10 Turning Points

1945-1975

hy It Matters

As you study Unit 10, you will learn about the changes that came after World War II. Out of the war came a new sense of global responsibility as the United States made every effort to protect Western democracy. Many Americans pressed for social reform and equal rights. In addition, the use of new technology changed the way Americans lived and worked.

Primary Sources Library

See pages 976–977 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 10.

Use the American history

Primary Source Document Library

CD-ROM to find additional primary sources about the Cold War, the civil rights movement, and the Vietnam era.



American soldier in Vietnam, 1966

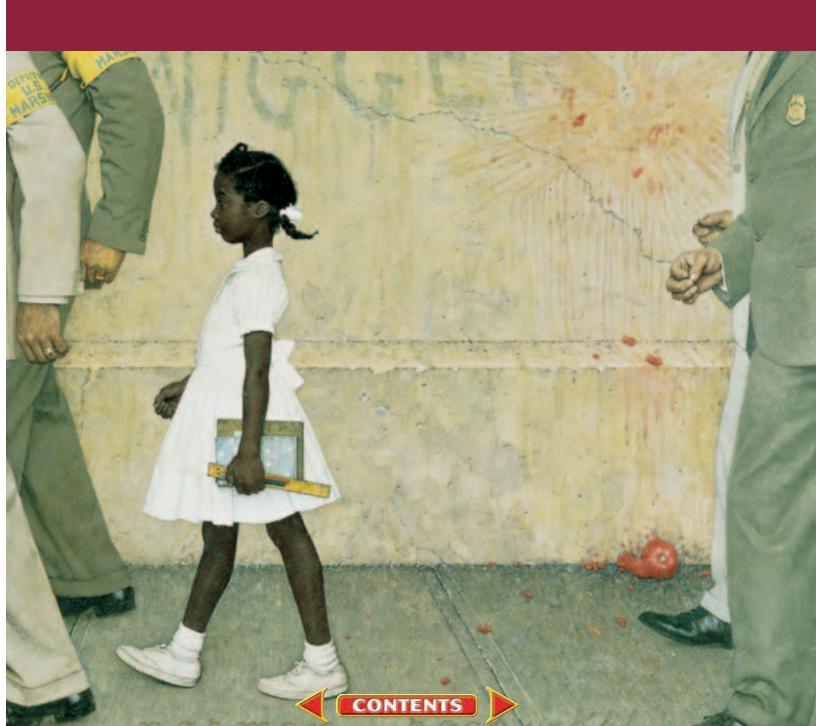
The Problem We All Live With by Norman Rockwell





"I had been pushed as far as I could stand."

—Rosa Parks, 1955





CHAPTER 27

The Cold War Era

1945-1954

Why It Matters

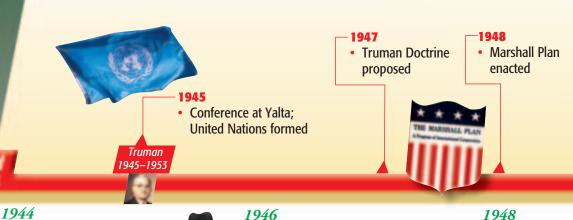
After the end of World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union entered into a bitter rivalry. Each side tried to gain allies and prove that its system—democracy and free enterprise or communism—was better.

The Impact Today

The rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union shaped much of the modern world. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 marked the end of the Cold War era.



The American Journey Video The chapter 27 video, "The Wall and the Berlin Airlift," details the Berlin blockade and the effects of the Berlin airlift.







_1946

 Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech marks beginning of Cold War

- 1948

- Soviets blockade West Berlin
- State of Israel formed



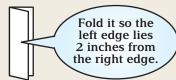


Conflict in Korea United Nations troops fight in the streets of Seoul, South Korea, September 1950.

FOLDA BLES Study Organizer

Compare-Contrast Study Foldable Organize and compare information about the rivalry that shaped the Cold War era by making and using this foldable.

Step 1 Fold a sheet of paper from side to side, leaving a 2-inch tab uncovered along the side.



Step 2 Turn the paper and fold it in half.



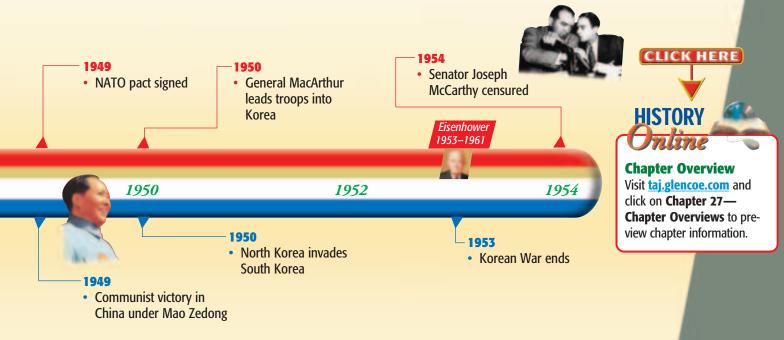
Step 3 Unfold and cut along the inside fold line.



Step 4 Label the foldable as shown.



Reading and Writing As you read about this period of time, write what you learn about democracy and communism under the tabs of your foldable. Compare the two sides and use what you learn to explain how the Cold War started.





section 1 Cold War **Origins**

Main Idea

The United States struggled to prevent the spread of communism.

Key Terms

iron curtain, containment, airlift, cold war

Guide to Reading

Reading Strategy

Sequencing Information As you read the section, re-create the time line below and list important events in the Cold War.



Read to Learn

- how the United States attempted to stop the spread of communism.
- · how foreign policy changed as a result of the Cold War.

Section Theme

Global Connections Soviet expansion led to a cold war between the forces of democracy and communism.

Preview of Events

1945

February 1945

Conference at Yalta is held

April 1945

Harry S Truman succeeds FDR

1947

May 1948 Jewish leaders proclaim new state of Israel

October 1949

Soviets blockade West Berlin

June 1948

1949

Mao Zedong forms Communist China



The Big Three at Yalta



The three most powerful men in the world met in Yalta to discuss the fate of the postwar world. President Roosevelt hoped to promote his vision of postwar cooperation. Prime Minister Churchill spoke elegantly and forcefully. Soviet leader Stalin remained stubbornly opposed to much of what was proposed. Stalin stated to his aides, "They want to force us to accept their plans on Europe and the world. Well, that's not going to happen." As the Allies discovered, Stalin had his own plans.

Wartime Diplomacy

While fighting a common enemy during World War II, Western democracies and Soviet leaders had set aside their differences. As the Allies moved toward victory in 1945, questions about the organization of the postwar world arose. Soviet forces had pushed back German armies and occupied much of Eastern and Central Europe. Should these areas-including Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia—remain in Soviet hands?





In February 1945, the "Big Three" Allied leaders—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin—met at Yalta, a Soviet port on the Black Sea. They came to discuss issues affecting the postwar world. Out of this meeting came the Yalta agreement, in which the Soviet Union agreed to enter the war against Japan. In return, the Soviets received some territories in Asia.

Reaching an agreement on postwar arrangements proved more difficult. Roosevelt and Churchill feared the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and the spread of communism. Stalin, on the other hand, wanted to keep a large

area of land between the Soviet Union and its potential enemies in the West. Germany presented a special problem. The Allies finally agreed to divide Germany into four zones until elections could be held to determine its future. The Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, and France would each control a zone.

