CHAPTER 26

The Cold War Begins
(1945—1955)

These veterans are enrolling in Austin College in Sherman, Texas.

UNITED STATES

1945 Franklin D. Roosevelt dies on April 12, and Harry S Truman becomes president.
1945 In February the leaders of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States meet at the Yalta Conference. Trials of Nazi war criminals begin in Nuremberg, Germany, in November.
1946 Some 400,000 members of the United Mine Workers go on strike.
1946 The United States and other member nations attend the first session of the United Nations in January. In August Communist guerrillas attempt to overthrow the government of Greece.
1947 President Truman announces the Truman Doctrine.
1947 The independent nations of India and Pakistan are created.
1948 Truman wins an upset victory over Thomas Dewey in the presidential election. The Jewish state of Israel is founded in May. The Soviet Union blocks the city of West Berlin in June. U.S. and British planes respond with the Berlin Airlift.
1949 The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is created. Chinese Communists defeat the Nationalists and establish the People's Republic of China.

WORLD

Build on What You Know

During World War II the United States and the Soviet Union had been allies. Soon after the war ended, however, this relationship changed as communism spread throughout Eastern Europe. The United States and the Soviet Union became locked in a struggle for world power. American fears of communism grew, affecting foreign policy and life at home.

Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin (seated left to right) met at Yalta.
The development of the hydrogen bomb contributed to the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Rosenberg spy case shocked and worried the nation.

1950 In February, Senator Joseph McCarthy claims that Communists are working in the U.S. State Department. U.S. and UN troops go to the aid of South Korea on June 27.

1951 President Truman removes General Douglas MacArthur from command of U.S. troops in Korea.

1952 World War II General Dwight D. Eisenhower is elected president.

1953 Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are executed for stealing U.S. nuclear secrets.

1954 The Army-McCarthy hearings are released to the American public.

1950 Communist North Korea invades South Korea.

1951 A cease-fire ends the Korean War.

1955 The Warsaw Pact, an alliance between the Soviet Union and Eastern European nations, is created.

You Be the Historian

What’s Your Opinion? Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Support your point of view in your journal.

- **Economics** Sending economic aid to another country leads to political stability throughout the world.
- **Global Relations** Nations with political differences cannot be allies.
- **Citizenship** Fears of international conflict can affect civil rights at home.

If you were there . . . Would you be concerned by the spread of communism?
The Story Continues

At 5:47 P.M. on April 12, 1945, newscasters announced that President Franklin D. Roosevelt had died. Numb with shock, Americans faced the awful news. The man who had led the United States through the Great Depression and most of World War II was gone. The next day Vice President Harry S Truman spoke to reporters. “When they told me . . . I felt like the moon, the stars, and all the planets had fallen on me.” After just 82 days as second in command, Truman had to fill the great man’s shoes.

Yalta and Potsdam

As World War II wound down, world leaders began discussing their plans for the postwar world. The “Big Three” world leaders were Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States, Winston Churchill of Great Britain, and Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union. In February 1945 they met in the town of Yalta in the Soviet Union. During the Yalta Conference, the Big Three
worked out an agreement that would shape international affairs for years to come. The Yalta accord strongly supported the creation of a world peacekeeping organization. It also called for free elections and democratic governments in the nations being freed from Axis control.

Stalin did not honor many of the agreements he made at Yalta. For example, he opposed democracy in Poland. He had a pro-communist government set up there to help guard the Soviet Union from future German aggression.

In July 1945, just months after President Roosevelt's death, President Harry S. Truman met with Churchill and Stalin in Potsdam, Germany. At the Potsdam Conference, the three leaders agreed to divide Germany into four zones of occupation. Great Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union would each control one zone. The German capital of Berlin, within the Soviet zone, was also divided into four zones.

The World after War

After seeing the wartime damage in Europe, Truman and other political leaders looked for ways to prevent future wars. British, Chinese, Soviet, and U.S. representatives had met in Washington, D.C., in 1944. They drafted a plan for the United Nations (UN)—an international organization that would work for world peace. In 1945, representatives from 50 nations came together in San Francisco to write the UN charter.

In another effort to promote world peace, the Allies held war crimes trials. The International Military Tribunal tried high-ranking Nazi leaders. The trials began in late 1945 in Nuremberg, Germany—where huge Nazi rallies had been held. In his opening speech at the Nuremberg Trials, the chief American attorney stressed the importance of the event.

> The wrongs which we seek to condemn [criticize] and punish have been so calculated [planned], so malignant [harmful] and devastating, that civilization cannot tolerate [accept]

their being ignored because it cannot survive their being repeated?


Analyzing Primary Sources

Identifying Points of View

According to the speaker, why is it important that the Nuremberg Trials take place?

These Nazi officials, including the head of Hitler's secret police, were the first of many charged with war crimes.
The court found 19 Nazi leaders guilty and sentenced 12 of them to death. The court also tried and convicted many lower-ranking officials.

