout Europe. Capitalism is an economic system in which private individuals or groups own the resources and produce goods for a profit. In contrast, Stalin wanted the Soviet Union to dominate the internal affairs of its Eastern European neighbors, controlling them under a communist regime, where all economic resources are owned by the state. In addition, the Soviets wanted to spread communism to other nations. The fundamental differences between communism and capitalism would shape the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union for decades to come.

By the war's end, Soviet forces had occupied much of Eastern Europe, creating suspicion of communism among Western countries. Instead of withdrawing, the Soviet Army stayed, and Stalin installed communist rule throughout the region.



"Glory to the Russian people—the bogatyr people, the creator people!" is the message on this Soviet propaganda poster created by Viktor Ivanov in 1947. The man in front is a Russian engineer, a symbol of Soviet postwar industrial growth, and the towering figure standing behind him is a bogatyr, a Russian medieval hero. The intention of the poster is to motivate the working masses, the new "heroes" of Soviet nationalism.

By 1947, Stalin had created a ring of communist "satellite states" around the Soviet Union that became known as the **Eastern Bloc**. These Soviet-style communist governments suppressed political opposition, using the brutal methods employed by Stalin and his Soviet secret police. When the slightest stirrings of political independence arose in Eastern Europe, Soviet officials removed key people from power, imprisoned opponents, and in some instances, executed perceived "rebels."

The defeated nation of Germany was a special case. In the summer of 1945, the victors—the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union—split Germany into four allied occupation zones. The eastern part of Germany became an occupation zone ruled by the Soviet Union. The western part was split into three occupation zones, with the United States, Great Britain, and France each controlling a zone. Berlin, Germany's capital, was entirely within the Soviet occupation zone, but it was governed by a joint agency of all four nations.

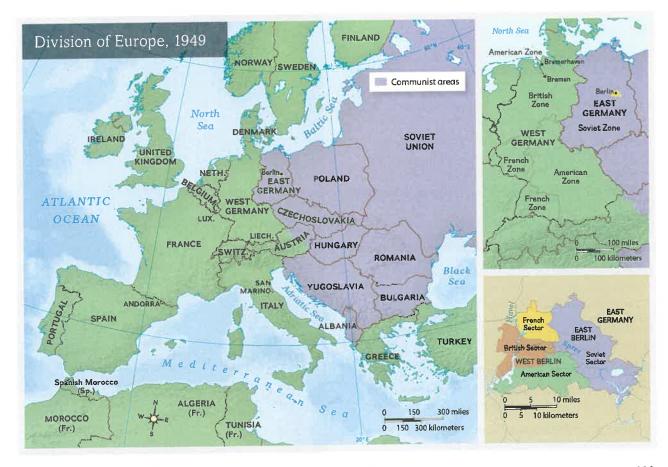
In 1946, the Americans and British combined their two sections of Berlin into a single section: West Berlin. In May 1949, the occupation zones of Germany controlled by the United States, Britain, and France merged into a single zone and, on May 23, this zone became the sovereign nation of the **Federal Republic of Germany**,

or West Germany. The Soviets reacted to the formation of West Germany by creating the **German Democratic Republic**, or East Germany, in October 1949.

# CONTAINMENT AND THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

While visiting the United States in 1946, former British prime minister Winston Churchill addressed the growing concern over Soviet expansion. Speaking at Westminster College in Missouri, Churchill summed up the division of Europe. "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic," he declared, "an **iron curtain** has descended across the Continent." The term "iron curtain" became shorthand for the divide in Europe between Western capitalist and Eastern communist countries. Churchill insisted the Soviets must be dealt with from a position of strength, and the United States must take a leading role in preventing the further expansion of communism.

By the time Churchill had spoken, the United States was already mapping out a plan for confronting the Soviets. The plan's architect was George F. Kennan, a foreign service officer stationed at the U.S. embassy in Moscow. In early 1946, Kennan laid out the doctrine of **containment**, or control of Soviet influence, that would shape American foreign policy for the next 40 years. Under containment, the



United States would focus on keeping communism from expanding. American forces, Kennan said, would employ "the adroit [skillful] and vigilant [watchful] application of counterforce at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points, corresponding to the shift and maneuvers of Soviet policy." President Truman firmly supported the policy of containment and its goal of blocking the Soviets from spreading communism to other countries. "Unless Russia is faced with an iron fist and strong language, another war is in the making," Truman predicted. "I am tired of babying the Soviets."

In 1947, the United States acted on its containment policy as it entered a conflict in the Mediterranean region. The Soviet Union was threatening to take land in Turkey, while in Greece, communist-led guerrillas were battling the government in a bloody civil war. Great Britain, which controlled the area, warned the United States that Britain could no longer afford to offer military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. In response, Truman told Congress that "Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world." He then proposed that the United States provide economic and military aid to all countries threatened by a communist takeover. This proposal became known as the Truman Doctrine. The president asked for and received from Congress \$400 million in aid for Greece and Turkey.

The world had now entered an era of U.S.-Soviet conflict known as the **Cold War** that would last from the late 1940s to 1991. It was termed the "cold" war because the United States and Soviet Union would never engage in open warfare against each other. Instead, each country would try to weaken the other's influence around the world, and each country would take sides in a number of smaller wars. In the end, the Cold War would be a massive ideological and geopolitical struggle with consequences rippling across the globe.

## HISTORICAL THINKING

- READING CHECK Why is the decades-long struggle between the United States and Soviet Union referred to as the "Cold War"?
- 2. **INTERPRET MAPS** What does the map show about Berlin in 1949?
- 3. COMPARE AND CONTRAST Following WW II, how did the economic policies of Western capitalist and Soviet communist countries differ from each other?
- 4. MAKE CONNECTIONS What is the doctrine of containment, and how was it applied?

#### THE BERLIN AIRLIFT

The Soviet Union resented having a democratic West Berlin in the middle of its occupation zone. In June 1948, the Soviets began a blockade of the city, cutting off land access and hoping to starve out the British and Americans. Unwilling to use military force to end the blockade, the Western allies devised another way to get food, fuel, and other supplies to West Berlin.

In what became known as the Berlin Airlift, allied cargo planes used open air corridors over the Soviet occupation zone to drop the supplies into West Berlin. By the spring of 1949, it was clear that the Soviet blockade had failed, and it was lifted by the middle of May.