Stalin agreed to allow free elections in occupied Eastern Europe and to cooperate in planning for the new international organization proposed by the United States and Britain. Roosevelt and Churchill felt encouraged about a peaceful postwar world. Their hopes went unfulfilled.





The United Nations

President Roosevelt died suddenly on April 12, 1945. Vice President Harry S Truman succeeded him. Facing the enormous responsibilities of the presidency, Truman told reporters, "When they told me yesterday [of Roosevelt's death], I felt like the moon, the stars, and all the planets had fallen on me."

One of Truman's first decisions as president was to go ahead with the meeting to form the new international organization discussed at Yalta. On June 26, in San Francisco, California, 50 nations—including the Soviet Union—signed the charter creating the United Nations (UN). The members hoped the UN could settle disputes between nations and prevent future wars.

Reading Check Describing How did the Allies agree to divide Germany?

Geography

Soviet Expansion in Europe

The uneasy wartime alliance between the Western nations and the Soviet Union did not last. Stalin did not keep his promise to hold free elections in Eastern Europe. Instead the Soviets set up Communist governments in these countries, and Soviet forces remained in the region.

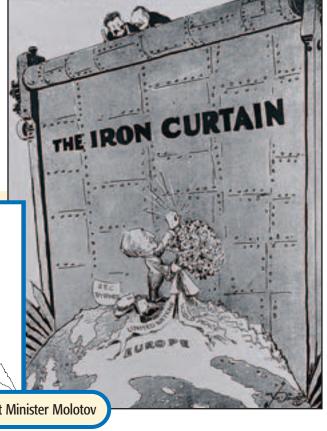
Developments in Eastern Europe led to a growing distrust between the Soviet Union and Western nations. Europe split into two camps the Soviet-controlled Communist governments of the East and the capitalist democracies.

The Iron Curtain

Winston Churchill believed that the division between East and West was permanent. In 1946 he declared in a speech in Fulton, Missouri, that an "iron curtain" had descended on Europe. Churchill meant that the Soviets had cut off Eastern Europe from the West. Behind this iron curtain, he said, lay the countries of Eastern Europe "in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject to a very high . . . measure of control from Moscow."

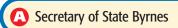
Churchill warned that the Soviets would eventually look beyond Eastern Europe and try to gain control of other parts of the world. This idea alarmed Americans, who had feared the spread of communism ever since the Russian Revolution in 1917.

Civil war raged in Greece, as Communist rebels armed by the Soviet Union attempted to overthrow the Greek king and his pro-Western government. At the same time, the Soviets put enormous pressure on Turkey to give them naval bases on the straits leading to the Mediterranean Sea.



Analyzing Political Cartoons

The iron curtain represented a barrier to the free exchange of ideas between countries under Soviet control and the rest of the world. The iron curtain often appeared in cartoons about the Cold War. What does the cartoon say about the attitude of Secretary of State Byrnes toward the Soviet leaders?











Containing the Soviets

Seeking ways to counter Soviet expansion, President Truman drew from the ideas of **George F. Kennan**, an American diplomat and an expert on Soviet history and culture. Kennan argued that the United States and the Soviet Union could not cooperate and that the United States must take forceful steps to stop Soviet expansion. His ideas led to the policy of containment. The United States would try to "contain" Soviet expansion through limited military means and nonmilitary means in areas of the world that were of strategic importance to the United States. Kennan defined these areas narrowly—mostly Western Europe and Japan. But other U.S. officials gradually expanded their view of what was of strategic importance to the country and its future.

The Truman Doctrine

The policy of containment soon went into effect. Speaking to Congress in March 1947, the president proposed a policy that became known as the **Truman Doctrine**, a commitment to help nations threatened by communism and Soviet expansion.

••I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation [conquest] by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

Congress voted to give military and economic assistance to Greece and Turkey to hold back the Soviet threat.

The Marshall Plan

At the end of World War II, much of Europe lay in ruins. Bombing had destroyed countless houses, factories, bridges, and roads. Many people lacked homes and jobs, and they often did not have enough food. Their war-ravaged societies provided fertile ground for communism, with its promises of housing and employment for all.

George Marshall, the U.S. secretary of state, saw Western Europe as strategically important to the United States. He believed that the best way to keep the countries of Western Europe free of communism would be to help restore their economies. In June 1947, Marshall proposed a plan to provide massive economic aid to Europe. At first his plan met some resistance in Congress. After Soviet-supported Communists took over the government of **Czechoslovakia** in February 1948, however, this resistance disappeared.

Congress approved the Marshall Plan, a program of economic aid for Europe that became a vital part of the policy of containment. Between 1948 and 1951, the Marshall Plan contributed nearly \$13 billion to the rebuilding of the countries of Western Europe. As Marshall had predicted, no Western government in the region fell to a communist revolution.

Reading Check Explaining How was the Marshall Plan supposed to check communist expansion?

Crisis in Berlin

The Allied leaders at Yalta had divided Germany into four occupation zones. The Soviet Union controlled the eastern part of the country, while the United States, Britain, and France divided the western part. The German capital of **Berlin**, located deep within Soviet-controlled East Germany, was also divided among the four nations.

President Truman believed that a reunited Germany was essential to the future of Europe. Stalin, on the other hand, feared that a reunited Germany would once again pose a threat to the Soviet Union. He sought to maintain Soviet influence in a divided Germany. Tensions over the German issue led to a serious crisis in 1948.

The Berlin Blockade

On June 7, 1948, the United States, Britain, and France announced that they were uniting their zones to form a new West German republic. Each nation's section of Berlin would be included in this republic as well, even though the city lay within Soviet-held East Germany.

The **Berlin blockade** was Stalin's answer to the West's plans for West Germany. On June 24, 1948, Soviet troops rushed into position around the edge of West Berlin. Almost overnight they created a blockade, stopping traffic on all highway,





Why It Matters

Berlin Airlift

In June 1948, the Soviet Union halted all traffic by land or water into or out of Western-controlled Berlin. Allied Powers began supplying the city's 2.5 million residents with the necessities of life—by air. Night and day for more than 10 months, British and United States cargo planes carried food, medicine, clothing, raw materials, and even coal to Berlin. World opinion turned against the Soviet Union and its tactics of starving innocent people to achieve its goals. Berlin became a symbol of America's fight against communism.

The effort—some 278,000 flights delivering 2 million tons of supplies—melted the hatred between former American and German enemies. In May 1949, the Soviet Union finally lifted its blockade.

railroad, and water routes through East Germany to West Berlin. As a result, West Berlin and its two million citizens were cut off from vital supplies. The Soviets hoped this blockade would drive the West out of Berlin.

The Berlin Airlift

President Truman refused to give in to the Soviets. "We stay in Berlin, period," he declared, but he did not want to risk war by using military force to end the blockade. Instead he organized a massive airlift to save the city. American and British cargo planes began flying food, fuel, and other supplies into West Berlin.

The **Berlin airlift** continued day and night for more than 10 months, delivering tons of supplies to West Berlin. Realizing that the Western powers intended to stay in the city, Stalin ended the Berlin blockade in May 1949. Despite the success of the airlift, Berlin and Germany remained divided. In October 1949, the division of Germany into two

A West Berlin taxi driver explained how the airlift boosted the morale of the people of Berlin.

