

CHAPTER
26

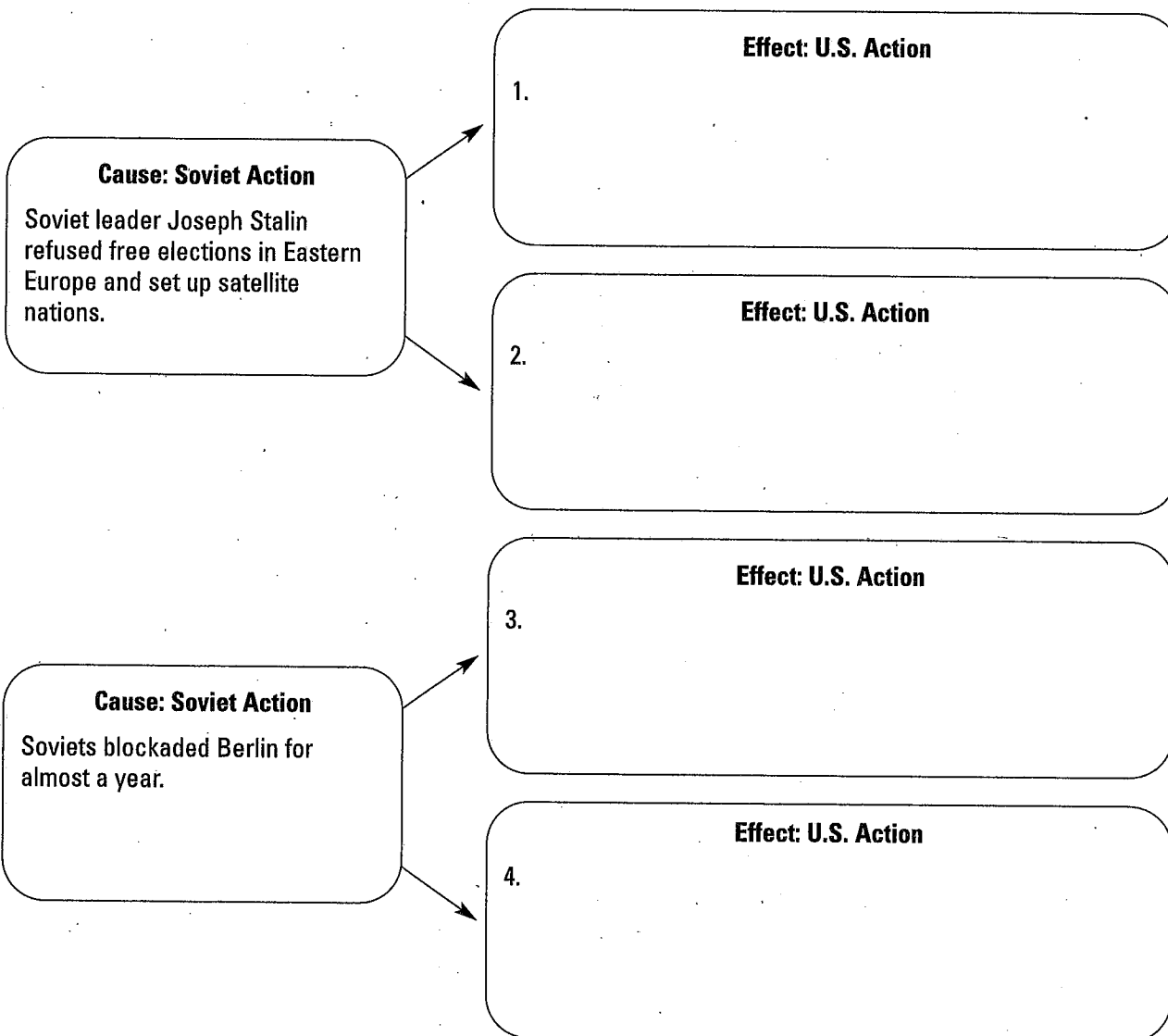
GUIDED READING

Origins of the Cold War

Section 1

- A.** As you read this section, complete the cause-and-effect diagram with the specific U.S. actions made in response to the Soviet actions listed. Use the following terms and names in filling out the diagram:

containment Truman Doctrine Berlin airlift NATO



- B.** On the back of this paper, explain the significance of each of the following terms:

Cold War Marshall Plan

CHAPTER
26**GUIDED READING***The Cold War Heats Up***Section 2**

A. As you read this section, fill out the chart below by writing answers to the questions in the appropriate boxes.

	Civil War in China	Civil War in Korea
1. Which side did the United States support, and why?		
2. What did the United States do to affect the outcome of the war?		
3. What was the outcome of the war?		
4. How did the American public react to that outcome, and why?		

B. On the back of this paper, explain the significance of each of the following terms and names:

Mao Zedong Chiang Kai-shek Taiwan (Formosa) 38th parallel

CHAPTER
26

GUIDED READING

The Cold War at Home

Section 3

- A.** As you read this section, fill out the charts below by writing answers to the questions in the appropriate boxes.

	a. What were they accused of?	b. How were they affected by the accusations?	c. Do the accusations seem to have been fair? Explain.
1. The Hollywood Ten			
2. Alger Hiss			
3. Ethel and Julius Rosenberg			

McCarthyism		
4. What seems to have motivated it?	5. Why did it succeed at first?	6. Why did it fall out of favor?