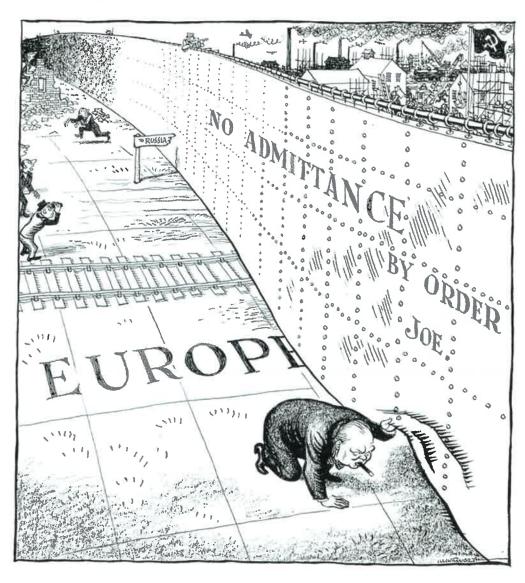
# THE COLD WAR BEGINS

The years following the end of World War II saw the onset of the Cold War, as the United States and the Soviet Union battled each other for global dominance.

The notion of an "Iron Curtain" across Europe symbolized the Cold War and the deep division between the free West and the communist world. Not surprisingly, it was a favorite subject of cartoonists. British cartoonist Leslie Illingworth sketched this cartoon the day after Winston Churchill's famous speech in Missouri in 1946. He depicts Churchill peeking under a curtain that

carries a message signed by "Joe," a reference to Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. The cartoon also features several symbols of the division of Europe.

CRITICAL VIEWING Look closely at the cartoon. Which symbols of the division of East and West does the cartoonist include?



#### DOCUMENT ONE

Primary Source: Speech from Winston Churchill's speech, delivered at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, March 5, 1946

In this famous speech, Churchill condemned the Soviet Union's policies in Europe and coined the phrase "Iron Curtain." The speech ends with a strong plea for a unified international front against communist expansion.

**CONSTRUCTED RESPONSE** A metaphor is a figure of speech that directly compares two unlike things. What does the metaphor "iron curtain" help you understand about the situation Churchill describes in his speech?

An iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject . . . not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in some cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow.

#### DOCUMENT TWO

Primary Source: Speech from President Harry S. Truman's speech, delivered March 12, 1947, before a joint session of Congress

How should the United States react to the advance of communism in Europe? In a dramatic speech to a joint session of Congress, President Truman asked Congress to appropriate money to stop communist aggression in Greece and Turkey. The president first articulated the Truman Doctrine in this speech.

**CONSTRUCTED RESPONSE** Truman's speech is considered the opening "shot" of the Cold War. Why do you think it is regarded as such?

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one. . . .

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation [control] by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

## DOCUMENT THREE

Secondary Source: Newspaper Article from "Truman Acts to Save Nations From Red Rule," by Felix Belair, Jr., March 12, 1947, the New York Times

The New York Times journalist Felix Belair covered the speech in which President Truman announced the Truman Doctrine.

**CONSTRUCTED RESPONSE** What are two important points the newspaper reporter has gathered from Truman's speech?

President Truman outlined a new foreign policy for the United States. He proposed that this country intervene wherever necessary throughout the world to prevent the subjection of free peoples to Communist-inspired totalitarian regimes. . . . Although the President refrained from mentioning the Soviet Union by name, there could be no mistaking his identification of the Communist state as the source of much of the unrest throughout the world.

# **SYNTHESIZE & WRITE**

- REVIEW Review what you have learned about the events that led to the Cold War and the division of Europe.
- RECALL On your own paper, write the main differences between the views of Stalin and other Soviet leaders and the views of Western leaders toward the postwar situation.
- 3. CONSTRUCT Construct a topic sentence that answers this question: How did President Truman respond to the advance of communism in Europe?
- 4. WRITE Using evidence from this chapter and the documents, write an informative paragraph that supports your topic sentence in Step 3. Include information about Truman's and Churchill's views of the Soviet Union.

# TRUMAN'S FAIR DEAL

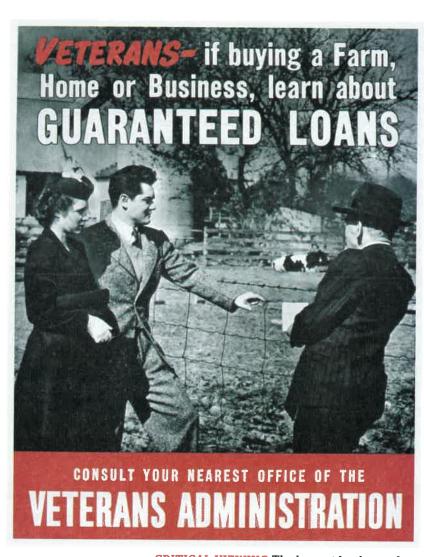
Imagine being a soldier returning home after fighting on the front lines of World War II. You have no job waiting for you. What do you do? Can you count on the government to help you?

# THE POSTWAR ECONOMY

In addition to the foreign policy challenges of the impending Cold War, President Truman's domestic challenges proved demanding as well. When millions of soldiers came back from overseas, ready to resume their lives as civilians, the U.S. economy struggled to accommodate them. With no more military orders to fill, factories closed, causing widespread layoffs. There was little work for returning soldiers. In addition, home construction had been on hold during the war, which caused a major housing shortage for veterans and their families. Homelessness spiked in major cities-Chicago had more than 100,000 homeless veterans and Washington, D.C., had 25,000.

Fortunately, the United States was entering a period where both the Democrats and Republicans saw the benefit of working together to solve many of the nation's problems. They agreed that the welfare state that began during the New Deal should be continued and even expanded.

Legislators supported the development of a national security system to fight communism within the country. And they believed a strong central government with a powerful executive branch could help achieve these goals. Historian Godfrey Hodgson called this agreement between parties the **liberal consensus**.



CRITICAL VIEWING The longest lasting and most popular feature of the GI Bill was the guaranteed loan for veterans. How might the poster above encourage a World War II veteran and his family to apply for a loan?

For example, in 1944 both parties in Congress worked together to pass the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, commonly known as the **GI Bill**. "GI," short for "Government Issue," is a military term that refers to U.S. armed forces. The GI Bill provided long-term, low-interest loans to veterans; funds to help pay college tuition; and a \$2,000 bonus toward the purchase of a new home. As a result, millions of new homes popped up around the country, and newly educated veterans joined the nation's growing **white-collar**, or professional, workforce.

Not all domestic efforts went so smoothly. In June 1946, Truman lifted the price controls on consumer goods previously imposed during the war to prevent inflation, even though he feared the cost of food and other necessities would skyrocket without the controls. They did. In just weeks, the cost of meat doubled. Faced with higher prices and no increase in wages, unions across the country began to strike.

