CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX
THE COLD WAR, 1945–1952

CHAPTER OVERVIEW
This chapter covers the beginnings of the Cold War under the Truman presidency as it affected both foreign and domestic policies. Peace after World War II was marred by a return to the 1917 rivalry of the United States and the Soviet Union. Truman and his advisors introduced the basic Cold War policies of containment in the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. With the victory of the communists in China and the outbreak of the Korean War, America extended the Cold War to Asia as well. The Cold War prompted the U.S. to rebuild its World War II enemies, Germany and Japan, as counterweights to the Soviets. At home, Americans wanted to return to normal by bringing the troops back home, spending for consumer goods and re-establishing family life, but many changing social patterns brought anxieties. A second Red Scare was caused by the Cold War rhetoric of a bipartisan foreign policy and Truman’s loyalty program, but Senator Joseph McCarthy’s tactics symbolized the era. Defense spending increased and the American economy became dependent on it to maintain recovery. Truman tried to extend elements of the New Deal in his Fair Deal but with minimal success.

CHAPTER OBJECTIVES
After reading the chapter and following the study suggestions given, students should be able to:

1. Illustrate the effects of the Red Scare by discussing the college campus community after World War II.
2. Trace the development of the American policy of containment as applied to Europe and to Asia.
3. Summarize the foreign and domestic policies of the Truman administration.
4. Discuss the major causes, personalities and events of the Red Scare.
5. Explain the meaning of the Age of Anxiety and its reflection in American society and in popular culture.
6. Outline the events of the Korean War and its effect on American foreign policy and the political fortunes of Truman and the Democratic Party.
7. Making connections: Chapter twenty-three and Chapter twenty-six: compare the Red Scare after World War I to the one after World War II.

CRITICAL THINKING/READING SKILLS

AMERICAN COMMUNITIES: University of Washington, Seattle: Students and Faculty Face the Cold War: What happened at the University of Washington to Dr. Rader and the others? What was the Cold War and how did it affect the campus? Why were there record numbers of students on campus after World War II? How did older students view campus rules? Why did certain groups regard the campus as centers of “red propaganda?” What were most complaints actually about?
GLOBAL INSECURITIES AT WAR’S END: Why did global insecurity exist at the war’s end and what era did it actually date back to? What two powers were the center of power and why were they in competition?

**The American Century:** What was the idea of the American Century and who proposed the idea? What was America’s position as a major military and economic power after World War II? Why did this success seem fragile to many Americans? What was the view of many businesses to ensure continued growth? How did the Soviets see the American Century?

**Hopes for Collective Security:** What hope was there for collective security? What did opinion polls show about American views of the United Nations? What were the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations? Who were the five permanent members of the Security Council? What veto power did these powers have? What limited the UN and where was it successful? What role did Eleanor Roosevelt play in the U.N. and its programs?

**The Division of Europe:** How did Europe get divided after World War II? Why was Roosevelt willing to accept a Soviet sphere of influence? Where did the Soviets gain control? Why did the USSR and France oppose German unification? How did Roosevelt’s view about Germany compare with many American business leaders? What was Churchill’s iron curtain?

THE POLICY OF CONTAINMENT: What was the Policy of Containment and how was it developed? How and where did President Truman apply the policy and how successful was it? What was Truman’s view of the Soviets compared to Roosevelt’s?

**The Truman Doctrine:** What was the Truman Doctrine? Where and why did he first apply it? How successful was the doctrine? How did Truman get public support for this doctrine? How did Congress respond? Who was George Kennan and what were his views on dealing with the Soviets? What was Walter Lippmann’s view?

**The Marshall Plan:** What was the Marshall Plan and what was its aim? How successful was this plan? Who was Marshall and what was his reason for proposing the plan? How did the Soviets react?

**The Berlin Crisis and the Formation of NATO:** What was the situation in Berlin and why did a crisis develop? What was the nature of the crisis and how did NATO result? What was Operation Vittles and how did the Soviets respond? What was NATO and how did the Soviets respond? What was Senator Taft’s criticism of Truman’s policy? What did polls reveal about Truman’s taught line?

**The Cold War in Asia:** How did the Cold War in Asia compare to the one in Europe? What were the areas of conflict and the results of the Truman Doctrine in Asia? What policies did the U.S. follow in rebuilding Japan? What was our policy in the Philippines? What was the recommendation of Acheson in his White Paper? What was the Asia First group and what criticism did it make of Truman’s policy?

**Atomic Diplomacy:** What was the implication of Atomic Diplomacy? What was Bernard Baruch’s proposal to the UN Atomic Energy Commission? How did the Soviets respond? How did the military and scientists differ on the timing of the Soviets gaining the bomb?