The International Military Tribunal for the Far East held similar war crimes trials in Japan. The tribunal convicted and executed Hideki Tojo and six other Japanese leaders. The court also convicted some 4,200 other Japanese as war criminals of a lesser degree. Of these, 720 were executed.

The Nuremberg Trials also exposed the horrors of the Holocaust and caused more people to favor the creation of a Jewish homeland—Israel. Great Britain had occupied Palestine since World War I. In November 1947 the UN General Assembly ordered that Palestine be divided into two states—one Arab and one Jewish. Britain soon pulled its troops out. On May 14, 1948, David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, announced the establishment of the independent Jewish state of Israel.

The United States immediately recognized Israel. In response to Israel's declaration of independence, the armies of the neighboring Arab states attacked. Israeli forces not only drove back the attackers, they also advanced to occupy Arab territory. After a bitter fight, the two sides agreed to peace in 1949. Jews had a homeland, but perhaps as many as 1 million Palestinian Arabs became refugees.

Reading Check: Summarizing How did the Allies try to prevent future wars?

Allies Become Enemies

During World War II the United States and the Soviet Union had worked together to fight Germany. With Germany defeated, the two rivals returned to the unfriendly relationship that they had had before the war. The conflicts between the two countries arose from their very different economic and political ideas—U.S. capitalism and democracy versus Soviet communism. The United States saw itself as a beacon of freedom for the world. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, hoped to spread communism around the world.

The immediate postwar conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union focused on Germany. The Western Allies wanted a united, demilitarized, and independent Germany. The Soviets feared a united Germany and created a buffer of communist "satellite states" in Eastern Europe. Despite the Yalta agreement on free elections, the governments of these countries were under Soviet control.

"An Iron Curtain has descended across the [European] Continent," remarked Winston Churchill. British and U.S. leaders feared that the Soviets would soon dominate the rest of Europe. In April 1947 presidential adviser Bernard Baruch explained the U.S.-Soviet relationship. "Let us not be deceived—we are today in the midst of a cold war. Over time, many people used the term Cold War to describe the two countries' competition for world power.
In August 1946, communist rebels in Greece threatened to take control of the British-backed government. In February 1947, British leaders told President Truman that they could no longer afford to help the Greek government fight the Communists. President Truman became very worried about the spread of communism in Europe. If Greece fell to communism, he thought, so might Turkey, Greece’s neighbor. In March 1947 President Truman asked Congress for $400 million in aid for Greece and Turkey. He also stated that the United States would use economic aid to help foreign countries fight communism. This policy became known as the Truman Doctrine. Congress passed Truman’s aid package to Greece and Turkey. This aid helped the Greek army to defeat the rebels. However, the U.S. intervention greatly angered Soviet leaders.

**Reading Check:** Analyzing Information What were some of the major issues that marked the beginning of the Cold War?

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**The Marshall Plan**

Despite the Truman Doctrine, U.S. officials continued to worry about European affairs. U.S. Army General George C. Marshall became Truman’s secretary of state in 1947. Marshall believed that European countries that were rebuilding had far greater needs than they could afford to fulfill. He saw the situation as a danger to both world peace and the U.S. economy, which depended on trade with Europe.
Marshall called on European leaders to create long-range plans for economic recovery. He said that the United States would offer “friendly aid” to help European countries rebuild. Congress approved aid money for this program, known as the Marshall Plan. Between 1948 and 1951, the United States gave or loaned more than $13 billion to Western European countries. Although the United States also offered economic aid to the Soviet Union, the Soviets refused. They stopped their Eastern European satellites from accepting any U.S. aid as well.

**Reading Check:** Identifying Cause and Effect. Why did the United States want to help Europe after World War II, and what was the result?

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**Containment**

At the beginning of the Cold War, the United States started a new foreign policy to stop the spread of communism. This policy was known as **containment**—the effort to prevent the Soviet Union from expanding into strategically important areas. In the late 1940s a crisis in occupied Germany tested containment. In 1948 the Western powers joined their occupied areas of Berlin into one—West Berlin. Because it had been invaded many times by Germany, the Soviet Union feared a strong West German state. On June 24, 1948, the Soviets suddenly blocked all rail and highway traffic between western Germany and Berlin.

This Soviet move threatened to become a communist takeover. Deprived of essential supplies, West Berlin was left with only 36 days' worth of food. To solve the crisis without direct military confrontation, U.S. officials decided to fly supplies into West Berlin. On June 26, U.S.

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**Causes of the Cold War**

Although allies during World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union were soon locked in a competition for global power.

- **Military**
  - The United States and the Soviet Union were the only two military superpowers left at the end of World War II.

- **Political**
  - The United States supported democracy, while the Soviet Union practiced totalitarianism.

- **Economic**
  - The United States supported capitalism and free enterprise, while the Soviet Union supported communism and a state-controlled economy.