"There. You hear? There is another plane. And there's another. Our faith doesn't come from our hearts or our brain anymore. It comes through the ears."



nations—the **Federal Republic of Germany**, or West Germany, and the **German Democratic Republic**, or East Germany—became official.

Reading Check Analyzing How did the Soviet Union respond to plans to form a new West German republic?

Two Armed Camps

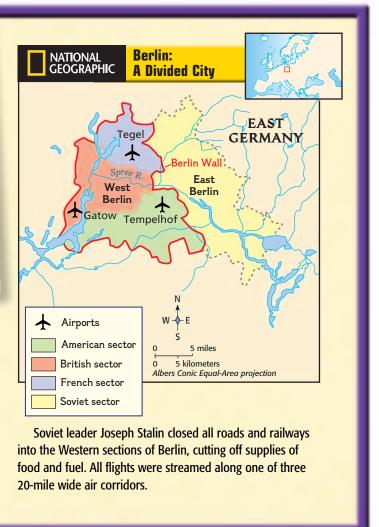
The crisis in Berlin confirmed that the United States and the Soviet Union were locked in a **cold war**—a war in which the two enemies did not actually fight each other. Instead each nation began building up its military forces and arms to intimidate the other. European nations began to take sides in this mounting cold war.

The United States and the countries of Western Europe agreed that the best way to contain the Soviets was through mutual defense. In









April 1949, the United States, Canada, and 10 Western European nations signed a pact establishing the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO). The agreement stated that "an armed attack against one or more of [the member nations] shall be considered an attack against all." To defend against a possible Soviet invasion of Western Europe, the NATO countries created a large military force.

In response to NATO, the Soviet Union created an alliance of its own with the Communist governments of Eastern Europe. The alliance, established in 1955 by mutual defense treaties known as the **Warsaw Pact**, had a military force that the Soviet Union controlled. The formation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact divided Europe into two armed camps.

The United States Rearms

After World War II, some of President Truman's foreign policy advisers in the **National Security Council** (NSC) argued that America could not rely on other nations to contain the Soviets and resist the spread of communism. Unlike George Kennan and the supporters of the containment policy, the NSC advisers believed the United States needed to take a more active stand against communism everywhere—not just in strategic locations.

In 1950 the NSC released a report, known as **NSC-68**, which said that the United States must actively

•• foster the seeds of destruction within the Soviet Union ••

and fight communist movements wherever they arose. The United States committed itself to combating communist expansion everywhere in the world.







Germany is reunified On October 3, 1990, the two parts of Germany finally reunited, and Berlin—rejoined as one city—again became the nation's official capital. The German government's move to Berlin from the West German capital of Bonn is scheduled to be completed in the year 2003.

Independence Movements

As the Cold War grew more bitter in Europe, nations in other parts of the world were undergoing dramatic changes. Many states broke free of colonial rule and established independence.

The Philippines gained independence from the United States in 1946. For years afterward Filipinos struggled with terrible poverty, government corruption, and civil war. In the late 1940s, Asian countries such as India, Pakistan, and Burma broke away from the British Empire to form new nations. During the 1950s and the early 1960s, more than 25 African nations gained independence from European colonial powers. The path to independence in Africa was often bloody. Once free, the new nations faced the enormous task of building modern societies.

In the Middle East, Jews and Arabs both claimed the region of Palestine, an area the

British had controlled. In 1947 the United Nations proposed dividing Palestine into independent Jewish and Arab states with Jerusalem as an international city. The Jews accepted the plan, but the Arab states did not. After declaring its independence, the new Jewish state of **Israel** was attacked by Arab armies in the first of six major wars between the Arabs and Israel.

Communism in China

Perhaps the most threatening change of the postwar period occurred in China, the largest country in Asia. In 1949 a long civil war ended with the victory of Chinese Communist forces led by Mao Zedong (MAU ZUH•DUNG) over the armies commanded by Chiang Kai-shek (JEE•AHNG KY•SHEHK), the head of the Chinese government. Mao Zedong formed a new Communist state, the People's Republic of China, while Chiang Kai-shek retreated with his forces to the island of Taiwan off the southeastern coast of China. The United States recognized the government in Taiwan as the legitimate government of all China.

With Communists in control of mainland China, the Soviet Union had a powerful ally in Asia. It appeared to many people that the entire continent of Asia was in danger of converting to communism.

Reading Check Identifying What new nation was formed in the Middle East in the 1940s?

SECTION

ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Key Terms Write a paragraph in which you use each of the following terms correctly: iron curtain, containment, airlift, cold war.
- **2. Reviewing Facts** Did the Berlin blockade force the Western powers to leave the city? Explain.

Reviewing Themes

3. Global Connections What was the purpose of the Truman Doctrine?

Critical Thinking

- 4. Analyzing Information Explain why the United States's actions during the Berlin blockade were considered part of a "cold war."
- Determining Cause and Effect
 Re-create the diagram below and explain how the Marshall Plan helped to contain the spread of communism.

	Marshall Plan		
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Analyzing Visuals

6. Geography Skills Examine the map of Europe on page 789. Was Spain a neutral nation? Was Turkey a NATO member?

nterdisciplinary Activity

Geography Compare a map of Africa after World War II to a map of Africa today. Photocopy or draw a modern map and indicate five countries that have changed their names or boundaries.







Making Inferences

Why Learn This Skill?

Have you heard someone say, "You can't judge him on face value"? It means that people, things you see, or things you read might not be as they appear to be. There might be a double or hidden meaning to what you see or hear.

Learning the Skill

Inferences are ideas that are not directly stated. **Making Inferences** involves reading between the lines to interpret what you are seeing. You call upon some previous knowledge or just use common sense.

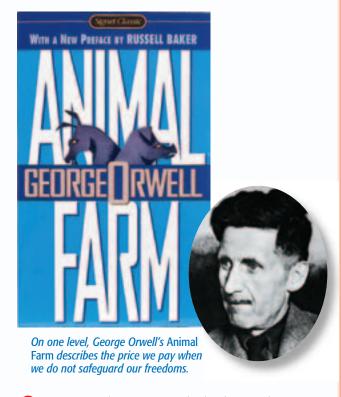
Practicing the Skill

First published at the beginning of the Cold War, *Animal Farm* by George Orwell tells the story of a farm taken over by its overworked, mistreated animals. The fable exposes the negative effects that totalitarian government can have on society. Read this passage from George Orwell's novel *Animal Farm*. Then answer the questions that follow.

Squealer tries to persuade the animals that Napoleon is a good leader, saying, "Do not imagine, comrades, that leadership is a pleasure! On the contrary, it is a deep and heavy responsibility. No one believes more firmly than Comrade Napoleon that all animals are equal. He would be only too happy to let you make your decisions for yourselves. But sometimes you might make the wrong decisions, comrades, and then where should we be? Suppose you had decided to follow Snowball . . . ?"

"He fought bravely at the Battle of the Cowshed," said somebody.

"Bravery is not enough," said Squealer.
"Loyalty and obedience are more important . . . "



- 1 Does Squealer represent the leaders or the common animals?
- Why does he say that leadership is a "deep and heavy responsibility?"
- 3 Squealer says that all animals are equal. Does he really believe this? Explain.

