

# Reading Essentials and Study Guide

networks

## The Cold War Begins, 1945-1960

### Lesson 3 *The Cold War and American Society*

#### ESSENTIAL QUESTION

*How did the Cold War shape postwar international relations?*

*How did Cold War tensions affect American society?*

#### Reading HELPDESK

##### Content Vocabulary

**subversion** a systematic attempt to overthrow a government by using persons working secretly from within

**loyalty review program** a policy established by President Truman that authorized the screening of all federal employees to determine their loyalty to the U.S. government

**perjury** lying when one has sworn under oath to tell the truth

**censure** to express a formal disapproval of an action

**fallout** radioactive particles dispersed by a nuclear explosion

##### Academic Vocabulary

**manipulate** to operate or arrange manually to achieve a desired effect

**convince** to bring to belief, consent, or a course of action

# Reading Essentials and Study Guide *Cont.*

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## The Cold War Begins, 1945-1960

### TAKING NOTES: Outlining

ACTIVITY As you read, summarize the lesson content by using the major headings to create an outline similar to the one below.

<p>The Cold War and American Society</p> <p>I. A New Red Scare</p> <p>A. The Truman Loyalty Review Program</p> <p>B.</p> <p>C.</p>
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### IT MATTERS BECAUSE...

*The government was worried about people trying to hurt the United States. It tried to root out any Communists in government, Hollywood, and labor unions. At the same time, Americans learned to live with the threat of nuclear attack.*

## A New Red Scare

**GUIDING QUESTION** How did the post-World War II Red Scare compare and contrast with the one that followed World War I?

During the 1950s, rumors and accusations led to fears that Communists were trying to take over the world. In September 1945, a clerk named Igor Gouzenko walked out of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, Canada. He had defected from the Soviet Union. Gouzenko had documents that showed the Soviets were trying to infiltrate Canadian and U.S. agencies. The Soviets wanted information about the atomic bomb. This was the beginning of the Red Scare. The documents suggested that spies had infiltrated the U.S. government. This shocked Americans. Soon the search for spies grew into a general fear of Communist **subversion**, or effort to weaken a society and overthrow its government.

## The Truman Loyalty Review Program

In early 1947, President Truman started a **loyalty review program**. This program checked, or screened, the loyalty of all federal employees in the U.S. government. Truman's establishment of this program seemed to confirm suspicions that Communists had infiltrated the government. The public's fear that communism was sweeping the nation increased. Between 1947 and 1951, more than six million federal employees were screened for loyalty—a difficult idea to define. A person might become a suspect for reading certain books or belonging to various groups. Someone could also become a suspect for traveling overseas or watching certain foreign films. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) looked closely at around 14,000 people. About 2,000 quit their jobs. Many of these people did so under pressure. Another 212 were fired for "questionable loyalty" even though there was not any actual proof.

## Reading Essentials and Study Guide *Cont.*

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### The Cold War Begins, 1945-1960

#### **HUAC and Anti-Communist Investigations**

FBI director J. Edgar Hoover was not satisfied with these results. In 1947 he appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). This group was formed in 1938 to look into activities that could be harmful to the United States. HUAC had been a minor committee before Hoover's involvement. He urged HUAC to hold public hearings to root out Communists, "Communist sympathizers," and "fellow travelers." Under Hoover's leadership, the FBI sent agents to work undercover in groups thought to be subversive. Agents also listened in on thousands of telephone conversations.

**Hollywood on Trial** One of HUAC's first hearings in 1947 focused on the film industry. HUAC looked at film as a cultural force that Communists might **manipulate** to spread their ideas and influence. Future U.S. president Ronald Reagan was head of the Screen Actors Guild at the time. When called before HUAC, he testified that there were Communists in Hollywood. During the hearings, ten screenwriters used their Fifth Amendment right to protect themselves from self-incrimination. They refused to testify. This group became known as the "Hollywood Ten." The incident led producers to blacklist, or agree not to hire, anyone who might possibly be a Communist. Producers also blacklisted those who refused to cooperate with the committee. The blacklist created an atmosphere of distrust and fear.