**Visualizing History**

1. Global Relations: What were the major differences between the Soviet Union and the United States?
2. Connecting to Today: What is the current status of relations with the former Soviet Union?
and British planes began the **Berlin Airlift**. This operation brought food and supplies to the more than 2 million people in the western part of the city. On September 9, 1948, the mayor of West Berlin reminded the world of the issues at stake.

> We cannot be bartered [traded], we cannot be negotiated, we cannot be sold. . . . People of the world, look upon this city! You cannot, you must not, forsake [abandon] us!"

—Ernst Reuter, quoted in *Telegraf*, September 9, 1948

The airlift lasted until the Soviet Union lifted its blockade on May 12, 1949. That same year, Germany was divided into two nations. West Germany became the Federal Republic of Germany, and East Germany became the German Democratic Republic.

In April 1949 the United States and nine Western European nations formed the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization** (NATO). Canada and Iceland also became members. Member nations pledged to defend one another if they were attacked. In 1955 the Soviet Union responded to NATO by creating its own military alliance, the **Warsaw Pact**. This group included the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellite nations.

In August 1949 the Soviet Union shocked the United States by exploding its own atomic bomb. The Cold War soon grew more intense. The United States quadrupled its defense spending, and President Truman approved the development of more powerful nuclear weapons. Just a few years after the end of World War II, the Cold War between the United States and Soviet Union was spreading around the world.

**Reading Check:** Finding the Main Idea. What foreign policy strategy did the United States follow after World War II, and how was it tested in Berlin?

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**Section 1 Review**

1. **Define** and explain:
   - containment

2. **Identify** and explain:
   - Yalta Conference
   - Harry S. Truman
   - Potsdam Conference
   - United Nations
   - Nuremberg Trials
   - Cold War
   - Truman Doctrine
   - George C. Marshall
   - Marshall Plan
   - Berlin Airlift
   - North Atlantic Treaty Organization
   - Warsaw Pact

3. **Summarizing** Copy the graphic organizer below. Use it to explain the actions of the United States and the Soviet Union in the Cold War during the five years after World War II.

4. **Finding the Main Idea**
   - a. How did the Allies try to preserve world peace?
   - b. How did the United States attempt to stop Soviet expansion and strengthen Western Europe through its foreign policy after World War II?

5. **Writing and Critical Thinking**
   - Analyzing Information. Imagine that you are a Jew who survived the Holocaust. Write a short article for an Israeli newspaper that expresses your reaction to the Nuremberg Trials. Consider the following:
     - the Allies' reasons for holding the trials
     - the effect of the trials on public awareness of crimes against Jews
     - the outcome of the trials

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The Story Continues

Chesterfield Smith entered the University of Florida in 1935. By 1940 he had completed only three and a half years of school. “I chose the easy life in college,” Smith explained. Then World War II came, and Smith served in France. In 1946 he returned home and quickly finished college. Smith’s wife described the change. “Something happened to Chesterfield’s attitude in the war, I don’t know just what, he was a serious man when he returned.” Smith was one of many Americans who became serious about the future after the war.

Returning to Peace

After World War II the United States faced the challenge of returning to a peacetime economy. Truman worried that ending defense contracts might cause a recession, as had happened after World War I. Yet he believed that the United States needed a strong economy to compete in the Cold War.

More than 15 million Americans had served in the armed forces. Most of them needed jobs when they left the service. To create these
jobs, the government encouraged millions of women who had taken part in the wartime economy to stop working. Many women were unhappy about this loss of income and independence. One woman complained about the pressure to leave her job.

“...They say a woman doesn’t belong behind a factory machine or in any business organization. But...who will give my family the help they have been getting from me? No one has thought to ask me whether or not I need my job.”

—Mary Smith, quoted in Born for Liberty, by Sarah M. Evans

Although government officials feared that millions of Americans would be unemployed, the economy continued to grow. New laws such as the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act, also called the GI Bill of Rights, helped veterans. Passed in 1944, the GI Bill offered generous benefits such as affordable home and business loans. It also provided financial aid to attend colleges and technical schools. Veteran Guy Owen earned his graduate degree and became a professor. “The GI Bill, I can’t emphasize enough, really saved me,” he recalled. “[It] took me...to places...where I had different experiences from what I would have ever seen.” Millions of veterans took advantage of such aid.

✓ Reading Check: Analyzing Information How did the GI Bill of Rights help veterans?

🌟 Labor Unrest

Despite President Truman’s efforts, there were some postwar economic troubles. With the end of rationing and fixed controls on prices, consumers rushed to buy goods. As a result, prices skyrocketed. Between 1945 and 1947, food prices rose by more than one third. The inflation rate in 1946 was more than 18 percent.