Applying the Skill

Making Inferences Choose a poem, or a quote found in a newspaper, that you think has more than one meaning. Share your selection with a classmate to see if they infer a hidden meaning.



Glencoe's **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 1,** provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.





SECTION 2 Postwar Politics

Main Idea

The Truman administration pushed for economic and social reform.

Key Terms

inflation, closed shop

Guide to Reading

Reading Strategy

Organizing Information As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and identify three measures that were part of Truman's Fair Deal.



Read to Learn

- what economic problems Americans faced after World War II.
- what actions President Truman and Congress proposed to deal with the nation's problems.

Section Theme

Economic Factors Americans tried to adjust to a peacetime economy after World War II.

Preview of Events

1944

1944

Congress approves the GI Bill of Rights

†194

Miners and railroad workers strike

19/17

Taft-Hartley Act limits unions

1948

Truman wins the presidency

1948



Harry S Truman



When soldiers returned home after World War II, they came back to a nation facing the difficult task of changing from wartime to peacetime. Would the economy collapse again and another depression sweep the country? President Truman was optimistic: "We are having our little troubles now. Just a blow-up after a little let-down from war." Public concern, however, forced the nation's political leaders into a heated debate over the best way to deal with America's economic problems.

Economics

The Postwar Economy

After World War II, the nation and its economy had to adjust to peacetime life. Industries had to shift from producing war materials to making **consumer goods**. Defense workers had to be retrained to work in consumer industries, and returning soldiers needed jobs.

During the war, government price controls had kept the cost of consumer goods such as food and clothing quite stable. When the government removed these controls, prices began to surge. This rise in prices, or **inflation**, also resulted from a huge increase in consumer demand and spending. During the war years,





Americans had saved their money because many consumer goods were unavailable or rationed. Now they were eager to spend this money on new consumer products and services.

Workers Seek Higher Wages

As a result of inflation, consumer prices rose at a much faster rate than wages. During the war, workers had accepted government controls on wages and agreed not to strike. Now they would no longer be put off. When employers refused to raise wages, labor unions called for strikes. In 1945 and 1946, millions of steelworkers, railroad workers, and others walked off their jobs, demanding higher wages and better conditions.

Labor unrest and strikes disrupted the nation's economy. When miners went on strike in 1946, many Americans feared that dwindling coal supplies would cause the economy to grind to a halt. At about the same time, a strike by railroad workers caused a total shutdown of the nation's railroads, which were vital to the economy.

Truman Takes Action

Alarmed by the labor unrest, President Truman pressured the striking miners and railroad workers to go back to their jobs. In May 1946, he threatened to draft them into the army if they did not return to work. The president insisted he had the right to take such steps to keep vital industries operating.

President Truman finally forced striking miners back on the job by having the government take over the mines. At the same time, however, he persuaded the mine owners to grant many of the workers' demands. Truman also pressured railroad workers to return to work.

Reading Check Describing What happened to the price of consumer goods when demand grew after the war?

Truman Faces the Republicans

In September 1945, President Truman, a Democrat, presented Congress with a plan of domestic reforms aimed at solving some of the nation's economic problems. Truman later called this program the **Fair Deal**.

Truman proposed to raise the minimum wage, expand Social Security benefits, increase federal spending to create jobs, build new public housing, and create a system of national health insurance. However, because of opposition by a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats, these measures failed to pass in Congress.

Republicans Control Congress

Many Americans blamed Truman and the Democratic Party for the nation's economic problems. In the congressional elections of 1946, the slogan "Had Enough?" helped Republicans win control of both houses of Congress.

The new Republican Congress moved quickly to create its own plans for the nation. Having rejected Truman's program for reform, the Republicans now set up proposals to enact a program that would limit government spending, control labor unions, reduce government regulation of the economy, and reverse policies adopted in the 1930s under FDR's New Deal.

For many Republicans in Congress, the most important problem facing the nation was labor unrest and the growing power of labor unions. Conservative Republicans favored big business



President Truman and Congress were often at odds over the Fair Deal. **What is the cartoonist saying about Truman's power?**





and wanted to limit the power of unions. In the spring of 1947, Congress introduced the Taft-Hartley bill. This bill limited the actions workers could take against their employers. It outlawed the closed shop, a workplace that hires only union members. It also allowed the government to temporarily stop any strike that endangered public health or safety. This provision aimed to prevent any future strikes like those of the miners and the railroad workers the year before. Union members and their leaders sharply criticized the Taft-Hartley Act, calling it a "slave labor bill." Although President Truman opposed recent strikes, he also knew that the Democrats needed the support of labor. Truman vetoed the act, but the Republican-controlled Congress overrode his veto.

Government Reorganization

One issue on which Truman and Congress agreed was the need to improve the administration of the federal government, which had greatly expanded since the New Deal. In 1947 Truman appointed a commission headed by former President Herbert Hoover to study ways of improving the efficiency of government. Out of the Hoover Commission's work came plans to create new government departments and agencies.

In 1947 Congress passed the National Security Act. It unified the army, navy, marines, and air force under the Department of Defense. A secretary of defense headed the new department. The act also set up a permanent Joint Chiefs of Staff, made up of the heads of each of the armed forces to coordinate military policy. A National Security Council, operating out of the White House, would advise the president on foreign and military matters.

The National Security Act also set up another institution, the **Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).** The CIA aids American foreign policy by collecting information about what is going on in other countries, evaluating it, and passing it

Trading Weapons for Textbooks | Continue to Indiana University |

The GI Bill

In 1944 Congress passed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, better known as the GI Bill of Rights. GI stands for government issue. This law provided billions of dollars in loans to help returning GI's—soldiers, sailors, and marines—attend college, receive special training, set up businesses, or buy homes. It also provided unemployment and health benefits for the GI's as they looked for jobs.

By making it possible for millions of GI's to go to college, the GI Bill changed U.S. higher education forever. University education was now open to people from every income level.





on to the president and other foreign-policy decision makers. The CIA uses its own secret agents, paid informers, and friendly governments to collect such information.

Many Americans feared that the CIA would be used to spy on American citizens. Truman, however, promised that the new agency would operate only in foreign lands and would not bring "police state methods" into American society. The CIA was so successful that in 1949 Congress gave that agency the right to receive, exchange, and spend money without giving account to Congress.

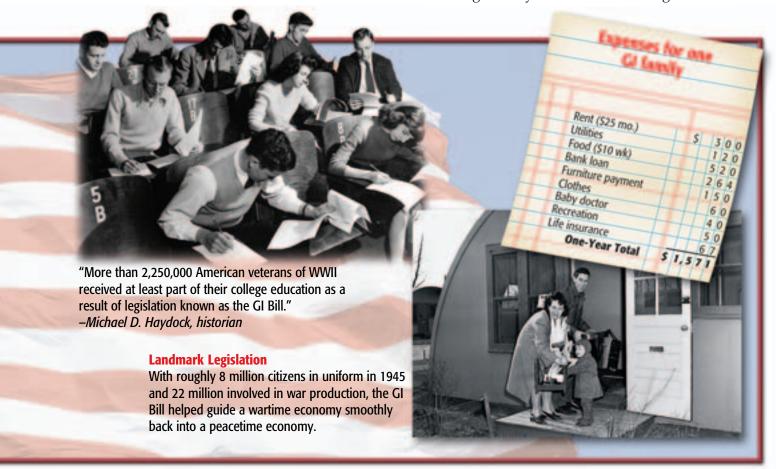
The Election of 1948

As the 1948 presidential election approached, Truman appeared to be the underdog. Continuing economic problems made the president unpopular with many Americans, and his lack of success in winning passage of domestic reforms made Truman's administration look weak and ineffective.