**Alger Hiss** Whittaker Chambers was a magazine editor and former Communist Party member. In 1948 he told HUAC that several government officials were also former Communists or spies. One official Chambers named was Alger Hiss. Hiss was a diplomat who had been part of Roosevelt's administration. In this role, he had attended the Yalta Conference and had helped organize the United Nations. Hiss sued Chambers for libel. In spite of that, Chambers testified to HUAC that, in 1937 and 1938, Hiss had given him secret State Department documents. Hiss denied that he was a spy or a member of the Communist Party. He also denied that he knew Chambers.

The committee was ready to drop the investigation. But then California representative Richard Nixon **convinced** his coworkers to continue the hearings to find out who had lied. Chambers turned in copies of secret documents. He also had microfilm that he had hidden in a hollow pumpkin. The secret papers and microfilm became known as the "pumpkin papers." These "pumpkin papers," Chambers claimed, proved Hiss was lying. A jury agreed and convicted Hiss of **perjury**, or lying under oath.

**The Rosenbergs** Another spy case centered on accusations that U.S. Communists had sold secrets about the atomic bomb to the Soviets. These secrets could have helped them build a bomb in 1949. In 1950 the hunt for spies led to the arrest of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. This New York couple belonged to the Communist Party. The government charged them with spying for the Soviets.

The Rosenbergs denied the charges. They were sentenced to death for spying. Many people believed that the Rosenbergs were victims caught in the wave of anti-Communism. Appeals and pleas for mercy failed, however, and the couple was executed in June 1953.

## Reading Essentials and Study Guide *Cont.*



### The Cold War Begins, 1945-1960

**Project Venona** In 1946 U.S. and British cryptographers were working on a project code-named "Venona." They figured out the Soviet Union's spy code. This made it possible to read about 3,000 messages between Moscow and the United States that were collected during the Cold War. The large number of messages proved how often Soviet spying had happened. The content of the messages revealed ongoing efforts by the Soviets to steal nuclear secrets. The government did not tell anyone about Project Venona until 1995. The Venona documents gave strong evidence that the Rosenbergs were indeed guilty.

### The Red Scare Spreads

Many state and local governments, universities, businesses, unions, churches, and private groups also began efforts to find Communists. The University of California made its teachers take loyalty oaths. The school fired 157 who refused. Many Catholic groups became anti-Communist. They urged their members to report Communists within the Church. The Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 made union leaders take oaths saying that they were not Communists. Many union leaders did not object. Instead, they started to remove suspected Communists from their own organizations. Eventually federated union leadership banned 11 unions that would not remove Communist leaders.

#### PROGRESS CHECK

**Comparing and Contrasting** What was one way that the Red Scare of the 1950s and the Red Scare of the 1920s were similar?

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### McCarthyism

**GUIDING QUESTION** Why did many Americans believe Senator McCarthy's accusations?

In 1949 the Red Scare grew when the Soviet Union successfully tested an atomic bomb. That same year, China fell to communism. To many Americans, these events seemed to prove that the United States was losing the Cold War.

In February 1950, little-known senator Joseph R. McCarthy gave a speech to a Republican women's group. He claimed to have a list of more than 200 Communists who were working in the State Department. The Associated Press sent the statement nationwide. Reporters at an airport asked McCarthy for an opportunity to see his list. McCarthy agreed to share the list. Although he never did, he continued to make charges.

McCarthy stated that Communists were a danger in the United States and abroad. He gave out a booklet accusing Democratic Party leaders of corruption and of protecting Communists. McCarthy often targeted Secretary of State Dean Acheson. McCarthy said Acheson was ineffective in his job and a tool of Stalin. He also accused George C. Marshall, former army chief of staff and secretary of state, of disloyalty. People's fears about communism made many Americans willing to accept McCarthy's claims.

# Reading Essentials and Study Guide *Cont.*



## The Cold War Begins, 1945-1960

### The McCarran Act

In 1950 McCarthy and others stirred up fears of Communist spies. That year Congress passed the Internal Security Act, also called the McCarran Act. The act made it illegal to try to set up a dictator-run government in the United States. It required all Communist-related organizations to publish their records. These organizations also had to register with the U.S. attorney general. Communists could not have passports. In cases of a national emergency, Communists could be arrested and put in jail. Truman was not willing to punish people for their opinions and vetoed the bill. But Congress easily overrode his veto in 1950. Later Supreme Court cases limited the power of the McCarran Act.