Analyzing Primary Sources
Identifying Points of View
How does this speaker feel about the postwar labor situation?
As inflation soared, unions went on strike for higher pay. Around 4.5 million workers across the country took part in nearly 5,000 strikes in 1946. In April some 400,000 members of the United Mine Workers (UMW) walked off their jobs. When President Truman could not work out a settlement between management and labor, he placed the coal mines under government control. Then, in November, UMW president John Lewis called a second strike. This time Truman pledged to “fight to the finish.” A federal judge ordered Lewis to stand trial for contempt, or disobeying an official order. “You can’t dig coal with bayonets,” replied Lewis. After receiving a $3 million fine, however, Lewis finally called an end to the strike.

Republicans in Congress wanted to weaken the power of labor unions. They were particularly worried about closed shops—workplaces in which job applicants must join a union before being hired. In 1947 Ohio senator Robert Taft led the drive to pass the Taft-Hartley Act. This act made closed shops illegal and required union leaders to swear they were not Communists. It also gave the president the power to prevent strikes. The president could get a court order forcing striking unions to call off their strikes for an 80-day “cooling off” period. Truman thought that the Taft-Hartley Act placed too many limits on unions. He vetoed the bill, but Congress overrode his veto.

**Reading Check:** Identifying Cause and Effect. Why did the UMW members go on strike, and how did the U.S. government respond?

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**The 1948 Election**

The labor unrest caused many Americans to question Truman’s ability to serve as president. These worries helped the Republican Party. In 1946 the Republicans had gained control of Congress for the first time in 18 years. After this victory, they began to believe they could win the White House in 1948. In 1948 the Republicans nominated New York governor Thomas Dewey for president. Dewey chose California governor Earl Warren to run for vice president. Meanwhile, even leaders of the Democratic Party did not think that Truman could win re-election. Many Democrats joined a “dump Truman” movement that tried to replace him with another candidate. At the 1948 national convention, however, Truman was able to win the party’s nomination.

Some southern Democrats who were upset with Truman’s position on civil rights walked out of the convention. Many of them joined the new States’ Rights Party, whose members were called Dixiecrats. The Dixiecrats backed racial segregation and the limiting of African American voting rights. They nominated South Carolina governor J. Strom Thurmond for president. A second group of Democrats disliked Truman’s position on labor strikes. They joined a new Progressive Party to support former vice president Henry Wallace for president.
Truman campaigned with great energy. He traveled more than 30,000 miles by train and delivered hundreds of speeches. He attacked Congress as “do-nothing” and “good-for-nothing.” Yet public opinion polls predicted a huge victory for Dewey. Truman’s victory surprised almost everyone but himself.

Truman’s victory had several explanations. He had won union support with his veto of the Taft-Hartley Act. He had won African American support with his position on civil rights. In addition, many Wallace supporters switched to Truman when it looked as if Dewey would win. Perhaps the best explanation for Truman’s victory came from the postwar economy. As one suburban voter explained, “I own a nice house. I have a new car. . . . Why change?”

Truman was certain that Americans supported his policies. He suggested a series of reform programs that became known as the Fair Deal. The Fair Deal was intended to provide full employment, a higher minimum wage, and a national health insurance plan. Truman also called for more affordable housing, greater Social Security benefits, and aid for farmers. Congress approved some Fair Deal reforms, such as expanding Social Security and raising the minimum wage. However, Congress rejected some civil rights laws, federal aid to education, and the national health insurance program. But other acts did provide billions of dollars for domestic improvements and the GI Bill of Rights. This government spending helped to keep the postwar boom going.

**Reading Check:** Summarizing What were the major presidential election issues in 1948, and how did they affect the election’s outcome?

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**Section 2 Review**

1. **Identify and explain:**
   - GI Bill of Rights
   - United Mine Workers
   - John Lewis
   - Taft-Hartley Act
   - Dixiecrats
   - Fair Deal

2. **Contrasting** Copy the chart below. Use it to show successes and failures in postwar American society.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Successes</th>
<th>Failures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair Deal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. **Finding the Main Idea**
   a. What assistance did returning U.S. veterans receive from their government?
   b. Why did so many workers go on strike during the 1940s, and what effect did this have on governmental policy?

4. **Writing and Critical Thinking**
   Identifying Cause and Effect. Imagine that you are an American voter in 1948. Write a letter to a friend in another country describing the progress and outcome of the presidential election.

   Consider the following:
   - the problems arising at the Democratic Convention
   - the Truman campaign
   - why people supported Truman in his victory

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_The Cold War Begins_ 807
The War in Korea

Read to Discover
1. How did communism affect Asia after World War II?
2. What were the main events of the Korean War, and how did the war end?
3. How did the Korean War affect the 1952 presidential election?

Reading Strategy
TRI-FOLD Create the “Tri-Fold” fold. Note described in the appendix. Write what you know about the Korean War in the column labeled “Know.” Write what you want to know in the column labeled “Want.” As you read the section, write what you learn in the column labeled “Learn.”