- B.** On the back of this paper, explain the significance of each of the following terms and names:

HUAC

blacklist

Senator Joseph McCarthy

CHAPTER
26

Section 4

GUIDED READING *Two Nations Live on the Edge*

A. As you read this section, write your answers to the question in the appropriate boxes.

	How did the United States react, and why?
1. The Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb in 1949.	
2. In 1951, the Iranian prime minister placed the oil industry in Iran under the Iranian government's control.	
3. The Guatemalan head of government gave American-owned land in Guatemala to peasants.	
4. In 1956, Britain, France, and Israel invaded Egypt and occupied the Suez Canal.	
5. Soviet tanks invaded Hungary and fired on protesters in 1956.	
6. In 1957, the Soviet Union launched Sputnik.	
7. In 1960, the Soviet Union brought down an American U-2 piloted by Francis Gary Powers.	

B. On the back of this paper, explain the significance of each of the following terms and names:

H-bomb	brinkmanship	Nikita Khrushchev	Warsaw Pact
CIA	Eisenhower Doctrine	Dwight D. Eisenhower	John Foster Dulles

A. Matching Match the description in the second column with person or term in the first column. Write the appropriate letter next to the word.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| _____ 1. U-2 incident | a. coalition of Eastern European nations |
| _____ 2. United Nations | b. dividing line between North and South Korea |
| _____ 3. Marshall Plan | c. U.S. effort to rebuild nations of Europe |
| _____ 4. John Foster Dulles | d. world peacekeeping body |
| _____ 5. Alger Hiss | e. policy of stopping the spread of communism |
| _____ 6. 38th parallel | f. downing of U.S. spy plane over Soviet Union |
| _____ 7. containment | g. alleged spy for the Soviet Union |
| _____ 8. Warsaw Pact | h. staunchly anti-Communist Secretary of State |

B. Multiple Choice Circle the letter before the term or name that best completes the sentence.

1. The leader of the Soviet Union who succeeded Joseph Stalin was (a) Nikita Khrushchev (b) Gamal Abdel-Nasser (c) Jawaharlal Nehru.
2. In China's civil war, the Communist faction was led by (a) Chiang Kai-shek (b) Kim Il Sung (c) Mao Zedong.
3. The pledge by the United States to defend Middle East countries from Communist takeovers was known as the (a) Truman Doctrine (b) Eisenhower Doctrine (c) Warsaw Pact.
4. The conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union in which neither side directly confronted the other on the battlefield was known as (a) brinkmanship (b) containment (c) the Cold War.
5. Francis Gary Powers, who became a prominent figure of the Cold War as a result of the U-2 incident, was a (a) pilot (b) congressman (c) writer.

C. Writing Write a paragraph about the anti-Communist hysteria that gripped the United States during World War II using the following terms.

HUAC Hollywood Ten blacklist McCarthyism

CHAPTER
26

Section 1

SKILLBUILDER PRACTICE *Analyzing Motives*

How did the Cold War develop so soon after the success of the Allied victory in World War II? When you analyze the motives of the United States and the Soviet Union at the end of the war, look at the experiences, emotions, and needs that compelled each nation to act in a certain way. Read the following passage, and then complete the chart below. (See Skillbuilder Handbook, p. R6.)

U.S. and Soviet War Experiences The Soviet Union suffered more casualties in World War II than all the other Allies combined. The Soviet Red Army lost approximately 7.5 million soldiers, more than twice Germany's loss of about 3.5 million. Moreover, there were about 19 million Soviet civilians killed during the war and another 25 million refugees left homeless. Much of Russia, Poland, and the Ukraine lay in ruins, having been overrun and scorched several times during the fighting.

Although 405,000 U.S. soldiers died in the war, there were no civilian casualties, and the continental United States was never invaded or bombed. The industrial production necessitated by the war helped the country out of the Depression and revitalized its capitalist economy. By 1945, almost half of all the goods and services produced in the world came from the United States.

U.S. and Soviet Goals It was clear even before the end of the war that the United States and the Soviet Union had different goals for Europe.

The United States wanted to rebuild Europe, especially Germany, so that the burden of feeding so many refugees would not fall on American tax-

payers. It was also in U.S. interests to have economically strong European countries that were able to buy U.S. products. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, wanted to rebuild itself. Stalin thought Germany should pay \$20 million in machinery and raw material as reparations for the wrongs the Soviets had suffered during the war.

After the Soviet experience in the war, Stalin feared invasion from the West. Gaining military and political control of Eastern Europe was his way of creating a buffer from further attack. Since the Red Army occupied the countries it liberated from the Germans, Stalin quickly set up or supported similar Communist governments. According to Stalin, "In this war, each side imposes its system as far as its armies can reach. It cannot be otherwise."