Divisions within the Democratic Party also increased the chances of an easy Republican victory. At the party's national convention, a group of Southern Democrats walked out to protest Truman's support for civil rights legislation. The Southern Democrats formed the States' Rights Democratic Party, or Dixiecrats, and nominated Governor **Strom Thurmond** of South Carolina for president. At the same time, some liberal members of the Democratic Party left to form the Progressive Party, with **Henry Wallace** as their nominee for president. Wallace opposed Truman's foreign policy and called for closer ties between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Dewey Leads Polls

With the Democrats badly divided, it looked as though Governor **Thomas Dewey** of New York, the Republican nominee, would surely win the election. Opinion polls showed Dewey with a huge lead. One pollster remarked: "Mr. Dewey is still so clearly ahead that we might just as well get ready to listen to his inaugural."





Truman campaigned aggressively. Traveling more than 30,000 miles (48,000 km) by train on a "whistle-stop" tour of the country, he gave some 250 speeches along the way. In town after town, he sharply attacked what he called "that do-nothing, good-for-nothing, worst Congress" for rejecting his Fair Deal legislation.

Truman Stages an Upset

On Election Day experts still expected Dewey to win. Expectations for a Republican victory were so great that on the evening of the election—before many votes were counted—the *Chicago Daily Tribune* newspaper issued a special edition announcing "Dewey Defeats Truman."

The nation was in for a great surprise. When all the ballots were counted, Truman had edged out Dewey by more than two million votes in a narrow upset victory. Democrats also regained control of both the House of Representatives and the Senate in the election.

Reading Check Analyzing Why was the outcome of the 1948 presidential election a surprise?

A Fair Deal for Americans

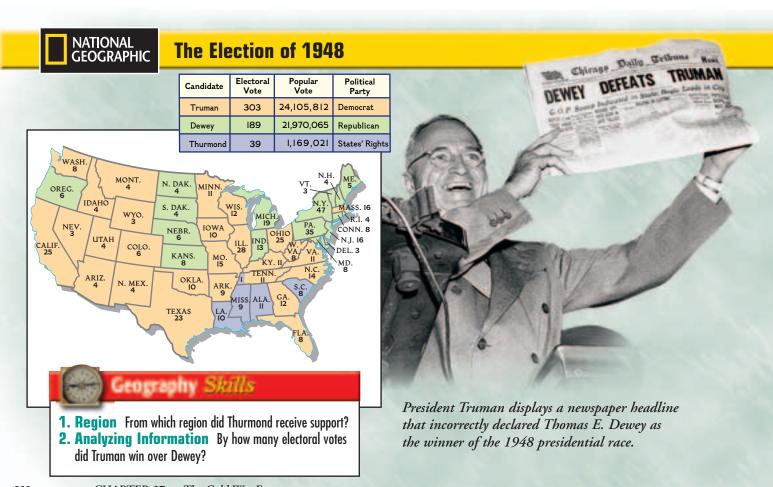
Truman took the election results as a sign that Americans wanted reform. He quickly reintroduced the **Fair Deal** legislation he had presented to Congress in 1945. Some of these reform measures passed, but his plan lacked broad support, and Congress defeated most of the measures. Congress did pass laws to raise the minimum wage, expand Social Security benefits for senior citizens, and provide funds for housing for low-income families.

Citizenship

A Stand on Civil Rights

In a message to Congress in 1948, President Truman declared:

••We shall not, however, finally achieve the ideals for which this nation was founded so long as any American suffers discrimination as a result of his race, or religion, or color, or the land of origin of his forefathers.







Although Truman championed ending such discrimination, he was unable to persuade Congress to pass legislation that would protect the voting rights of African Americans, abolish the poll tax, and make lynching a federal crime. Still, President Truman did take serious steps to advance the civil rights of African Americans. He ordered federal departments and agencies to end job discrimination against African Americans

and ordered the armed forces to desegregate—to end the separation of races. The president also instructed the Justice Department to actively enforce existing civil rights laws. When Truman proposed his

domestic agenda to Congress in 1949,

he proclaimed that "every segment of our population and every individual has a right to expect from our government a fair deal." Truman asked for the clearance of slums, government-backed medical insurance, higher minimum wages, and more federal money for public schools. Although much of the president's Fair Deal vision went unfulfilled, he made an important start toward improving the lives of millions of Americans.

SECTION / ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- 1. **Key Terms** Use the terms **inflation** and **closed shop** in sentences that will help explain their meaning.
- 2. Reviewing Facts What actions did President Truman take in order to advance the civil rights of African Americans?

Reviewing Themes

3. Economic Factors What factors caused inflation of prices after World War II?

Critical Thinking

- 4. Determining Cause and Effect How did the Taft-Hartley Act affect business and unions?
- **5. Organizing Information** Complete a diagram like the one shown by describing the adjustments made in the United States to convert from a wartime to a peacetime economy.



Analyzing Visuals

6. Geography Skills Examine the election map on page 800. Was the total number of votes cast for Dewey and Thurmond greater than Truman's total?

Economics View copies of newspapers published five years ago. Compare the prices of three items advertised at that time to the same items today. Calculate the percent of increase (or decrease) in price for each of the products.





SECTION 3 The Korean War

Main Idea

Americans under the United Nations flag fought to stop a Communist takeover of the Korean peninsula.

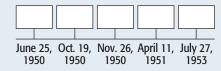
Key Terms

stalemate, demilitarized zone

Guide to Reading

Reading Strategy

Sequencing Information As you read the section, re-create the time line below and list key events in the Korean War.



Read to Learn

- · what events led to the Korean War.
- how America's war aims changed during the war.

Section Theme

Global Connections The United States fought in Korea to stop Communist expansion.

Preview of Events

| | 1950

-June 1950

North Korea invades South Korea

†1952

- **April 1951** Truman fires General MacArthur

-July 1953

Cease-fire agreement is signed

†1954



Korean service medal



The bitter wind stung the raw faces of 12 U.S. Marine officers. They had just fought for five bloody days to lead their troops out of a Chinese trap in the icy wastes of northeast Korea. Now they listened to the words of their commander: "We are going to come out of this as Marines, not as stragglers. We're going to bring out our wounded and our equipment. We're coming out . . . as Marines or not at all." Two more days of fighting followed, as the tired but determined Marines held off fierce enemy attacks. With the arrival of air cover on the third day, the Marines were able to push back the Chinese and make their escape.

Conflict in Korea

Before June 1950, few Americans knew much about **Korea**, a small east Asian country located on the Korean Peninsula west of Japan. In 1945 Korea was a colony of Japan. At the end of World War II, Japan was stripped of its territorial possessions. The United States and the Soviet Union both sent troops into Korea and agreed to occupy it temporarily. They divided the peninsula in half along the **38th parallel** of latitude, with the Soviets controlling North Korea and the Americans controlling South Korea.