The Story Continues
In January 1949, Chinese Communists took control of the capital city of Beijing. It was a major victory in their civil war with the ruling Nationalist Party. In Congress, John F. Kennedy called the Communists’ success a “failure of our foreign policy in the Far East.” He feared that nothing would keep “the onrushing tide of Communism from engulfing all of Asia.” Many Americans agreed that Asia was now a major front in the Cold War.

The Cold War in Asia
China’s monarchy fell in 1912, causing great political unrest. During the 1920s the Chinese Nationalist Party and the Chinese Communists began a bitter civil war. In 1934 some 100,000 Communists fled from a Nationalist army attack. Mao Zedong (mow dzuh-dohhng) led the Communists’ escape. The Communists’ months-long, 6,000-mile retreat to northwestern China became known as the Long March. Over time, the Communists gained control of northern China.
During the mid-1930s the Nationalists joined with the Communists to defeat the invading Japanese. The two sides continued to cooperate throughout World War II. After this war, however, the civil war resumed. Although the Nationalist government was corrupt, the U.S. government preferred it to communism. Despite U.S. support for the Nationalists, the Communists won the Civil War in 1949. They forced their enemies to flee to the island of Taiwan and founded the People’s Republic of China on the mainland.

The postwar period also brought new governments to Japan and Korea. After World War II, U.S. forces occupied Japan and began rebuilding the country’s ruined economy. Military leaders also created a U.S.-style constitution. The constitution placed more power in the hands of the Japanese people and gave women the right to vote.

Japan had controlled Korea from 1910 until the end of World War II. After the war, the Allies divided Korea between U.S. and Soviet troops. Each country created a government in its part of Korea that was friendly to the country that was occupying it. The pro-Soviet Democratic People’s Republic of Korea controlled the northern half of the peninsula. The U.S.-backed Republic of Korea controlled the south. When U.S. and Soviet troops pulled out in 1949, both the North and South Korean governments claimed the entire country.

**Reading Check:** Analyzing Information. What successes did Communists experience in postwar Asia?

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**The Korean War**

When the Soviets withdrew from Korea in 1949, they left behind a well-equipped and well-trained army. On June 25, 1950, North Korean forces quickly advanced across the 38th parallel, the line of latitude that divided the two Koreas. The UN Security Council immediately called for a cease-fire. However, the North Koreans continued the invasion.

On June 27 the UN called on its members to support South Korea. President Truman announced that he had ordered United States air and sea forces to assist the Korean troops. General Douglas MacArthur flew to Korea and reported that South Korea needed ground troops immediately. MacArthur was named commander of the UN forces, which consisted largely of U.S. and South Korean troops.
By September the North Korean army had driven UN forces to the very tip of the peninsula. UN forces occupied a small area near the port city of Pusan. For six weeks, fierce fighting raged along the Pusan front. Though the situation seemed hopeless at times, military leaders had a daring plan to turn the tide of the war—a surprise attack behind enemy lines. On September 15, UN forces streamed onto shore near the port city of Inch’ón. Then they attacked the North Korean forces from behind. Just over a month later, MacArthur’s forces captured P’yŏngyang (pyuhng-yang), North Korea’s capital. Later, they reached the Yalu River, the border between China and North Korea. MacArthur boasted, “[I’ll] have the boys home by Christmas.”

Then, quite unexpectedly, hundreds of thousands of Chinese troops crossed the border to help the North Koreans. The Chinese drove the UN forces back below the 38th parallel. A platoon leader in the 24th Infantry described one of these difficult battles.

"I was trying to... figure how to attack the hill when suddenly three shells landed directly in front of me... The explosions were near enough to knock out the entire group of eight or nine men... The medics could scarcely keep up with the men who had been hit... When we reached the top of the hill, the enemy had cut and run, and we collapsed on the ground, not bothering to dig in."

—Lyte Rishell, With a Black Platoon in Combat: A Year in Korea

Truman did not want the war to expand beyond Korea. Despite knowing Truman’s position, General MacArthur called for air strikes on Chinese cities and a ground attack on the Chinese coast. When Truman refused, MacArthur criticized the president openly. Truman then removed MacArthur as commander on April 11, 1951. Truman’s decision was unpopular with many Americans. MacArthur returned home to parades and celebrations. Soon after, UN forces pushed the Chinese and North Koreans back across the 38th parallel, where fighting settled into a standstill.

By the spring of 1951, it seemed clear that neither side in Korea was going to win on the battlefield. Peace negotiations began in July 1951, but little progress was made. As the negotiations and the war dragged on, the American public grew more frustrated.

✓ Reading Check: Sequencing List the events of the Korean War in the order that they took place.
The End of the War

The Korean War became the major issue in the presidential election of 1952. Knowing that many voters blamed him for the war, President Truman did not seek re-election. The Democrats nominated Illinois governor Adlai Stevenson for president. Stevenson was intelligent but he seemed out of touch with the “real world” to many voters. Hoping to win the White House for the first time since 1928, the Republicans nominated General Dwight D. Eisenhower. Like, as he was often called, probably won the race when he pledged to end the Korean War.