THE TRUMAN PRESIDENCY: What was the character of Truman and the Truman presidency? What themes did he follow and how successful was he?
“To Err Is Truman:” What were Truman’s errors and what did he do to try to correct them politically? What was his public approval rating within a year of assuming office? What did Truman try to do in reconverting the economy and how did the public and Congress react? How did Truman try to revive the New Deal programs? How did Republicans try to turn back the New Deal and what particular group was their target?

The 1948 Election: How did various Democrats and Truman see the 1948 election? Who were the Americans for Democratic Action and what did they do? What was the difference between Wallace and Truman on views? What changes did Truman make on civil rights? What happened to Wallace’s candidacy? What was the outcome of the election?

The Fair Deal: What was Truman’s Fair Deal program and how did it compare in ideas and theory to the New Deal? What elements of Fair Deal were enacted? How did the Truman administration use the threat of confrontation with the Soviets politically? What was the result?

The Cold War at Home: How were Americans fighting the Cold War at home? Who were the “sides” in the war at home? What subversive activities were found? What was the result?

The National Security State: How did the National Security State develop? What were the provisions of the National Security Act of 1947? What was Executive Order 9835 and how did Tom Clark carry it out? What groups were considered subversive?

The Red Scare in Hollywood: How did the Red Scare affect Hollywood? What was the House Un-American Activities Committee? Who were the “friendly witnesses” and the “unfriendly witnesses?” What was Red Channels or the blacklist?

Spy Cases: What spy cases developed and what were the events of the cases? How did the Democrats first see the Alger Hiss case? What was the role of Richard Nixon in these events?

McCarthyism: What was McCarthyism? How many Communists did McCarthy uncover in the State Department? What did he accuse the Democrats of? To what extent did McCarthy’s ideas strike a chord? Who were his targets and how well did he succeed? What individuals and organizations helped him and who opposed him? How did McCarthy lose his popularity?

Age of Anxiety: Why was this era called the Age of Anxiety? What did Americans do in reaction to it? How wealthy was the U.S.?

The Two-Income Family: What encouraged the development of the two-income family? How had the war affected the two-income idea? What group of women was seeking employment? What uneasiness did this create and how did some critics connect it to communism? What were the views of Lundberg, Farnham, Parsons, Spock, and J. Edgar Hoover? How did the GI Bill affect women? What was the American woman’s dilemma as stated by Life magazine?

Religion and Education: How did religion and education respond to the Cold War uneasiness and fears of communism? Who was Billy Graham and what were his views? How did he view schools? What was the “Zeal for Democracy” program and how did it reflect the Cold War? What were the messages of historians such as Samuel Eliot Morison and Richard Hofstadter?

The Cultural Noir: What was the cultural noir or mood? How was this reflected in films and books? What problems were there with symbols of prosperity?
END OF THE DEMOCRATIC ERA: What was the unresolvable dilemma that Truman faced and how did the trap of his own rhetoric affect the Democratic era?

The Korean War: How and why did the Korean War begin? How did the United States respond to the war? How did Kennan’s view compare to Truman’s? How did the Soviets regard the war? What effect did accusations of “selling out” Eastern Europe and “losing” China have on Truman? How did American citizens view our involvement according to polls? How did the first part of U.S. action proceed and what happened as MacArthur moved on? Why did Truman and MacArthur differ on views of the war? Why did Truman dismiss MacArthur?

The Legacy of the “Sour Little War:” What was the legacy of the Korean War? Why did Truman call the U.S. involvement in Korea a “police action?” What was NSC-68 and how did it increase the power of the president? Who were the critics of this policy and what were the views? What was the end result in Korea when a settlement was reached in the summer of 1953? What was the symbolism of the movie “M*A*S*H” and its screenwriter Ring Lardner Jr.? Overall, why was it a “sour little war?”

Truman’s Downfall: What issue brought Truman’s downfall? How did many people first react to MacArthur and what happened as Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committee conducted hearings on his role in Korea? What did the hearings also reveal about Truman? What did Truman decide about running for re-election in 1952? Who were the candidates for the two parties and how did they compare in views? What was Eisenhower’s program for ending the war in Korea? How did other supporters of Eisenhower criticize the Democratic candidate, Adlai Stevenson? What were the results of the election for both the presidency and Congress?

CONCLUSION: What result did Eisenhower’s election have for the Cold War? What was the “Eisenhower Movement” according to Lippman? What issues of the immediate postwar years seemed settled? What was the effect of Cold War defense spending? What happened to the sense of anxiety at least temporarily?