The United Auto Workers went on strike for 113 days, demanding a pay increase. Large railroad and mine workers' unions also went on strike for higher pay, bringing U.S. transportation and energy industries to a standstill. Although the strikes were resolved, Congress passed the **Taft-Hartley Act** in 1947 to limit strikes in the future. The act allowed the president to impose an 80-day federal injunction to temporarily stop strikes that threatened national safety or health and required unions to give their employers a 60-day notice before staging a strike. Truman vetoed it, but Congress overrode his veto.

#### TRUMAN'S PLAN

Truman also faced the problem of racial conflict in the United States after the war, and he took a strong stand for civil rights. He authorized a special task force to investigate racial discrimination in the country. The task force recommended the desegregation of the armed forces, the creation of a civil rights division in the federal government, and the end of segregation and lynching in the United States. After Congress failed to pass any civil rights laws, Truman ordered the armed forces to be desegregated in 1948.

As the 1948 election approached, President Truman was on shaky ground. His stance on racial equality had caused a group of southern Democrats to split from the party, demanding "complete segregation of the races." He had a rocky relationship with other members of Congress as well, some of whom urged him not to run for re-election. And he faced a strong Republican opponent, New York Governor **Thomas E. Dewey**.

## **PRIMARY SOURCE**

We cannot afford to float along ceaselessly on a postwar boom until it collapses. It is not enough merely to prepare to weather a recession if it comes. Instead, government and business must work together constantly to achieve more and more jobs and more and more production—which mean more and more prosperity for all the people.

—from President Harry Truman's State of the Union speech in reference to the "Fair Deal," 1949

As the election neared, Dewey held the lead in opinion polls and was widely predicted to become the next president. However, Truman launched a vigorous campaign, traveling by train across the country attacking the "do-nothing" Congress. In a surprising upset, Truman won the election. The *Chicago Tribune* newspaper even ran the mistaken headline "Dewey Defeats Truman."

At his inauguration on January 20, 1949, Truman introduced a plan he called the **Fair Deal**, after Roosevelt's New Deal. The Fair Deal included such progressive ideas as expanding Social Security, increasing the minimum wage, continuing subsidies to support crop prices, instituting national health care, and passing an anti-discrimination law. He also called for expanding the Tennessee Valley Authority and providing funds for **rural electrification** in farm communities that did not yet have electricity.

The Fair Deal was a mixed success. By the end of his term, Truman had managed to expand Social Security and raise the minimum wage, but many of his other proposals were blocked by a conservative Congress. Also, the national debt grew in order to cover the government programs that boosted the postwar economy. In turn, the federal government had to pay higher interest rates on that debt, although neither the vital programs nor the nation's economy were in jeopardy. Still, the Fair Deal set the stage for future administrations to push a progressive agenda with the help of the liberal consensus.

- 1. READING CHECK What did Truman propose in the Fair Deal, and how did Congress respond?
- 2. MAKE GENERALIZATIONS How did the GI Bill improve the lives of soldiers returning from the war?
- 3. **IDENTIFY MAIN IDEAS AND DETAILS** What were the goals of the liberal consensus?

# **ESCALATING TENSIONS**

One of the benefits of being part of a group of friends is a feeling of security and knowing that people "have your back." As the Cold War began, nations joined sides with either the United States or the Soviet Union, seeking that same feeling of protection in a world of new dangers.

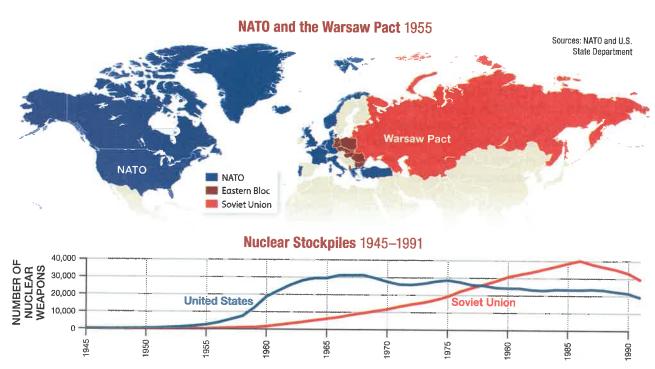
#### THE SOVIETS UNVEIL THE BOMB

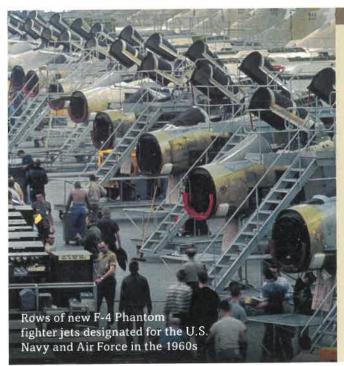
On August 29, 1949, a little more than four years after the United States dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, the Soviet Union stunned the world by conducting a test explosion of its own atomic bomb. Americans were shocked. Few believed the Soviets could have developed such a weapon. After all, the Soviet Union was considered a backward nation struggling to rebuild its destroyed infrastructure—roads, buildings, and public utilities—after the war. A number of officials accused the Soviets of espionage, or obtaining the bomb plans through theft or spying.

The development of the Soviet bomb set off a nuclear **arms race** between the United States and

the Soviet Union that would last for decades. As the two countries continued their competitive buildup of nuclear weapons, the odds that they might use them kept rising. However, the complete destructive potential of both stockpiles ultimately acted as a deterrent to using them.

The onset of the arms race led to rapid growth for the U.S. defense industry. Factories geared up to design and build planes, rockets, and satellites. Southern California, in particular, became the booming center of the U.S. **aerospace industry**. The availability of land and a favorable climate made southern California an attractive location, and more than half of the nation's 25 largest aerospace companies would





## **PRIMARY SOURCE**

Many years after the arms race began, President Dwight D. Eisenhower (elected in 1952) gave a speech in which he warned against the close relationship that had grown between the military and the aerospace industry, a relationship he called the military-industrial complex.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. . . . Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

-from President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Farewell Address, 1961

come to reside there. Between 1952 and 1962, the U.S. government funneled more than \$50 billion into California, twice the amount received by any other state. For decades, the aerospace industry would be a major driving force of the California economy.

#### **CREATING ALLIANCES**

In addition to stockpiling arms, the United States and the Soviet Union formed alliances to keep each other in check. In 1949, the United States, Canada, and 10 Western European nations formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Member nations agreed to aid each other should one of the countries be attacked. To counter NATO, the Soviets created the Warsaw Pact, a collective defense treaty of communist countries that included the Soviet Union, Albania, Poland, Romania, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. Similar to NATO, the Warsaw Pact stated that the member countries would defend each other against attack. Several years later, the United States would help establish a similar alliance among Asian countries, known as the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO).