### McCarthy's Rise and Fall

In 1953 McCarthy became chairman of the Senate subcommittee on investigations. The subcommittee forced government officials to testify about suspected Communist influences. Investigations became witch-hunts—searches for disloyalty based on weak evidence and fears. McCarthy's practice of harming reputations with vague or unfounded charges became known as McCarthyism.

McCarthy's shocking claims put him in the headlines. The press quoted him often and widely. He questioned witnesses harshly and then would not accept their answers. His way of questioning left a cloud of suspicion that he and others interpreted as guilt. People were afraid to challenge him.

In 1954 McCarthy began to look for Soviet spies in the U.S. Army. During weeks of televised hearings, millions of Americans watched McCarthy question and bully officers. McCarthy harassed them about minor details and accused them of misconduct. His popular support began to fade.

Joseph Welch was the army's lawyer. At one of the televised hearings, McCarthy brought up the past of a young lawyer in Welch's firm who had been a member of a Communist-front organization while in law school. Welch, who knew about the young man's past, got angry at McCarthy for possibly ruining the young man's career.

People watching the conversation cheered. Welch had said what many Americans had been thinking. Later that year, the Senate passed a vote of **censure**, or formal disapproval, against McCarthy. He lost all influence in the Senate. He died in 1957.

#### **PROGRESS CHECK**

**Assessing** Why were people prepared to accept McCarthy's claims?

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### Life During the Early Cold War

**GUIDING QUESTION** How did fears of nuclear war affect American society?

The Red Scare and the spread of nuclear weapons had a great impact on U.S. life in the 1950s. Fears of communism and war affected both ordinary Americans and government leaders.

# Reading Essentials and Study Guide *Cont.*



## The Cold War Begins, 1945-1960

### Facing the Bomb

Americans were shocked when the Soviets successfully tested a more powerful hydrogen bomb, or H-bomb, in 1953. The United States had tested its own H-bomb less than a year earlier. Americans got ready for a surprise Soviet attack. Schools built bomb shelters and held bomb drills to teach students to “duck-and-cover” to protect themselves.

“Duck-and-cover” may have made people feel safer. But it would not have saved them from nuclear radiation. For every person killed during a nuclear blast, four more would die later from **fallout**. Fallout is the radiation that stays after a blast. To protect themselves, some families built their own fallout shelters.

### Popular Culture in the Cold War

The idea of a nuclear war and a Communist takeover worried the public. Cold War themes soon appeared in films, plays, television, music, and popular fiction. Matt Cvetic joined the Communist Party in order to work undercover for the FBI. He wrote a series of popular reports in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1950. His story was later made into the movie *I Was a Communist for the FBI* (1951). Another film, *Walk East on Beacon* (1952), features the FBI’s activities in a spy case. In 1953 *The Crucible* appeared on Broadway. This Arthur Miller story criticized the Communist witch hunts of the time. The play remains popular today as a warning tale about how emotions such as fear or anger can get out of control and lead to false accusations.

In 1953 a weekly television series called *I Led Three Lives* started. It was about an undercover FBI counterspy who was also a Communist Party official. Popular songs such as “Atomic Boogie” and “Atom Bomb Baby” played on the radio. The next year, author Philip Wylie published *Tomorrow!* This novel described the horrific effects of nuclear war on an unprepared U.S. city. Wylie wrote his novel to tell the public about the horrors of atomic war.

One of the most famous and lasting works of this period is John Hersey’s nonfiction book *Hiroshima*. It was first published as the August 1946 edition of *The New Yorker* magazine. The book gives six original descriptions of the bombing of Hiroshima, Japan. *Hiroshima* talked about the real, personal horrors of a nuclear attack. It made some Americans question the use of the bomb.

At the same time, the country was enjoying postwar wealth and contentment. That feeling, combined with McCarthyism, fears of communism, and the threat of atomic attack, made the early 1950s a time of contrasts. The 1952 election was coming. Americans were looking for someone or something that would make them feel secure.