“...the first task of a new administration is to... bring the Korean War to an early and honorable end... For this task a wholly new administration is necessary... The old administration cannot be expected to repair what it failed to prevent.”


Eisenhower won the election easily with 55 percent of the vote.

Despite Eisenhower’s efforts, the peace talks remained stalled. He even hinted that the United States might use atomic weapons if the conflict did not end. On July 27, 1953, the two sides signed a cease-fire.

After three years of fighting, Korea remained divided roughly along the 38th parallel. U.S. forces alone had suffered some 155,000 casualties. North Korean and Chinese military casualties totaled more than 1.5 million. Tense relations continued between the two Koreas, and U.S. forces have remained stationed along the border ever since.

**Reading Check:** Summarizing How did the Korean War end?

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**Section Review**

1. **Identify and explain:**
   - Mao Zedong
   - Long March
   - 38th parallel
   - Douglas MacArthur
   - Adlai Stevenson
   - Dwight D. Eisenhower

2. **Analyzing Information**
   - Copy the diagram below. Use it to show how communism affected Asia after World War II. Identify the new governments that came to power and note those that were communist.

3. **Finding the Main Idea**
   - a. Why did the United States become involved in the Korean War, and what were the major events in the war?
   - b. How was the 1952 presidential election influenced by the Korean War, and how did the election’s outcome affect the end of the war?

4. **Writing and Critical Thinking**
   - Supporting a Point of View: Imagine that you are a U.S. soldier who has been stationed in South Korea since the start of the Korean War. Write a letter to a family member arguing for or against President Truman’s removal of General Douglas MacArthur.
   - Consider the following:
     - the main events of the war
     - MacArthur’s military successes
     - MacArthur’s public criticism of Truman

*The Cold War Begins* 811
Cold War Fears

Read to Discover
1. What caused the new Red Scare?
2. What role did Senator Joseph McCarthy play in the new Red Scare?
3. How did post-World War II popular culture reflect Cold War fears?

Define
- blacklisting

Identify
- House Un-American Activities Committee
- Internal Security Act
- Whittaker Chambers
- Alger Hiss
- Julius and Ethel Rosenberg
- Joseph McCarthy
- McCarthyism
- Edward R. Murrow
- Army-McCarthy hearings

Reading Strategy
BRAINSTORMING Write the letters of the alphabet vertically on a sheet of paper. Brainstorm what you already know about fears in the Cold War era. List your ideas next to as many letters as possible.

The Story Continues
In the 1940s, African American actor and singer Paul Robeson found his career threatened by accusations that he was a communist. Because Robeson favored a close U.S.-Soviet relationship, in 1950 the State Department took away his passport. When asked why he did not leave the United States, Robeson replied, “My father was a slave, and my people died to build this country. No . . . people will drive me from it.” Many other artists faced similar difficulties due to their political beliefs.

A New Red Scare
The Cold War created strong fears of Communists and communism in the United States, leading to a new Red Scare. The first Red Scare had begun just after World War I and the communist revolution in Russia. The new Red Scare started in the late 1930s and reached its full strength during the late 1940s and early 1950s. Many Americans were concerned about the growth of the U.S. Communist Party. The Soviet Union’s expanded control over Eastern Europe also worried Americans. The
Communist successes in China and involvement in the Korean War further increased anticommunist feeling in the United States.

In May 1938 Congress had established the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). This committee looked into disloyalty and harmful foreign influences in the United States. In 1947 HUAC began a series of widely publicized hearings to prove that Communists were working in the State Department and in Hollywood. The committee often ignored citizens' rights. One writer called before the committee charged that HUAC “conducted an illegal and indecent [rude] trial of American citizens.” HUAC investigations of the motion picture industry found no widespread communist activities. Yet executives in film, radio, television, and theater began blacklisting or refusing to hire, suspected Communists. The most famous of those blacklisted were the so-called Hollywood Ten, a group of writers who would not cooperate with HUAC.

During the Red Scare even popular culture began to reflect many Americans' fear of communism. Magazines published articles like “Communists Are After Your Child.” Between 1946 and 1954 Hollywood produced more than 40 anticommunist films. Science fiction movies often combined fears about new forms of technology with the fear of communism.

✓ Reading Check: Identifying Cause and Effect. What led to the new Red Scare, and how did it affect some Americans?

The Crucible
Arthur Miller

In his 1953 play, The Crucible, author Arthur Miller compared McCarthyism to the Salem witch trials of 1692. In the following excerpt John Proctor, a man accused of witchcraft, refuses to identify other witches for Deputy Governor Danforth.

DANFORTH: Mr. Proctor, a score of people have already testified they saw this woman with the Devil.