As the United States built global alliances, the nation also moved to strengthen its own security and defense. In 1947, lawmakers passed the National Security Act, which unified all of the armed forces under a single **Department of Defense**. The act also created the **National Security Council (NSC)** 

to gather and provide foreign policy information to the president. In addition, the act established the **Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)** to collect classified information overseas and uncover what other nations were doing behind the scenes. The CIA was similar to wartime intelligence agencies that had since been disbanded.

In 1950, Secretary of State Dean Acheson wrote a secret document known as National Security Council Paper 68 (NSC68), which called for a steep increase in peacetime military spending—from \$13 billion to \$50 billion per year. It also called for the construction of a "thermonuclear device," a **hydrogen bomb**, that would be even more powerful than the atomic bomb. Truman never showed NSC68 to Congress, but when the document was declassified, or made public, in 1975, it provided a look at how U.S. defense policy was shaped.

- 1. READING CHECK How was the establishment of international alliances in the 1950s tied to the arms race?
- 2. ANALYZE CAUSE AND EFFECT How did the development of a Soviet atomic bomb affect the economy of southern California?
- 3. INTERPRET GRAPHS During which decade did the Soviets begin to surpass the United States in number of nuclear weapons?

# COLD WAR AROUND THE GLOBE

Have you ever seen a video of hundreds of dominoes falling in a chain reaction? During the Cold War, some feared that might happen with countries: if one became communist, its neighbors might quickly follow.

# THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

As the United States and its allies confronted the Soviet Union, another communist power was emerging—China. As you have read, communist forces had been active in China since the 1920s. By the 1930s, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), led by Mao Zedong, was battling Chiang Kai-shek and his Chinese Nationalist Party, which ruled the country.

When World War II broke out, the two sides joined together to help defeat Japan. After the war, however, their civil war resumed. On paper, Chiang and his forces had better resources. But Chiang's government had grown increasingly corrupt, ineffective, and unpopular during World War II. Meanwhile, Mao had become an inspiring leader. He attracted many people, and his Communist Party gained a reputation for supporting the common man. Chiang responded to communist attacks with increased violence and repression, which only made him more unpopular.

Despite strong U.S. support for Chiang in the Chinese civil war, the tide turned in favor of Mao's communist army, now called the People's Liberation Army (PLA). The PLA captured the city of Beijing in January 1949 and occupied, or took over, Nanjing and Shanghai soon after. In late 1949, Mao claimed victory. He announced the formation of the **People's Republic of China** and declared his communist solidarity with the Soviet Union.

Chiang and his remaining forces fled to the island of Taiwan, where they set up a **government-in-exile**, or a government that has been deposed and attempts to rule from another land. Chiang claimed to lead the only legitimate Chinese government. The United States strongly backed this claim. Now, mainland China, once a loyal U.S. ally, had become a clear enemy to the United States. With the world starkly divided into American and Soviet spheres of influence, or areas



# The Andy Warhol Museum Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

The 5-foot wide by 7-foot tall image of Mao by artist Andy Warhol suggests the enormous scale of the images of communist leaders publicly displayed in their countries. Warhol made hundreds of silk screens of Mao, each altered in a different way by adding paint. The Mao series of work comments on communist propaganda and popular culture in the United States. Warhol was a leading practitioner of pop art.

Andy Warhol, "Mao", © 2017 The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, Inc. / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York

## PRIMARY SOURCE

In 1945, Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnam's independence from France using rhetoric from the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen and from the American Declaration of Independence.

The Declaration of the French Revolution made in 1791 on the Rights of Man and the Citizen also states: 'All men are born free and with equal rights, and must always remain free and have equal rights.' Nevertheless for more than 80 years, the French imperialists . . . have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly slain our patriots; they have drowned our uprisings in rivers of blood. They have . . . impoverished our people, and devastated our land. They have robbed us of our rice fields, our mines, our forests.

 from Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, by Ho Chi Minh, 1945

of authority, China's shift was seen as a serious loss for the West. A debate raged in Washington about who was to blame for "losing China" to communism. Opponents of President Truman portrayed Mao's victory as an "avoidable catastrophe" that the president failed to prevent by focusing too much on Eastern Europe and not enough on China.

#### FROM CHINA TO SOUTHEAST ASIA

The policy of containment, as you have read, was based on a fear that communism would spread. Western leaders reinforced this idea with the **domino theory**. They argued that just like rows of dominoes knocking each other down, communist countries—especially those in Asia—would "knock over" their neighbors and make them communist as well.

After World War II, the French controlled much of Southeast Asia, including Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, a region known as Indochina. In Vietnam, France soon faced a revolt led by communist leader **Ho Chi Minh**. Ho led a group known as the Viet Minh. In September 1945, the Viet Minh announced their independence from France, seized control of the northern part of the country, and declared the **Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam)** with Ho as president.

Financial backing and military supplies from the United States helped France secure control of the southern region and set up the **State of Vietnam (South Vietnam)**. For the next five years, France fought the



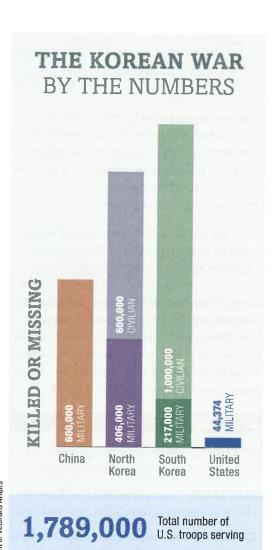
Viet Minh, who were supported by the Soviet Union and China, for control of Vietnam. Ho and his troops realized it was impossible to win large-scale battles against the French. Instead, they conducted a guerrilla war in the countryside, attacking the French and then retreating into Vietnam's mountains and jungles.

In March 1954, the Viet Minh defeated a large French force at the **Battle of Dien Bien Phu**. The two sides negotiated a peace agreement that officially divided Vietnam into two countries: communist North Vietnam and democratic South Vietnam. However, the situation remained unstable and battles continued to erupt. By the end of the 1950s, the United States would increase its direct involvement in the Vietnam conflict. But before that, the United States focused on stopping the spread of communism in another Asian country—Korea.

- READING CHECK Why did the United States support Chiang's Chinese government-in-exile?
- 2. **INTERPRET MAPS** What war advantage did North Vietnam have, considering its location next to China?
- 3. DRAW CONCLUSIONS How might breaking Vietnam into two separate countries lead to conflict later on? Use evidence from the text to support your prediction.
- 4. FORM AND SUPPORT OPINIONS Does it make sense to compare countries to game pieces that might fall in a chain reaction as the domino theory did? Why or why not?