### PROGRESS CHECK

**Analyzing** How did the Cold War affect popular culture in the 1950s?

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## The Cold War Begins, 1945-1960

### Lesson 4 *Eisenhower's Cold War Policies*

#### ESSENTIAL QUESTION

*How did the Cold War shape postwar international relations?*

*How did Cold War tensions affect American society?*

#### Reading HELPDESK

##### Content Vocabulary

**massive retaliation** a policy of threatening a massive response, including the use of nuclear weapons, against a Communist state trying to seize a peaceful state by force

**brinkmanship** the practice of pushing dangerous situations to the limit to force an opponent to back down

**covert** not openly shown or engaged in; secret

**developing nation** a nation whose economy is primarily agricultural

**military-industrial complex** an informal relationship that some people believe exists between the military and the defense industry to promote greater military spending and influence government policy

##### Academic Vocabulary

**imply** to express indirectly

**response** something said or done as a reaction

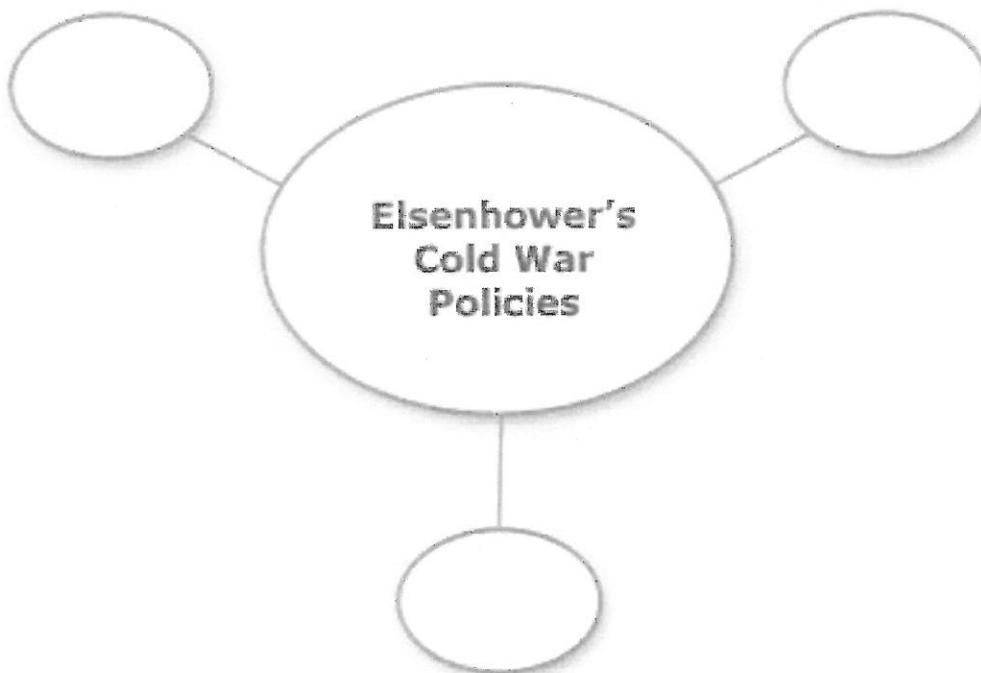
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## The Cold War Begins, 1945-1960

**TAKING NOTES:** Organizing

**ACTIVITY** Complete the concept web below by filling in aspects of Eisenhower’s Cold War policies.



**IT MATTERS BECAUSE...**

*President Eisenhower believed developing new technology to make nuclear weapons would help prevent war. He also had the CIA use covert actions in the effort to contain communism.*

### Massive Retaliation

**GUIDING QUESTION** How were the policies of massive retaliation and brinkmanship different from previous military policies?

By the end of 1952, many Americans were ready for a change in leadership. The Cold War had a lot to do with that feeling. Many people thought that Truman’s foreign policy was not working. The Soviet Union had tested an atomic bomb and had a strong hold on Eastern Europe. China had fallen to communism, and American troops were fighting in Korea.

Truman was tired of being told that he was wrong. He also wasn’t sure if he could win an election. So Truman decided not to run for president again. The Democrats nominated Adlai Stevenson, the governor of Illinois. The Republicans chose Dwight D. Eisenhower. Eisenhower was the general who had organized the D-Day invasion. Stevenson had no chance against a national hero who had helped win World War II. Americans wanted someone they could trust to lead the nation in the Cold War. Eisenhower won in a landslide.