PROCTOR: Then it is proved. Why must I say it? Why, you should rejoice to say it if your soul is truly purged of any love for Hell! . . . Look you, sir. I think you mistake your duty here. It matters nothing what she thought—she is convicted. . . . Your soul alone is the issue here, Mister, and you will prove its whiteness or you cannot live in a Christian country. Will you tell me now what persons conspired with you in the Devil's company? Proctor is silent. To your knowledge was Rebecca Nurse ever—

Understanding What You Read

1. Literature and History  Which elements of this excerpt reflect colonial times? Which reflect the 1950s?

2. Literature and You  What would you do if you were in Proctor's situation?

1 conspired: planned
**Spies in Government**

After World War II, many Republicans said President Truman had allowed Communists to sneak into the government. In response, Truman created the Loyalty Review Board in March 1947 to investigate the background of thousands of federal workers. The board reviews did not find any Communists. However, some people lost their jobs because of “reasonable grounds” to suspect their loyalty. Other organizations, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Justice Department, soon started their own loyalty oaths and investigations. State and local governments, schools, and universities were among these organizations. Thousands of people lost their jobs because they were suspected of sympathizing or agreeing with communism.

In 1950 Congress passed the **Internal Security Act**. This law forced organizations thought to be communist to register with the government. The law also gave the government the right to arrest people suspected of treasonous activities during times of national emergency.

In the late 1940s, dramatic spy cases made Cold War fears worse. In 1948 journalist **Whittaker Chambers** confessed that he had spied for the Soviets. Testifying before HUAC, Chambers accused **Alger Hiss**, a former State Department official, of being a Soviet spy. Hiss denied the charges. Chambers later produced secret papers that he said Hiss had passed to the Soviet Union. Hiss insisted he was innocent. Nevertheless, he was tried, found guilty of perjury, and sentenced to five years in prison.

The spy cases went on into the 1950s. In 1951 **Julius and Ethel Rosenberg** were convicted of passing secret atomic weapons information to the Soviet Union. People around the world protested, claiming that the Rosenbergs were innocent victims of the Red Scare. Despite this support, they were executed in June 1953 for spying.

**Reading Check:** Summarizing How did the government try to identify spies, and who became the most famous spies?

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**McCarthyism**

More than anyone else, Senator **Joseph McCarthy** helped stir up Cold War fears. McCarthy, a Republican from Wisconsin, began a campaign to find Communists in the U.S. government. McCarthy blamed the spread of communism on government leaders involved in making foreign policy.

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_"The State Department . . . is thoroughly infested with Communists. I have in my hand fifty-seven 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."_

—Joseph McCarthy, quoted in *The Annals of America*, vol. 17

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**Command Economics**

Command economies were based on what economists call a command economy. In this type of system, one central organization makes most economic decisions about such things as what goods will be produced, who will produce them, and so on. Economic activities are generally used to help promote the interests and goals of the government. This differs from a market economy, in which economic activities are shaped by the interests of consumers and businesses. How do command economies differ from market economies?
McCarthy's charges shocked many people, and members of Congress challenged him to make public the names on his list. He finally offered one name. When an early investigation called McCarthy's charges "a fraud and a hoax," he simply made up more charges. His method of making accusations without offering proof became known as McCarthyism.

Few Americans challenged McCarthy. Others were afraid of being labeled "soft on communism" themselves. In addition, many Americans wanted an explanation for the spread of communism in Eastern Europe and Asia, and McCarthy gave them one.

A few people did attempt to stop Senator McCarthy. Journalist Edward R. Murrow tried to expose McCarthy on the television show See It Now. Instead of being congratulated, Murrow received bundles of hate mail. However, in late 1953, the senator went too far when he claimed that there were Communists in the military. To investigate his charges, a group of senators decided to hold televised hearings on the matter. These Army-McCarthy hearings proved to be McCarthy's downfall. Over time, the army's attorney, Joseph Welch, won the other senators' favor with his polite charm. In desperation, McCarthy charged that Welch's law firm employed a former Communist. Senators were stunned by this statement, which had nothing to do with the hearings. Welch responded, "Have you left no sense of decency?" At this remark, the people watching the hearing applauded.

Viewers across the nation finally saw McCarthy for what he was—a bully. In 1954 the Senate voted 67 to 22 to condemn McCarthy. However, many people's careers and lives had been destroyed by McCarthy's lies. For these victims, it was a classic case of too little, too late.

✓ Reading Check: Finding the Main Idea How did Joseph McCarthy contribute to the new Red Scare?

Section 4 Review

1. **Define and explain:**
   - Blacklisting

2. **Identify and explain:**
   - House Un-American Activities Committee
   - Internal Security Act
   - Whittaker Chambers
   - Alger Hiss
   - Julius and Ethel Rosenberg
   - Joseph McCarthy
   - McCarthyism
   - Edward R. Murrow
   - Army-McCarthy hearings

3. **Summarizing** Copy the graphic organizer below. Use it to identify the factors that led to the new Red Scare.

4. **Finding the Main Idea**
   - a. What methods did the U.S. government use to find spies in the postwar period?
   - b. How were Cold War fears apparent in popular culture?