# THE KOREAN WAR

Did you ever become involved in an argument or debate between two people because you wanted to support a friend or because you strongly supported one side? As the Cold War heated up, the United States became involved in a far-off civil war in order to halt the spread of communism.



# **WAR ERUPTS IN KOREA**

The nation of Korea lies on a peninsula that borders northeastern China. Japan had ruled the land since the late 1800s. In 1945, after Japan's defeat in World War II, the Allies took control. They divided the Korean Peninsula roughly in half at the **38th parallel**, which is 38 degrees latitude north of the equator. Soviet troops controlled North Korea, while American-backed troops controlled the Republic of Korea, also called South Korea. With Soviet backing, a communist government was set up in North Korea, while the United States helped establish democratic rule in the south. Both sides claimed to be the legitimate ruler of the entire peninsula, and skirmishes along the border were common. In 1948, the United Nations moved to unify the country through national elections. But the Soviets refused to let UN officials into North Korea, preventing the elections from taking place.

On June 25, 1950, North Korean troops crossed the 38th parallel and invaded South Korea, taking everyone by surprise. It was clear that, although North Korea was the immediate aggressor, it attacked with the approval of the Soviet Union. This situation—where a major power starts a war in which it does not become directly involved—is called a proxy war. A proxy is a person or nation that acts as a substitute for or on behalf of another.

President Truman viewed the invasion as a test of his containment policy aimed at preventing the Soviets from spreading communism further. At Truman's urging, the United Nations condemned the attack and ordered North Korea to withdraw. North Korea refused, and the UN dispatched a multinational military force to South Korea. Meanwhile, Truman ordered American troops stationed in Japan to provide additional military support to the UN forces, including those U.S. troops already stationed on the Korean peninsula. He also sent an American naval fleet into the waters between China and Taiwan.

36,574

>7,800

U.S. soldiers

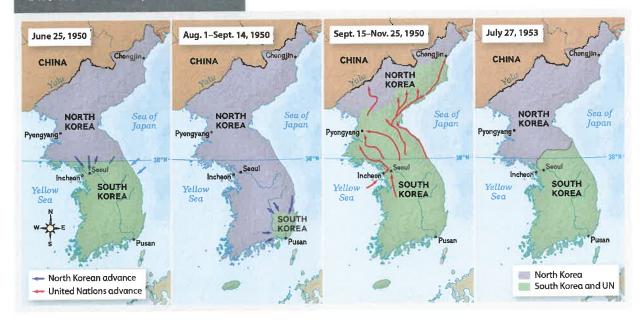
killed in action

American soldiers

still unaccounted

for as of June 2016

# The Korean War, 1950-1954



## A BACK-AND-FORTH BATTLE

North Korean forces had moved swiftly, and within weeks they had captured the South Korean capital of Seoul (sohl). The army continued to push south. By the end of July 1950, North Korea had pushed UN troops to the southern tip of the peninsula, into a small region around the city of Pusan. The defenders, however, dug in and fought off one furious attack after another as they waited for reinforcements.

As North Korea seemed poised to win, U.S. commander General Douglas MacArthur executed a bold plan. He sent UN and U.S. troops by sea to the port of **Incheon**, 150 miles behind North Korean lines. MacArthur intended to surprise and overwhelm the enemy by attacking from the rear. It worked. With their communications cut and under heavy bombardment, the North Koreans fled back north across the 38th parallel. Sensing an opening, MacArthur chased the enemy over the border, deep into North Korea. Surrounded and under siege, the North Koreans pressed for peace and a return to the old border at the 38th parallel. The United States and South Korea, however, had set their sights on controlling all of Korea. Then China stepped in.

# **CHINA JOINS THE WAR**

In November 1950, China staged a massive attack across its border into Korea. While the Chinese had initially stayed out of the conflict, they were not about to let their fellow communists in North Korea suffer a defeat. More than 300,000 Chinese troops overwhelmed American and South Korean forces.

MacArthur, who had assured President Truman the Chinese would not enter the fight, now admitted, "We face an entirely new war." Scores of troops retreated to the south by sea. Meanwhile, several U.S. Marine and Army divisions trapped inland battled ferociously to escape. U.S. and UN forces withdrew south of the 38th parallel, and in January 1951, abandoned Seoul for a second time. After several months of intense fighting, the retreating forces held their ground just south of Seoul along the 37th parallel. MacArthur launched attack after attack, slowly pushing the Chinese and North Koreans back up the peninsula and eventually back over the 38th parallel.

#### TRUMAN FIRES MACARTHUR

China's entry into the war caused tensions between Truman and MacArthur. The general wanted to strike China with nuclear weapons, but President Truman strongly rejected the idea. Any attempt to widen the war, Truman reasoned, would alarm other UN partners and perhaps provoke the Soviets into starting a larger, more deadly war.

MacArthur, however, refused to be silent. He sent a letter to Congress criticizing Truman's refusal to meet force "with maximum counterforce" and ended with his oft-quoted phrase: "There is no substitute for victory." MacArthur also leaked information to the press, warning of a crushing defeat for UN forces if nuclear bombs were not used. On his own, MacArthur issued a warning to China, threatening to expand the war into Chinese territory. Truman was furious. In April 1951, the President

## **PRIMARY SOURCE**

With deep regret I have concluded that General of the Army Douglas MacArthur is unable to give his wholehearted support to the policies of the United States Government and of the United Nations in matters pertaining to his official duties. In view of the specific responsibilities imposed upon me by the Constitution of the United States and the added responsibility which has been entrusted to me by the United Nations, I have decided that I must make a change of command in the Far East. I have, therefore, relieved General MacArthur of his commands and have designated Lt. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway as his successor.

—from a statement by President Harry Truman, April 11, 1951

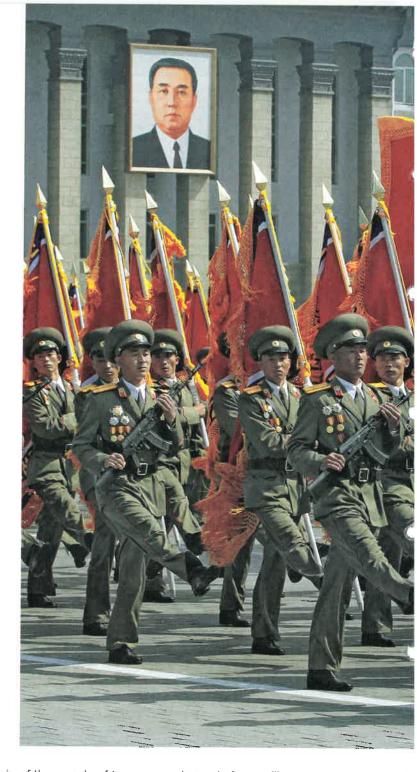
removed MacArthur from his post, accusing him of insubordination, or refusal to obey orders. Truman replaced MacArthur with General Matthew Ridgway.