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### The Cold War Begins, 1945-1960

#### “More Bang for the Buck”

The Cold War shaped Eisenhower’s thinking from the moment he took office. He felt that the key to victory was not simply military power but also a strong economy. The United States had to show the world that the free enterprise system could create a better society than communism. At the same time, economic growth would stop Communists from gaining support in the United States and keep society safe from an overthrow of the government.

As a soldier, Eisenhower knew the costs linked to large-scale war. He believed such a war would be too expensive. Instead of keeping a large and expensive army, the nation needed to be ready for nuclear war. Eisenhower thought that nuclear weapons gave “more bang for the buck”—that is, that they provided better value for the money spent on them.

The Korean War had shown Eisenhower that the United States could not contain communism by fighting a series of small wars. Small wars were unpopular and also expensive. Instead, wars had to be prevented in the first place. The best way to do that seemed to be to threaten to use nuclear weapons. This policy came to be called **massive retaliation**.

This new policy made it possible for Eisenhower to cut military spending from around \$50 billion to about \$34 billion. He did this by cutting down the size of the army. He then increased the U.S. nuclear arsenal from about 1,000 bombs in 1953 to about 18,000 bombs in 1961.

#### Brinkmanship

President Eisenhower’s willingness to threaten nuclear war to maintain peace worried some people. Critics called this **brinkmanship**—the willingness to go to the brink of war to force the other side to back down. The critics felt that it was too dangerous. Yet during several crises President Eisenhower felt forced to threaten to use nuclear weapons.

**The Taiwan Crisis** Shortly after the Korean War ended, a new crisis took place in Asia. Chinese Nationalists still controlled Taiwan and several small islands along China’s coast. In the fall of 1954, China threatened to take over two of the islands. Eisenhower saw Taiwan as part of an anti-Communist barrier in Asia that needed to be protected.

China began bombing the islands and announced that Taiwan would be freed. In response, Eisenhower asked Congress to authorize the use of force to defend Taiwan. He then warned the Chinese that U.S. naval forces would fight any attack on Taiwan. He even hinted that nuclear weapons would be used to stop an invasion. Soon afterward, China backed down.

**The Suez Crisis** The following year, a serious crisis took place in the Middle East. Eisenhower did not want Arab nations to side with the Soviet Union. To build support among Arabs, Secretary of State Dulles offered to help Egypt pay for a dam on the Nile River.

The deal ran into trouble in Congress, however, because Egypt had bought weapons from Communist Czechoslovakia. Dulles was forced to take back the offer. A week later, Egyptian troops took control of the Suez Canal from the Anglo-French company that had controlled it. Egyptians wanted to use the canal’s profits to pay for the dam.

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### The Cold War Begins, 1945-1960

In October 1956, British and French troops invaded Egypt. This made Eisenhower very angry with Britain and France. The situation became even more dangerous when the Soviet Union threatened rocket attacks on Britain and France and offered to send troops to help Egypt. Eisenhower immediately put U.S. nuclear forces on alert.

Pressured by the United States, the British and French called off the invasion. The Soviet Union had won a major diplomatic victory by supporting Egypt. Soon, other Arab nations began taking Soviet aid.

#### PROGRESS CHECK

**Contrasting** How did Eisenhower's military policies contrast with those of Truman?

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### Covert Operations

**GUIDING QUESTION** Why did President Eisenhower want to use covert operations to combat the spread of communism?

President Eisenhower relied on brinkmanship on several occasions. Yet he knew it could not work in all situations. It could prevent war, but it could not stop Communists from starting revolutions within countries. To do this, Eisenhower decided to use **covert**, or hidden, operations. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) would carry out the covert operations.

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

One way to stop developing nations from moving to the Communist side was to give them financial aid. This was what Eisenhower had tried to do in Egypt. In some cases, however, the threat of communism was too strong for that to work. Sometimes the CIA would run covert operations to overthrow anti-American leaders. It would then replace them with pro-American leaders.

### Iran and Guatemala

Two examples of the CIA's covert operations took place in Iran and Guatemala. By 1953 Iranian prime minister Mohammad Mossadegh had nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. He seemed ready to make an oil deal with the Soviet Union. The pro-U.S. shah of Iran tried to force Mossadegh out of office, but failed and fled into exile. The CIA quickly sent agents to organize street riots and arrange a coup. The coup removed Mossadegh from power and the shah returned to Iran.