The Soviet Union and the United States could not agree on how to unify Korea. When these two nations removed their forces in 1949, Korea remained divided. Tensions between the two Koreas were high.

On June 24, 1950, President Truman flew to his home in Independence, Missouri, for a brief vacation. While sitting on his porch on a hot summer night, the president received a telephone call from Secretary of State Dean Acheson. "Mr. President," Acheson said in a grim tone, "I have very serious news. The North Koreans have invaded South Korea." Truman knew this meant only one thing: the United States soon would be involved in military action in Asia.

The Invasion of South Korea

After the American troops pulled out of South Korea, North Korea decided to unify the country by force. On June 25, 1950, the armies of North Korea crossed the 38th parallel into South Korea. Poorly armed, the South Koreans were no match for the North. Within days the Communist forces had gained control over much of South Korea, including **Seoul**, the capital city.

President Truman reacted quickly to the Korean invasion, which he believed was supported by the Soviet Union. Without asking Congress to actually declare war, Truman ordered the use of limited American air and sea forces in Korea. He called this "police action" necessary to carry out America's policy of containment. Truman said:

••Korea is the Greece of the Far East. If we are tough enough now, if we stand up to them like we did in Greece three years ago, they won't take any next steps.

United Nations Responds

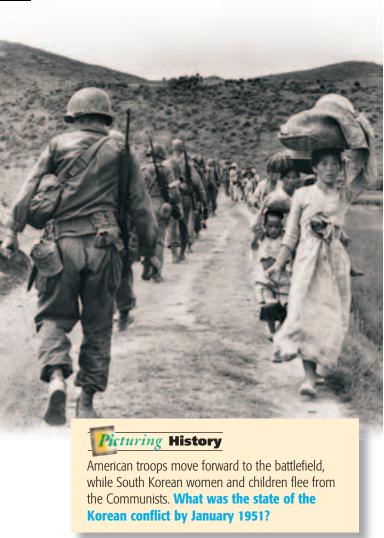
At the same time, President Truman asked the UN to send forces to defend the South Koreans. The United Nations condemned the invasion of South Korea and agreed to send a special force to the region under the United States's direction. President Truman quickly appointed General **Douglas MacArthur**, a hero of World War II, to command the UN forces.

On June 30, just days after the North Korean invasion, General MacArthur led American troops into Korea to stop the Communist advance. By the end of 1950, other nations were supplying troops or other assistance to the American-led war effort. Even so, Americans made up the majority of troops throughout the Korean War.

The United Nations had a clear but difficult goal—push the North Koreans back across the 38th parallel. When China intervened in the conflict, this goal changed, causing Truman and MacArthur to clash over military strategy.







Early Phases of the War

By September 1950, North Korean forces had pushed all the way to the southern tip of the Korean Peninsula. Only a small area in the southeast around the port city of **Pusan** was still held by the South Korean army.

After joining the South Koreans, General MacArthur designed a bold counterattack against North Korea. In September, United Nations forces made a daring landing midway on the Korean Peninsula near the port of **Inchon**. They took that strategic city and moved on to recapture Seoul.

Meanwhile American and UN troops began pushing north from Pusan. By October 1 the North Koreans, caught between UN forces advancing from both Seoul and Pusan, were forced to retreat north across the 38th parallel. South Korea now came under the control of the United Nations forces.

Taking the Offensive

Encouraged by this success, General Mac-Arthur urged President Truman to order an invasion of North Korea. He assured Truman that neither **China** nor the Soviet Union would enter the war to help North Korea, and he promised to have troops "home by Christmas." Truman sought and received approval from the United Nations to cross the 38th parallel, invade the North, and create "a unified, independent and democratic Korea"—a new goal for the war.

After receiving these new orders, MacArthur moved his forces northward. The UN forces captured **Pyongyang**, the North Korean capital, on October 19, and then moved north toward the **Yalu River**, part of North Korea's border with China. Total victory seemed just days away.

As the UN forces advanced, the United States received a warning from the Chinese. If the invasion of North Korea continued, China would send in its army to support the North Koreans. Believing the Chinese warning was a bluff, President Truman allowed MacArthur to continue moving north.

The Chinese were not bluffing, however. By late October, thousands of Chinese troops began massing along the border, and some crossed the Yalu River southward into North Korea. On November 26, huge numbers of Chinese troops launched an attack on United Nations forces. Badly outnumbered, the UN forces retreated south back across the 38th parallel. Within weeks, the Communists had recaptured Seoul.

Reading Check Describing What line separated North from South Korea?

American Leadership Divided

By January 1951, United Nations forces managed to stop their retreat. Launching a counteroffensive, they retook Seoul and pushed the Communists back across the 38th parallel. The war now became a **stalemate**, a situation in which neither side was able to gain much ground or achieve a decisive victory. The stalemate lasted for almost two years, with much bitter fighting along the 38th parallel.



CLICK HERE

Truman and MacArthur Disagree

As the stalemate dragged on, President Truman began to consider negotiating an end to the fighting. General MacArthur, however, argued that the UN forces should now attack China, either by invading the country or by bombing Chinese troops stationed in North Korea. Truman opposed MacArthur's plan, fearing that such actions would lead to a larger war with China or escalate into another world war.

In a letter to a member of Congress, Mac-Arthur complained that he was being kept from doing his job. "We must win," he wrote. "There is no substitute for victory."

On April 11, 1951, President Truman relieved General MacArthur of his command in Korea. "I could do nothing else and still be president of the United States," Truman concluded. He wrote:

••If I allowed him to defy the civil authorities in this manner, I myself would be violating my oath to uphold and defend the Constitution.

MacArthur's firing created a storm of protest in the United States. The general was extremely popular, and polls showed that a majority of Americans supported him against the president. Moreover, MacArthur did not go quietly. After receiving a hero's welcome on his return to the United States, he delivered a farewell speech to Congress. "Old soldiers never die," he said, "they just fade away."

Ending the Conflict

The two sides in the Korean War began negotiations in July 1951. The talks lasted for two years before a cease-fire agreement was signed on July 27, 1953, during the presi-



Student Web Activity
Visit taj.glencoe.com and click on Chapter 27—
Student Web Activities for an activity on the Korean War.

dency of Dwight Eisenhower. This agreement ending the war created a **demilitarized zone**—a region where military forces could not enter—between North and South Korea. The zone extended roughly a mile and a half on either side of the 38th parallel.

The Korean War ended with neither side achieving victory and almost no change in territory. Losses had been great. More than 54,000 Americans died in the war, and another 103,000 were wounded. Nearly two million Koreans and Chinese lost their lives, and large portions of North and South Korea were devastated.

America's involvement in the Korean War sent a clear message to the Soviet Union: The United States was committed to fighting Communist expansion with money, arms, and even lives. At the same time, the inability of the United States to win a clear victory contributed to uncertainty at home about the nation's foreign policy.

Reading Check Comparing How did Truman's view on the Korean War differ from General MacArthur's view?

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Key Terms Define the following terms: stalemate, demilitarized zone.
- **2. Reviewing Facts** How did the Korean War begin?