MacArthur returned to the United States to public acclaim as a hero who symbolized old military values in a world complicated by the threat of nuclear war. Letters poured into the White House, and the vast majority—21 to 1—were against his firing. Angry groups of citizens even burned President Truman in effigy. An effigy is a crude model of a person, made to be damaged in protest. MacArthur gave a farewell address to a joint session of Congress. His closing words were: "Old soldiers never die; they just fade away. And like the old soldier of that ballad, I now close my military career and just fade away—an old soldier who tried to do his duty as God gave him the light to see that duty."

#### THE KOREAN WAR ENDS

As the Truman-MacArthur drama unfolded on the home front, the war in Korea settled into a standoff. By spring of 1951, both sides seemed willing to accept the prewar border of the 38th parallel. Truce talks began that summer but dragged on for two more years due to continuous disagreements. In July 1953, both sides finally signed a truce that stopped the fighting without formally ending the war.

The truce called for both sides to pull back from the battle line and designated the space between them along the 38th parallel as a **demilitarized zone**. No army could enter the zone without breaking the truce. The demilitarized zone, often referred to as the DMZ, still stretches across the entire width of the Korean Peninsula—a 148-mile border—from which hundreds



of thousands of troops remain ready for conflict to erupt. South Korean troops, joined by U.S. troops, face North Korean troops across this fenced and guarded wasteland, which has now become a haven for vegetation and wildlife.

The toll from the first "hot" conflict of the Cold War was high, resulting in hundreds of thousands of lives lost, hundreds of cities and villages destroyed, and a ruined countryside, but it did not change the postwar division of Korea into two countries. War is always brutal, but the devastation of the



Korean War is unparalleled. The demilitarized zone continues to separate families and stifle the culture of a once united nation. But in defining their Korean identity, many South Koreans see themselves as a united community. North Korea presents itself as a united country, but its people have experienced long famines and much poverty. The armies still poised on either side of the DMZ ready to fight at any moment keep the two countries and the rest of the world on edge. After the North Korean government tested nuclear missiles in March 2013, South Korean officials called the act "an unforgiveable threat to the Korean peninsula's peace and safety."

#### HISTORICAL THINKING

- 1. READING CHECK What were the two major turning points in the Korean War?
- 2. **EVALUATE** North Korea was the Soviet Union's proxy in the Korean War. Was South Korea a proxy for the United States? Explain your answer.
- 3. INTERPRET MAPS According to the map, how did the war affect territory controlled by each side?
- 4. FORM AND SUPPORT OPINIONS Was President Truman right to fire MacArthur? Explain your opinion.

The Cold War and Korea 477

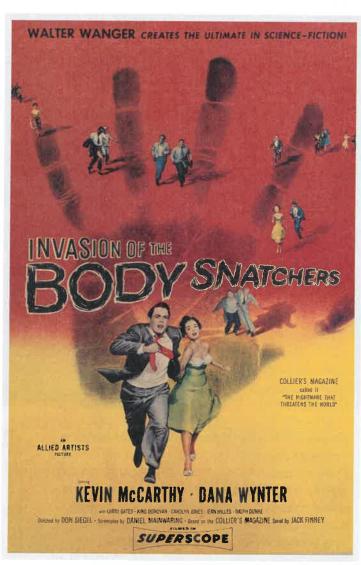
# THE RED SCARE CONTINUES

Everyone knows fear can be contagious, and there was plenty of fear to go around in the years following World War II. Many people were afraid communism could gain a foothold in the United States, and that fear led to a period of suspicion and accusations, some of which implicated ordinary, innocent Americans.

#### A SECOND RED SCARE

As you have read, fear of communism seized America following World War I in what became known as the Red Scare. After World War II, a second Red Scare swept the nation. Americans watched with alarm as the Soviet Union imposed its communist rule across Eastern Europe and successfully tested an atomic bomb. In Asia, Mao Zedong's communist army toppled the pro-American government of Chiang Kai-shek in China, and the United States sent troops overseas to battle communist forces in Korea. As communism appeared to be on the march everywhere, Americans started to look for signs of the enemy at home, even among their friends and neighbors.

Congress led the attack on suspected communists through its House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). The committee had originally been established to investigate Nazi propaganda in the United States in the 1930s. After World War II, HUAC began targeting suspected communists. Officials used the Alien Registration Act, also called the Smith Act, to prosecute alleged communist activity. The 1940 act, written in part by Democratic congressman Howard W. Smith, made it illegal to discuss overthrowing the government and required immigrants to register with authorities. Fewer than 200 people were charged under the legislation. When civil rights organizations spoke out against such practices, they too were targeted as possible communist sympathizers.



The 1956 Hollywood movie *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* tells the story of aliens who take over the bodies of humans. Many viewed the film as a commentary on the nation's postwar, anticommunist hysteria. The official movie poster released by the studio, Allied Artists Pictures, highlights the fear of the postwar years.

## THE HOLLYWOOD TEN

in 1947, HUAC launched a highly publicized anticommunist investigation into the American motion picture industry. The committee accused ten screenwriters and film directors of creating procommunist films and materials. Committee members issued the writers and directors a subpoena, or formal request to appear before them. During their hearings, the writers and directors refused to answer questions about their political beliefs and associations. Judges charged the "Hollywood Ten," as they became known, with contempt of Congress and sent them to jail. In addition, the group was blacklisted in the entertainment industry, which meant no one was willing to do any further work with them.

In the years that followed, many people found themselves in communism-related Supreme Court cases. The film industry became so linked to communism that its labor union, the Screen Actors Guild (SAG), required its members to take a loyalty oath, a sworn statement that they did not belong to various organizations including those identified as communist. Some universities, school districts, and school boards also started requiring their members to take loyalty oaths. In 1950, as part of a newly enacted state law, leaders of the University of California required its employees to take a loyalty oath and reject radical beliefs. A number of university professors lost their positions when they refused to sign loyalty oaths. In 1952, the California Supreme Court ruled in favor of the professors, but not until 1967 did federal courts rule the law unconstitutional.