KEY TERMS/VOCABULARY
Identify the following terms:

1. Cold War
2. University of Washington
3. Servicemen’s Readjustment Act
4. loyalty acts
5. American Century
6. Bretton Woods
7. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
8. International Monetary Fund
9. collective security
10. United Nations
11. Dumbarton oaks
12. San Francisco Conference
13. International Court of Justice
14. Nuremberg trials
15. division of Europe
16. Yugoslavia
17. Albania
18. containment policy
19. Truman Doctrine
20. George Kennan
21. Walter Lippmann
22. Arthur Vandenberg
23. Marshall Plan
24. General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades
25. Berlin crisis
26. NATO
27. East and West Germany
28. rebuilding Japan
29. Dean Acheson
30. Bernard Baruch
31. Atomic Energy Act
32. Bikini Islands
33. hydrogen bombs
34. UN Atomic Energy Commission
35. Truman and the economy
36. Taft-Hartley Act
37. Election of 1948
38. Harold Ickes
39. Progressive Party
40. Strom Thurmond
STUDY SKILLS ACTIVITIES

1. Chart: Have students complete the comparison chart of the Red Scare after World War I and the Red Scare after World War II (p. 357). Compare and contrast the eras.

2. Make Connections: Continue comparisons with American foreign and domestic policy in the postwar 1920s with the policies of the postwar 1940s.

3. Enrichment Activity: As a “Brown Bag” lunch activity, movie night, or out of class activity have students watch “The Day the Earth Stood Still.” The parallels between space visitor movies and the cold war mentality are relevant to the study of the time period. Guide students to understand the fear that existed throughout the country of a Soviet attack.

4. Document Analysis: Divide students into groups. One member of each group will be responsible for the information contained in one essay such as the Truman Doctrine or Joseph McCarthy from the Documents Set. All students will report to the secondary group, read the same essay, discuss and question the essay, then return to the original group. To aid in the reading, refer students to the Written Document Analysis Worksheet used earlier in the manual. Each group member will give a synopsis of the reading and explain its significance to the group. Assess student understanding after the activity by using the questions provided at the end of each essay in the Documents Set.

5. Cooperative Learning: Study Partners. Form pairs and have students drill each other on the KEY WORDS/VOCABULARY from Chapter Twenty-Six. Students need to recall until they are certain each partner knows and remembers the terms. This exercise can also be used for Advanced Placement Examination Review. At this point, students should have already begun the review process.

6. Writing Skills: America’s self-view of its world role in the post-war era is the suggested writing prompt at the end of Chapter Twenty-Six. NOTE TO TEACHERS: Use this opportunity to clarify to students the concept of a “point-of-view” and how it might influence policy and decision-making at the national level. It would be very easy to alter the question to include bullets, which specifically aim the students’ discussions, but in the exercise
they need to comb the chapter to isolate those events that can accomplish the task. This will teach them the difference between irrelevant information and those facts that apply directly to the issues of the question. A class discussion on which events in the chapter suit the question might be appropriate.

7. Overview: Major Cold War Policies: After analyzing the chart in Chapter Twenty-Six answer the following. Trace the Cold War policies of the United States from 1947–1952.
Compare the “Red Scare” of the 1920s and 1940s

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1. Divided Europe
   a. What countries were in the NATO organization?
   b. Which ones were in the Warsaw Pact?
   c. How was Germany divided or occupied?
   d. Be able to locate the countries shown on the map (p. 359).
   e. Make copies of the European map to reinforce the division of Europe.

2. The Korean War
   a. What was the importance of the 38th parallel
   b. Locate Inchon, Seoul, Pyongyang, Yalu River and the Armistice Line
   c. Make copies of the Korean War map to aid students in their study (p. 360).

3. The Election of 1948
   a. Who were the four main candidates?
   b. What was the other name for the States’ Rights Party?
   c. Who did the newspapers predict to win?
   d. Who won the election?

4. Full-Time White House Employees, 1934–1953
   a. What is the source of the data?
   b. In what year did the number of White House employees increase the most?

   a. What is the source of the data?
   b. Which segment of the population held most of the wealth?

   a. When did the Baby Boom begin?
   b. When did it peak?

7. Locate the posters in Chapter Twenty-Six entitled “Is This Tomorrow” and “I Married a Communist.”
   a. What fear do the posters play upon?
   b. What is the symbolism of the burning American flag?
The Korean War

Final UN counterattack (Jan. 25 – April 21, 1951)
READING QUIZ

MULTIPLE CHOICE:

1. The main effect of Red Hysteria on college campuses was the
   a. restraint of free speech.  
   b. decline of enrollment.  
   c. increasing radicalism of students.  
   d. increase in racism on campus.