Reviewing Themes

3. Global Connections How did American goals change during the course of the Korean War?

Critical Thinking

- **4. Identifying Central Issues** Do you think Truman should have allowed MacArthur to attack China? Why or why not?
- Organizing Information Re-create the diagram below and provide two reasons for the Korean War ending in a stalemate.



Analyzing Visuals

6. Geography Skills Examine the map on page 803. When did UN forces make their farthest advance?

Interdisciplinary Activity

Persuasive Writing Write a onepage editorial in which you argue whether a U.S. military leader should or should not be able to override a president's decision.





SECTION 4 The Red Scare

Main Idea

Life in Cold War America was marked by a search for security.

Key Terms

subversion, blacklist, perjury, allege, censure

Guide to Reading

Reading Strategy

Classifying Information As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and explain why these individuals are important.

	Historical significance
Alger Hiss	
Ethel Rosenberg	
Joseph McCarthy	

Read to Learn

- what effect Cold War fears had on domestic politics.
- how McCarthyism affected the nation.

Section Theme

Government and Democracy Americans of the postwar era took steps to combat the spread of communism within the United States.

Preview of Events

1945

1947

House Un-American Activities Committee holds hearings 1950

Congress passes the McCarran Act

1950

The Rosenbergs are executed as spies

05/

McCarthy is censured

†1955



John Howard Lawson of the "Hollywood Ten"



In 1947, a congressional committee held public hearings on the alleged communist influence in the Hollywood film industry. Many witnesses called before the committee were asked the same questions: "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" Two witnesses denied having communist ties, but 10 others refused to give a straight "yes" or "no" answer. In dramatic moments worthy of the movies, these "Hollywood Ten" challenged the committee's right to ask about their political beliefs. One of the accused yelled, "This is the beginning of an American concentration camp!"

Cold War Fears

The Cold War intensified Americans' fears of communist **subversion**, or sabotage. Stories of stolen government documents and spy rings gripped the country in the late 1940s. Then in 1949 Americans learned that the Soviet Union had built its own atomic bomb.

Many Americans worried that Communist spies and sympathizers—people friendly to Communists, or "Reds" as they were known—had penetrated all levels of American society and were attempting to weaken the government.





This **Red Scare** dominated the nation's politics for years and led to a massive hunt to uncover Communists. In this climate of fear, few Americans were safe from accusations of disloyalty—not even the president.

Republican critics began accusing President Truman of being too easy on Communists. In 1947 Truman responded by ordering an investigation into the loyalty of all federal employees. Millions of government workers had to undergo security checks, and thousands were investigated by the FBI. Although the investigations found little evidence of espionage, many federal employees lost their jobs.

Loyalty Oaths and Investigations

Many state and local governments, colleges, and businesses began similar campaigns to uncover communist subversion. Some organizations required individuals to sign oaths swearing their loyalty to the United States. Those who refused risked losing their jobs.

In 1950 Congress passed the McCarran Act, which required all Communist organizations to register with the government and to provide lists of members. President Truman vetoed the act. "In a free country, we punish men for crimes they commit," he said, "but never for the opinions they hold." Congress overrode his veto.

In 1947 a congressional committee, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), began investigating communist subversion in the nation. In widely publicized hearings, the committee questioned people about their knowledge of Communists or Communist sympathizers. Individuals came under suspicion because of the beliefs of their friends or coworkers—guilt by association. The committee's activities fueled an anti-Communist hysteria in the nation.

HUAC launched a sensational investigation of the Hollywood film industry, rumored to be full of Communists. A number of those who were summoned refused to testify, and several screenwriters and directors—the "Hollywood Ten"—went to jail for refusing to answer questions about their political beliefs or those of their colleagues. Reacting to public and government pressure, film companies created blacklists—

lists of individuals whose loyalty was suspicious—that barred people from working in Hollywood's film industry.

American Spies Revealed

In 1948 Whittaker Chambers, a magazine editor, volunteered to testify before HUAC. After admitting that he had spied for the Soviet Union in the 1930s, Chambers accused Alger Hiss, a former State Department official, of giving him secret government documents in 1937 and 1938 to pass on to the Soviets.

Chambers produced secret State Department papers he claimed were written by Hiss and microfilm of other secret documents. Chambers swore that he had received the microfilm (which was hidden in a pumpkin) from Hiss. Investigators could not prosecute Hiss for spying because too much time had passed since the events had occurred. However, he was found guilty of perjury, or lying, and sent to prison.





People In History

Margaret Chase Smith 1897-1995



Margaret Chase Smith of Maine was the first woman to be elected to both houses of Congress.

First elected to the House in 1940, Smith made many contributions during her four terms. During World War II, she worked to improve the position of women in the military. She played a major role in the passage

of a new law, the Women's Armed Services Integration Act (1948), that allowed women to serve as permanent, regular members of the nation's military forces.

Smith also served four terms in the Senate. Never afraid to speak out on the issues, she was one of the first to condemn the tactics used by Senator Joseph McCarthy in his crusade against communism.

In 1964 Smith was one of the presidential nominees at the Republican National Convention, making her the first woman to have her name placed in nomination by a major political party.

The most dramatic spy case to come before HUAC involved the atomic bomb. **Julius** and **Ethel Rosenberg**, a New York couple who were members of the Communist Party, were accused of plotting to pass secret information about the atomic bomb to the Soviet Union. Brought to trial in 1951, the Rosenbergs were convicted and sentenced to death. The judge in the case declared their crime "worse than murder."

Groups around the world protested the sentence as a gross injustice, but higher courts upheld the death sentence decision. Executed in 1953, the Rosenbergs maintained their innocence to the end and claimed that they were persecuted because of their political beliefs.

Reading Check Explaining What did the McCarran Act require?

McCarthyism

From 1950 to 1954, the hunt for Communists in America was dominated by Senator **Joseph McCarthy** of Wisconsin. During those years, McCarthy publicly attacked many people **alleged**—declared without proof—to be Com-

munists. His unfounded accusations destroyed the careers of many innocent Americans and heightened the atmosphere of anti-Communist hysteria in the country. A new word was coined, McCarthyism, which came to mean the use of unproved accusations against political opponents.

Joseph McCarthy rose to national attention almost overnight. In a speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, in February 1950, he announced that America had been betrayed by the "traitorous actions" of certain individuals. Raising a sheet of paper, he claimed to have in his hand a list of 205 State Department employees who were members of the Communist Party. Millions of Americans believed McCarthy's charges.

During the next four years, McCarthy continued to accuse government officials and others of being Communists. His congressional subcommittee attacked and bullied the people it called to testify. Many federal employees resigned or were dismissed as a result of McCarthy's investigations.

Even the most powerful government officials hesitated to oppose him. McCarthy often targeted Democrats. He and his Republican colleagues in





Congress saw anticommunism as an important issue to use against the Democratic Party. Some Republican candidates for Congress, including **Richard Nixon**, successfully smeared their opponents with charges of being soft on communism. Such tactics worked because so many Americans feared the threat of communism.