5. **Writing and Critical Thinking**
   - Supporting a Point of View: Imagine that you are a radio broadcaster who has observed Joseph McCarthy's rise to power. Write the script to a radio editorial describing McCarthy's role in the new Red Scare. Then state your opinion of his actions.
   - Consider the following:
     - the reasons for the Red Scare
     - McCarthy's accusations without proof
     - the effect on citizens' rights and freedoms

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Chapter 26 Review

The Chapter at a Glance
Examine the visual summary of the chapter below. Then use it to write a fill-in-the-blank quiz that you can give to a classmate.

The Cold War

Domestic Events

1944: The GI Bill of Rights is passed.
1946: The United Mine Workers go on strike.
1990s: The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) investigates Communists.
1951: Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are convicted for spying.
1954: The Army-McCarthy hearings take place.

Foreign Events

1945: The Potsdam Conference is held.
The United Nations is formed.
1947: The Truman Doctrine is announced.
1948–49: The Berlin Airlift takes place.
1949: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is formed.
1950–53: The Korean War is fought.

Identifying People and Ideas
Use the following terms and people in historically significant sentences.
1. Yalta Conference
2. Nuremberg Trials
3. George C. Marshall
4. GI Bill of Rights
5. Fair Deal
6. Mao Zedong
7. 38th parallel
8. Dwight D. Eisenhower
9. blacklisting
10. McCarthyism

Understanding Main Ideas

Section 1 (Pages 790–793)
1. What steps did the Allies take to prevent another world war?
2. How did the United States fight the spread of Communism in Western Europe after World War II?

Section 2 (Pages 794–797)
3. What major events took place during the Truman administration?
4. What challenges did President Truman face in the 1948 election, and how did he win the election?

Section 3 (Pages 798–801)
5. What were the causes and outcomes of the Korean War?

Section 4 (Pages 802–805)
6. What led to a new Red Scare in the United States?

You Be the Historian—Reviewing Themes

1. Economics Why did George C. Marshall think that aiding the European economies would help prevent the spread of communism?
2. Global Relations What events led to the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union?
3. Citizenship How did the Cold War affect Americans’ freedoms?

Thinking Critically

1. Drawing Inferences and Conclusions Why do you think the United States offered economic aid to the Soviet Union, and why do you think the Soviet Union refused?
2. Finding the Main Idea Why did Americans’ Cold War fears center on communism, and how did those fears affect U.S. foreign policy?
3. Analyzing Information What was the status of the national economy in 1948, and how did that affect the presidential election?
Interpreting Maps
Study the map below. Then use the information on the map to help you answer the questions that follow.

The 1948 Electoral Vote

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Electoral Winner by State</th>
<th>Truman (Democratic)</th>
<th>Dewey (Republican)</th>
<th>Thurmond (States' Rights)</th>
<th>Other parties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Electoral Vote</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>1,176,125</td>
<td>1,443,683</td>
<td>2,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular Vote</td>
<td>24,175,345</td>
<td>21,991,291</td>
<td>21,991,291</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Pop. Vote</td>
<td>49.6%</td>
<td>45.1%</td>
<td>45.1%</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Which of the following statements is most accurate based on the information shown on the map?
   a. Truman had strong support in New England.
   b. Most western states voted for Dewey.
   c. If Dewey had won California, Ohio, and Texas, Truman would have lost the election.
   d. If Thurmond’s supporters had voted for Dewey, then Dewey would have won the election.

2. Based on the map and your knowledge of the period, why do you think Strom Thurmond’s support came from the South?

Analyzing Primary Sources
Read the following excerpt from a report by the Women's Advisory Committee (WAC). Then answer the questions that follow.

"Prospects for job security and other new job opportunities after the war are as important to women as to men. The American people therefore must demand consideration of the status of women in all postwar plans. . . . No society can boast of democratic ideals if it utilizes womanpower in a crisis and neglects it in peace."

3. Which of the following statements best describes the views expressed by the WAC in this excerpt?
   a. It is unjust to take women's wartime jobs away in peacetime.
   b. The United States is not a democratic society.
   c. Women should keep their jobs during a crisis.
   d. Women should be appointed to postwar planning committees.

4. Based on your knowledge of the period, why do you think the WAC was so concerned about women losing their jobs?

Alternative Assessment
Building Your Portfolio

Interdisciplinary Connection to the Arts
The Korean War is often called the Forgotten War. Imagine that you have been chosen to design a memorial to the soldiers of the Korean War. Consider the causes, major battles, and results of the war, and decide what your memorial should look like. Create a sketch or a model of the memorial. Hold a ceremony to present the memorial to your class.

Internet Activity: go.hrw.com
Keyword: SG5 GP26
Choose an activity on the Cold War to:
- Write a biography of Harry S. Truman.
- Examine the rise of Mao Zedong and Communists in China.
- Learn about the second Red Scare.

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