2. Which one of the following would be LEAST likely to agree with the others on America’s post-war role?
   a. Henry R. Luce  
   b. George F. Kennan  
   c. Arthur H. Vandenberg  
   d. Walter Lippman

3. Which one of the following had the LEAST to do with trying to establish U.S. primacy in the postwar global economy?
   a. World Bank  
   b. International Monetary Fund  
   c. Council of Economic Advisors  
   d. Marshall Plan

4. What did these five countries have in common: United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France and Nationalist China?
   a. membership in NATO  
   b. permanent members of the United Nations Security Council  
   c. seats on the International Court of Justice  
   d. members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

5. The Truman Doctrine was first applied to these countries:
   a. North/South Korea  
   b. East/West Germany  
   c. Turkey/Greece  
   d. Yugoslavia/Albania

6. Truman was accused of “losing” this, of being treasonous, of giving a “white-wash of a wishful, do-nothing policy.” This intense criticism referred to his policy decision on
   a. giving independence to the U.S. possession of the Philippines.  
   b. failing to support MacArthur’s views in the Korean War.  
   c. breaking off relations with China’s Jiang.  
   d. atomic information in the Atomic Energy Act.

7. Statistically the national security state had 10 percent of federal employees before the war. After World War II’s end, the federal work force in national security was
   a. 25 percent  
   b. 35 percent  
   c. 50 percent  
   d. 75 percent

8. President Truman’s Executive Order 9835
   a. desegregated the armed forces.  
   b. brought combat troops home rapidly from WWII.  
   c. ended the wartime price and rationing controls.  
   d. established a federal employee loyalty program.

9. Which one of the following was LEAST likely to go along with the smear tactics of the Red Scare?
   a. Margaret Chase Smith  
   b. Roy Cohn  
   c. Joseph McCarthy  
   d. J. Edgar Hoover
10. The GI bill underwrote these two items and caused a boom in both areas:
   a. federal employment and defense spending
   b. college education and housing
   c. automobile and television credit plans
   d. technical training and atomic energy jobs

11. The 1947 federal “Zeal for Democracy” program promoted strengthening national security
    and fighting Soviet communism through
   a. education. c. women staying home.
   b. the family. d. religion.

12. Which one of the following historians would have been MOST likely to have angered
    Joseph McCarthy?

13. An example of the age of Cold War anxiety was the popularity of the movie
   a. They Live by Night c. The Invasion of the Body Snatchers
   b. I Married a Communist d. Red Channels

14. As far as Truman was concerned, this Asian country and its situation was like that of
    Greece when he proclaimed his Truman Doctrine:
   a. Philippines c. Vietnam
   b. China d. Korea

15. The Korean War began when
   a. North Korea launched a military attack on South Korea.
   b. Communist China invaded Korea to keep the Nationalist Chinese out.
   c. the Soviet Union joined its North Korean ally in invasion.
   d. South Korea attempted to unify both occupation zones of Korea.

16. The Republican formula for attacking Truman and the Democrats in the 1952 election was
    K1C2 meaning Korea, communism and
   a. country. c. Checkers.
   b. containment. d. corruption.

CHRONOLOGY AND MAPS:

17. Which one of the following gives the correct chronological order of these events?
    (1) formation of NATO (3) Berlin Crisis
    (2) the Truman Doctrine (4) Korean War
   a. 3,2,4,1 c. 2,3,1,4
   b. 2,4,3,1 d. 4,3,1,2

18. In 1949 these two events occur that increase the Cold War anxiety of the United States:
    a. China becomes communist/the Soviet Union explodes an atomic bomb.
    b. The Soviet Union and China ally/the Korean War begins.
    c. HVAC hearings are held in Hollywood/the Soviets blockade Berlin.
    d. The Marshall Plan/Truman Doctrine are enacted.

19. Truman dismisses MacArthur and Armistice talks begin in Korea in
    b. 1951. d. 1953.
SHORT ESSAY:

20. Describe the major goals of U.S. foreign policy toward the Soviet Union in the years directly following the end of World War II.
21. What were the effects of the Marshall Plan?
22. What was the purpose of the House Committee on Un-American Activities?
23. Why did Truman feel compelled to act in South Korea?

EXTENDED ESSAY:

24. Evaluate the over-all success (or failure) of the Truman Doctrine.
25. How did the U.S. attempt to align western European nations with it against the Soviet Union after World War II?
26. What caused the economic problems that existed in the U.S. directly after World War II?
27. Analyze China’s role in the Korean War.