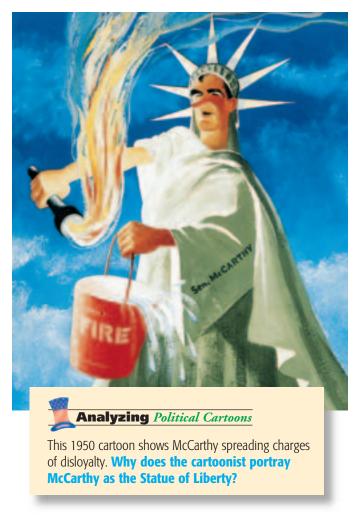
McCarthy's Downfall

In 1954 McCarthy launched an investigation of the United States Army. He made alarming claims that Communists had infiltrated the military. In a series of televised hearings watched by millions of Americans, McCarthy hurled wild accusations at highly respected army officials.

The televised Army-McCarthy Hearings proved the turning point in the McCarthy investigations. For weeks Americans witnessed McCarthy's sneering and cruel attacks. Toward the end of the hearings, **Joseph Welch**, an attorney for the army, said to McCarthy:

••Until this moment, Senator, I think I never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness. Have you left no sense of decency?

Many Americans now came to view McCarthy as a cruel bully who had little basis for his accusations. Congress also turned against McCarthy. In December 1954, the Senate voted to censure, or formally criticize, him for "conduct unbecoming a senator." Censure and the



loss of public support ended McCarthy's influence. Yet during the years when fears of communism had raged in the country, McCarthyism had damaged the lives of many innocent people.

Reading Check Describing What claims did McCarthy make against the United States Army?

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

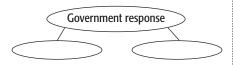
- Key Terms Define the following terms: subversion, blacklist, perjury, allege, censure.
- Reviewing Facts Describe the aim of loyalty oaths.

Reviewing Themes

3. Government and Democracy What negative effects did McCarthy's anti-Communist actions have on American society?

Critical Thinking

- **4. Drawing Conclusions** How do you think television affected the outcome of the Army-McCarthy hearings?
- 5. Organizing Information Re-create the diagram below and give two examples of the government's response to growing fears of communism.



Analyzing Visuals

6. Graphic Organizer Skills Examine the cause-and-effect chart on page 807. Into what areas did the Soviet Union expand? What was one effect of the Cold War?

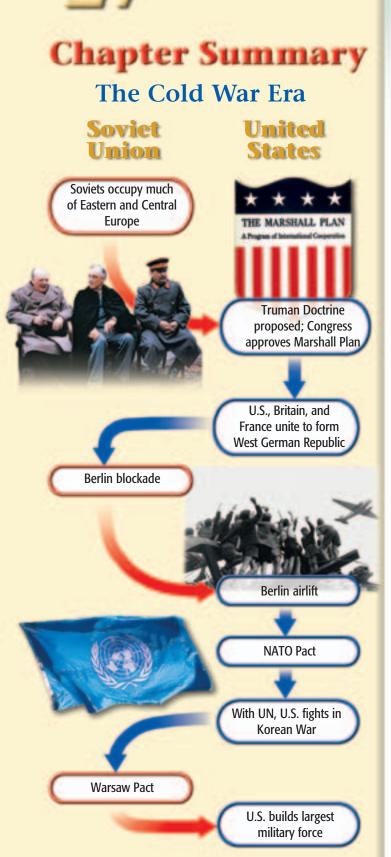
interdisciplinary Activit

Art Draw a political cartoon that describes the effect you think Joseph McCarthy had on the American people. Make sure you include a caption with your cartoon.



27

ASSESSMENT and ACTIVITIES



Reviewing Key Terms

On graph paper, create a word search puzzle using the following terms. Crisscross the terms vertically and horizontally, then fill in the remaining squares with extra letters. Use the terms' definitions as clues to find the words in the puzzle. Share your puzzle with a classmate.

1. iron curtain

5. inflation

2. containment

6. closed shop

3. airlift

7. perjury

4. cold war

8. allege

Reviewing Key Facts

- **9.** Who coined the phrase "iron curtain"? What did it represent?
- 10. What did the Marshall Plan provide?
- 11. What is a "cold war"?
- 12. Why did many labor unions strike after the war?
- **13.** What did the GI Bill provide?
- **14.** Who did the major parties nominate for the presidency in 1948? Who won the election?
- 15. What was the outcome of the conflict in Korea?
- **16.** What was the purpose of the House Un-American Activities Committee?

Critical Thinking

- **17. Analyzing Themes: Global Connections** What was the strategy behind the Marshall Plan?
- 18. Analyzing Information How did Truman exercise his power as commander in chief of the United States military during the Korean War?
- 19. Drawing Conclusions In addition to fighting communism, what other motivation do you think Senator McCarthy had for his actions?
- **20. Determining Cause and Effect** Re-create the diagram below and identify two ways the United States used its position as the strongest and wealthiest nation in the world to shape economic recovery in Europe.







Making Inferences Examine the photograph that appears on pages 784 and 785. Then, answer the questions that follow.

- 21. Describe the details in the painting.
- **22.** What feelings does the face of the young girl express?
- **23.** What do you know about the movement to integrate schools during the 1950s?
- **24.** Putting all this together, what do you infer as the reason for the girl's expression?
- **25.** Find a newspaper or magazine photograph and write at least three inferences based on the photo.



Geography and History Activity

Study the map on page 793. Then answer the questions that follow.

- **26. Region** Among what four countries was Germany divided?
- **27. Place** What country or countries occupied East Berlin?
- 28. Place What country or countries occupied West Berlin?
- **29. Location** What is unusual about the location of the airports in Berlin? Explain your reasoning.

Citizenship Cooperative Activity

- 30. Military Service The GI Bill provided many benefits to soldiers returning from World War II. Through these benefits Americans who thought they could never go to college or own their own homes could now achieve these goals. Organize into four groups to explore the incentives offered today for people who join the United States Army, Navy, Marines, and Coast Guard. Use the list of questions that follow to guide your group's research.
 - Is attending college or another institution of extended learning still an option?
 - What kinds of economic incentives are offered to recruits?
 - What advantages are awarded to those joining the armed services today that were not available at the end of World War II?

Use your information to design a recruitment plan to attract people to a particular branch of the service. Include all forms of media in your plan such as bill-boards, newspaper ads, radio, and television.



Self-Check Ouiz

Visit <u>taj.glencoe.com</u> and click on **Chapter 27**— **Self-Check Quizzes** to prepare for the chapter test.



Technology Activity

31. Using the Internet Search the Internet for information about how the United Nations is organized. Design a flowchart or graphic organizer that shows the names of each of the main bodies of the UN and how they are related to each other.



Alternative Assessment

32. Portfolio Writing Activity The United States government was anxious to avoid military conflict after World War II. Review the chapter and make a list of examples of how the United States government used negotiation and other nonviolent means to resolve international problems without resorting to war.



Standardized Test Practice

Directions: Choose the *best* answer to the following question.

The United States started the Marshall Plan as a way to prevent an economic collapse in Europe that would open the door to communism. Which of the following was another purpose of the Marshall Plan?

- A To shift the balance of power away from Asian nations
- B To encourage European Allied efforts in World War II
- C To build a strong Europe on which American economic security could depend
- **D** To prevent the Soviet Union from becoming a major military power

Test-Taking Tip

This question requires you to remember a fact about the Marshall Plan. Remember that the plan was an economic program—that is it provided money to help rebuild European economies. Which answer fits best with this information?