# **SPY CASES GRIP THE NATION**

The growing fear of communism at home sparked two prominent spy cases that captivated Americans. In 1948, American writer **Whittaker Chambers** testified before HUAC and claimed to have once been part of a "communist cell" in Washington, D.C. Chambers added that the cell included **Alger Hiss**, a former government official who had advised President Roosevelt in foreign affairs. Hiss denied the allegations in testimony before HUAC. When Chambers repeated the charge on a national radio broadcast, Hiss sued him for **libel**, the crime of making unsubstantiated negative claims about someone.

Chambers struck back by producing dozens of classified State Department documents from the 1930s that suggested Hiss was a spy for the Russians. The evidence included photographs and summaries of confidential reports Hiss had written in longhand

or typed on a unique typewriter he once owned. Richard M. Nixon, a young California congressman, made a name for himself by pushing hard for Hiss's indictment, or formal charge of a criminal offense. Hiss could not be charged with espionage, as the alleged crime occurred too long ago. Instead, a federal grand jury indicted him for perjury, or lying, before HUAC. Hiss's first trial ended in a hung jury, or a jury that can't agree on a verdict. His second trial ended with a guilty verdict and a jail sentence for Hiss.

Another stunning trial involved **Julius and Ethel Rosenberg**, a New York couple who were active in the Communist Party. The case began in 1950, when the FBI discovered a spy network of American and British communists who were passing the Soviets information about U.S. atomic bomb development. After authorities arrested a German-born nuclear physicist for espionage, they discovered that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were part of the same network of spies.

The Rosenbergs were arrested and convicted, in part on the testimony of Ethel Rosenberg's brother, David Greenglass, an engineer working on the Manhattan Project, which developed the American atomic bomb. A number of people viewed the Rosenbergs as innocent victims of anticommunist hysteria. However, numerous appeals and pleas for clemency, or mercy, failed. In 1953, the Rosenbergs were executed for treason.

Decades later, after the fall of the Soviet Union, information concerning the case was made public, including a number of radio messages. These messages were gathered and decrypted by the Venona Project, a code-breaking operation run by the U.S. Army. The messages, known as the Venona Papers, bolstered HUAC's claims of a communist threat in the United States. For years, the Rosenbergs' sons worked to prove their parents' innocence. By 2016, new evidence confirmed their father's guilt, but cast doubt on their mother's involvement.

- READING CHECK What international events sparked the second Red Scare?
- 2. DESCRIBE Who were the prime targets of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and why were they targeted?
- 3. MAKE INFERENCES Why do you think the Screen Actors Guild agreed to blacklist members of its own union?

**MAIN IDEA** A U.S. Senator named Joe McCarthy emerged as the leading figure in the hunt for suspected communists, creating an atmosphere of hysteria and fear in the United States.

# THE RISE OF MCCARTHYISM

Have you ever been afraid to speak your mind out of fear that others will attack you or accuse you of something? That is the way many people felt during Senator Joseph McCarthy's hunt for communists within the U.S. government during the early 1950s.

#### McCARTHY'S LIST OF COMMUNISTS

On a bleak February evening in 1950, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, a little-known politician from Wisconsin, delivered a speech to a Republican women's club in Wheeling, West Virginia. The topic of the speech was communist subversion in the federal government. Subversion is the act of secretly undermining something in an attempt to destroy it. "I have here in my hand," McCarthy told his audience, "a list of 205 Communists that were made known to the secretary of state and who are still working and shaping the policy of the State Department." The message was clear. The United States was losing the Cold War to the evil forces of communism because the U.S. government was filled with "traitors."

Among the politicians who targeted suspected communists at home during the Cold War, none stood out more than Joe McCarthy. Wisconsin's junior senator was an erratic, or unpredictable, politician, known for his reckless ambition and rowdy behavior. He knew little about communists in government or anywhere else. But as he spoke out about alleged sympathizers of communism within the U.S. government, the public listened. McCarthy had struck a nerve in a country growing more anxious about Soviet aggression and communist expansion. As the nation searched for explanations, McCarthy provided a simple answer. Disloyal Americans, especially those working in Washington, D.C., were the real enemy.

# **PRIMARY SOURCES**

In an attack on President Truman's foreign policy in February 1950, Senator Joseph McCarthy claimed to have a list of hundreds of communists employed by the federal government, but he never publicly revealed any of those names. In June 1950, Senator Margaret Chase Smith went before the Senate to deliver a personal rebuttal to McCarthyism in her "Declaration of Conscience."

While I cannot take the time to name [them], I have in my hand 205 cases of individuals who would appear to be either card carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy.

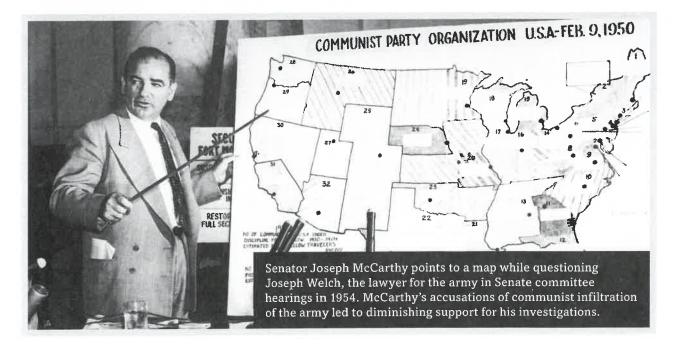
One thing to remember in discussing the Communists in our government is that we are not dealing with spies who get thirty pieces of silver to steal the blueprints of a new weapon. We are dealing with a far more sinister type of activity because it permits the enemy to guide and shape our policy.

from a speech in West Virginia by Senator
 Joseph R. McCarthy, 1950

The United States Senate has long enjoyed worldwide respect as the greatest deliberative body in the world. But recently that deliberative character has too often been debased to the level of a forum of hate and character assassination sheltered by the shield of congressional immunity.

The American people are sick and tired of being afraid to speak their minds lest they be politically smeared as "Communists" or "Fascists" by their opponents. Freedom of speech is not what it used to be in America. It has been so abused by some that it is not exercised by others.

from a speech in the Senate by Senator
 Margaret Chase Smith, 1950



#### RECKLESS ACCUSATIONS

McCarthy's charges of treason in high places made him an instant celebrity. Prominent Republicans, sensing the political benefits of the "communist issue," embraced his attacks, which became known as McCarthyism. As he gained fame, McCarthy's assertions grew bolder. He called former secretary of state George C. Marshall a traitor, mocked the current secretary of state, Dean Acheson, as the "Red Dean of fashion," and described President Truman as a drunkard, saying that he should be impeached. Yet Republican colleagues continued to encourage McCarthy, who they thought could turn public distrust into votes for their party.