The following year, the CIA got involved in Guatemala. In 1950, with Communist support, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán was elected president of Guatemala. Arbenz Guzmán took office in 1951. His land-reform program took over large areas of land, including those run by the American-owned United Fruit Company. In May 1954, Communist Czechoslovakia delivered arms to Guatemala. The CIA

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### The Cold War Begins, 1945-1960

responded by giving weapons to the opposition, or those working against the Guatemalan government. The CIA trained the opposition at secret camps in Nicaragua and Honduras. Shortly after these CIA-trained forces invaded Guatemala, Arbenz Guzmán left office.

#### Trouble in Eastern Europe

Secret operations did not always work for Eisenhower. After Stalin died in 1953, a power struggle began in the Soviet Union. By 1956 Nikita Khrushchev had emerged as the Soviet leader. That year, Khrushchev delivered a secret speech to Soviet officials. He attacked Stalin's policies and said that there were many ways to build a Communist society. Although the speech was secret, the CIA got a copy of it. The CIA then distributed copies throughout Eastern Europe and the world.

Many Eastern Europeans had long been frustrated with Communist rule. Hearing Khrushchev's speech further damaged the image of communism. In June 1956, riots took place in Eastern Europe. By late October, a full-scale uprising had begun in Hungary. Khrushchev was willing to accept greater freedom in Eastern Europe. But he had never meant to **imply** that the Soviets would allow an end to communism in the region. Soviet tanks rolled into the capital of Hungary and defeated the rebellion.

#### The Eisenhower Doctrine

The United States was not the only nation using covert operations to support its foreign policy. President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt had come out of the Suez crisis as a hero to the Arab people. By 1957 he had begun working with Jordan and Syria to spread Pan-Arabism. Pan-Arabism is the idea that all Arab people should be brought together into one nation.

Eisenhower and Dulles worried about Nasser's links to the Soviets. They feared that Nasser was preparing to take control of the Middle East. In late 1957, Eisenhower asked Congress to authorize the use of military force if the president felt it was necessary to help Middle Eastern nations resist communism. The policy came to be called the Eisenhower Doctrine. It basically extended the Truman Doctrine and the policy of containment to prevent the expansion of communism in the Middle East.

In July 1958, Eisenhower's concerns appeared to be confirmed. Rebels, believed to be backed by Nasser and the Soviets, took power in Iraq. Fearing his government was next, the president of Lebanon wanted help. Eisenhower ordered 5,000 marines to go to the Lebanese capital of Beirut. Once the situation of the Lebanese government was safe again, the U.S. forces withdrew.

#### A Spy Plane Is Shot Down

After the Hungarian uprising, Khrushchev showed Soviet power and the superiority of communism. Although he had supported living peacefully with capitalism, he began accusing capitalist nations of starting an arms race. In 1957 after the launch of *Sputnik*, Khrushchev said that capitalism would die.

Late the following year, Khrushchev demanded the withdrawal of Allied troops from West Berlin. Secretary of State Dulles said no to Khrushchev's demands. If the Soviets threatened Berlin, Dulles said that NATO would respond. NATO would use military force if necessary. Brinkmanship worked again, and Khrushchev

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## The Cold War Begins, 1945-1960

backed down. Eisenhower invited Khrushchev to visit the United States in late 1959. The success of that visit led the two leaders to agree to hold a summit in Paris.

Shortly before the summit was to begin in 1960, the Soviet Union shot down a U.S. U-2 spy plane. At first, Eisenhower claimed that the aircraft was a weather plane that had gone off course. Then Khrushchev dramatically produced the pilot, Francis Gary Powers. Eisenhower would not apologize. He said that the flights were necessary to keep Americans safe. In **response**, Khrushchev broke up the summit.

In this time of high tension, Eisenhower prepared to leave office. In January 1961, he gave a farewell address to the nation. He said that a new relationship had grown between the military and the defense industry and warned Americans to be on guard against the power of this **military-industrial complex** in a democracy.

Although he had avoided war and contained communism, Eisenhower was frustrated. He had sent military advisers to help the South Vietnamese army and also saw Fidel Castro create a Communist government in Cuba. Eisenhower left the presidency disappointed and saddened that a lasting peace was not in sight.

### **PROGRESS CHECK**

**Identifying** Why did Eisenhower direct the CIA to use covert operations?

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