During the 1952 national elections, Republicans won control of Congress. McCarthy became chairman of the Senate Subcommittee of Investigations. He used the power of his committee to force government officials to testify and defend their loyalty. Among those he targeted were homosexuals in government positions who might have access to classified information, whom he claimed were vulnerable to blackmail. In what became known as the Lavender Scare, federal agencies fired many employees suspected of being homosexuals. The wave of discrimination didn't end there. Throughout the nation, suspected lesbians and gay men were targeted for surveillance and persecution, and many were forced out of career positions in state and local government, education, and even private industry.

Academics—specifically, faculty members at the nation's most prestigious colleges and universities—were also targeted as dangerous communist

influences by McCarthy and his fellow committee members. Professors at Harvard, the University of Chicago, Johns Hopkins, Sarah Lawrence College, and other centers of higher learning were called to testify before the committee. Fortunately, most of these schools supported their faculty and refused to take action against any accused employees.

#### MCCARTHY'S FALL

Eventually, McCarthy went too far. In 1954, his committee attempted to uncover suspected communists within the ranks of the army. During televised hearings, the senator repeatedly bullied respected army officials, including General Ralph W. Zwicker, whom McCarthy declared was "unfit to wear the uniform" of the U.S. Army. Even President Eisenhower had seen enough. McCarthy quickly lost his credibility. The public turned away from him, and the Senate openly criticized him for bringing it into "dishonor and disrepute." The darkest days of McCarthyism soon ended, but the effects of the "witch hunts" and the alarm over communism followed the country into the next decade.

- READING CHECK How did Joseph McCarthy increase suspicion of government officials?
- 2. SYNTHESIZE How might McCarthy's investigations have affected academic freedom in U.S. colleges?
- 3. ANALYZE LANGUAGE USE What did Senator Smith mean when she said that freedom of speech had "been so abused by some that it is not exercised by others"?

## VOCABULARY

Write a paragraph to answer each question. Use all the words that appear below each question in your paragraph.

1. How were American politics and culture shaped by the Cold War?

subversion domino theory hydrogen bomb containment

McCarthyism

2. What effect did the Cold War have on jobs in business and government sectors?

infrastructure

aerospace industry

white-collar

arms race

GI Bill

# READING STRATEGY SYNTHESIZE

When you synthesize, you identify the most important information in a text, look for evidence that connects the facts, and think about what you already know about the topic. Then you use the evidence, explanations, and your prior knowledge to form an overall understanding of what you have read. Use the chart below to help you synthesize the information presented in this chapter. Then answer the question.

# The Roots of McCarthyism

Evidence:	The section of the last
Supporting Explanation:	
Supporting Diplomation	
Synthesis:	

3. How did world events following the Allied victory in World War II lead to distrust and suspicion within the United States?

#### MAIN IDEAS

Answer the following questions. Support your answers with evidence from the chapter.

- Name two organizations formed by the United Nations in the 1940s and the purposes of those organizations. LESSON 1.1
- 5. How did American foreign policy shift after World War II? LESSON 1.2
- 6. What caused the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union? **LESSON 2.1**
- 7. How was the Chinese Communist Party able to win the support of the Chinese people following World War II? LESSON 2.2
- 8. Why did President Truman remove General Douglas MacArthur from command of the American troops in Korea? LESSON 2.3
- How were the Alger Hiss and the Rosenberg spy cases similar and different? LESSON 3.1
- 10. What brought about the end of Joseph McCarthy's investigation of communist influence in the U.S. government? **LESSON 3.2**

# HISTORICAL THINKING

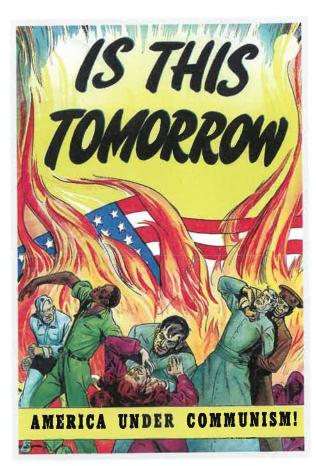
Answer the following questions. Support your answers with evidence from the chapter.

- 11. IDENTIFY MAIN IDEAS AND DETAILS How did the United Nations originate, and what purpose was it intended to serve?
- 12. DRAW CONCLUSIONS How did the Cold War and fear of communism affect ordinary Americans?
- 13. ANALYZE CAUSE AND EFFECT What triggered the larger conflict in Korea?

- 14. ANALYZE LANGUAGE USE Why did the historian Godfrey Hodgson refer to the postwar interaction of Republicans and Democrats as a "liberal consensus"?
- 15. SUMMARIZE What threats did the United States face from the expansion of communism throughout Eastern Europe and parts of Asia?
- **16. MAKE INFERENCES** Why do you think the National Security Council Paper 68 called for an increase in military spending?
- 17. FORM AND SUPPORT OPINIONS How did the Cold War affect American politics?

## INTERPRET VISUALS

Look carefully at this comic book cover created during the Cold War. Then answer the questions that follow.



- **18.** What elements in the image convey the fear that arose from the Cold War?
- 19. Is the message of this image based on opinion or fact? Explain your response.

## ANALYZE SOURCES

Not everyone trusted Senator Joseph McCarthy or believed his accusations. The excerpt below is from a letter President Truman wrote in 1950, but never sent, in response to a telegram he had received from the senator.

This is the first time in my experience . . . that I ever heard of a Senator trying to discredit his own Government before the world. Your telegram is not only not true and an insolent approach to a situation that should have been worked out between man and man—but it shows conclusively that you are not even fit to have a hand in the operation of the Government of the United States.

20. Based on the excerpt, how would you describe the president's attitude toward McCarthy's accusations?

# CONNECT TO YOUR LIFE

21. NARRATIVE You have considered how the Cold War affected ordinary American citizens between 1945 and 1960. Judging a person's response to historical events is often easier than knowing how you might behave in the same situation without the advantage of hindsight. Write a story in which you are a main character and explore what you may have thought or done in the midst of the Cold War as events occurred.

#### TIPS

- Focus on one or two historical events that present a conflict for you and describe them.
- Identify your character's thoughts and feelings as world events unfolded.
- Use vivid language to describe the location of the story and the other characters in it.
- Include realistic dialogue in your story.
- Use two or three vocabulary terms from the chapter in your narrative.
- End the narrative by stating a moral, or a lesson one or more of the characters learned.