For its part, the United States feared totalitarian regimes that imposed their own systems on otherwise free and independent nations. Stalin in his desire for absolute control, Truman argued, was every bit as ruthless and dangerous as Hitler. Truman's efforts to contain communism was a diplomatic compromise between going to war again and stopping the Soviets from gaining any more power in the world than they already had.

	Experiences During War	Emotions After War	Needs After War
SOVIET UNION			
UNITED STATES			

Reading Comprehension

Choose the best answer for each item. Write the letter of your answer in the blank.

- _____ 1. The world peacekeeping body formed after World War II was called the
 - a. League of Nations.
 - b. United Nations.
 - c. North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
 - d. Warsaw Pact.

- _____ 2. The now-famous "iron curtain" speech was given by
 - a. Harry S. Truman.
 - b. Douglas MacArthur.
 - c. Winston Churchill.
 - d. George Marshall.

- _____ 3. All of the following were considered satellite nations of the Soviet Union except
 - a. Greece.
 - b. Poland.
 - c. Hungary.
 - d. Czechoslovakia.

- _____ 4. The amount of aid provided to European countries from the Marshall Plan totaled about
 - a. \$6 billion.
 - b. \$10 billion.
 - c. \$13 billion.
 - d. \$20 billion.

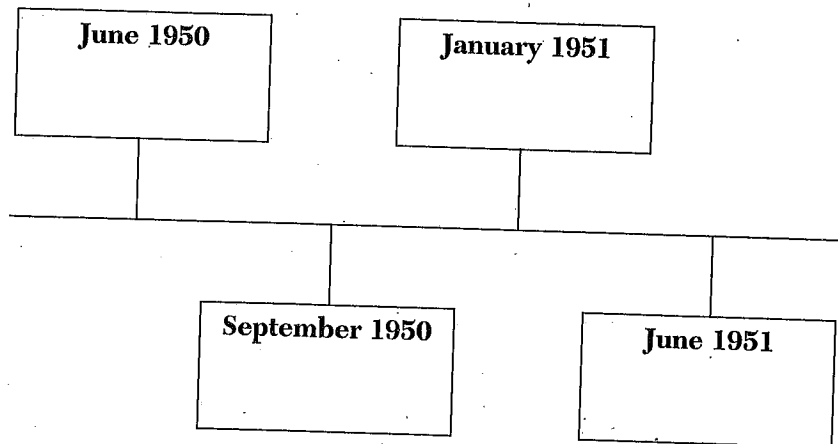
- _____ 5. One of the key characteristics of communism was
 - a. no opposing parties.
 - b. a market-based economy.
 - c. free and open elections.
 - d. a weak central government.

- _____ 6. All of the following were members of NATO except
 - a. China.
 - b. France.
 - c. the Netherlands.
 - d. the United States.

RETEACHING ACTIVITY *The Cold War Heats Up*

Sequencing

A. Complete the time line below by describing the key events of the Korean War.



Finding Main Ideas

B. Answer the following questions in the space provided.

1. What was the reaction in America to the Communist takeover of China?

2. Why did President Truman fire General MacArthur?

3. How did the stalemate in Korea impact the U.S. political scene?

Summarizing

- A.** Complete the chart below by describing how each term listed below demonstrated the nation's anti-Communist hysteria.

Hollywood Ten	
The Rosenberg Trial	
McCarthyism	

Evaluating

- B.** Write *T* in the blank if the statement is true. If the statement is false, write *F* in the blank and then write the corrected statement on the line below.

_____ 1. The McCarran Internal Security Act made it unlawful to plan any action that might lead to the establishment of a dictatorship in the United States.

_____ 2. Joseph McCarthy first rose to popularity by pursuing charges against alleged state department spy Alger Hiss.

_____ 3. Joseph McCarthy's downfall came after he made Communist-related accusations against the White House.



Section 4

RETEACHING ACTIVITY *Two Nations Live
on the Edge*

Matching

A. Match the description in the second column with term or name in the first column. Write the appropriate letter next to the word.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| _____ 1. Central Intelligence Agency | a. prompted conflict by seizing Suez Canal |
| _____ 2. Guatemala | b. world's first artificial satellite |
| _____ 3. Shah of Iran | c. engaged in covert operations abroad |
| _____ 4. <i>Sputnik</i> | d. alliance of Eastern European countries |
| _____ 5. Warsaw Pact | e. Middle East ally of the United States |
| _____ 6. Gamel Abdel Nassar | f. site of covert CIA activities |

Completion

B. Complete each sentence with the appropriate term or name.

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| Eisenhower Doctrine | brinkmanship |
| Spain | Hungary |
| space race | Truman Doctrine |
| Israel | Czechoslovakia |

1. In 1956, the Soviets brutally put down a pro-democracy rebellion in _____.
2. The _____ stated that the United States would defend the Middle East against the spread of communism.
3. The U.S.-Soviet competition for supremacy of the earth's orbit was known as the _____.
4. The three nations that confronted Egypt over its seizure of the Suez Canal were France, Great Britain, and _____.
5. The policy of going to the edge of all-out war is known as _____.

CHAPTER
26

Section 1

GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: REGION

The Marshall Plan

Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the graph carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.

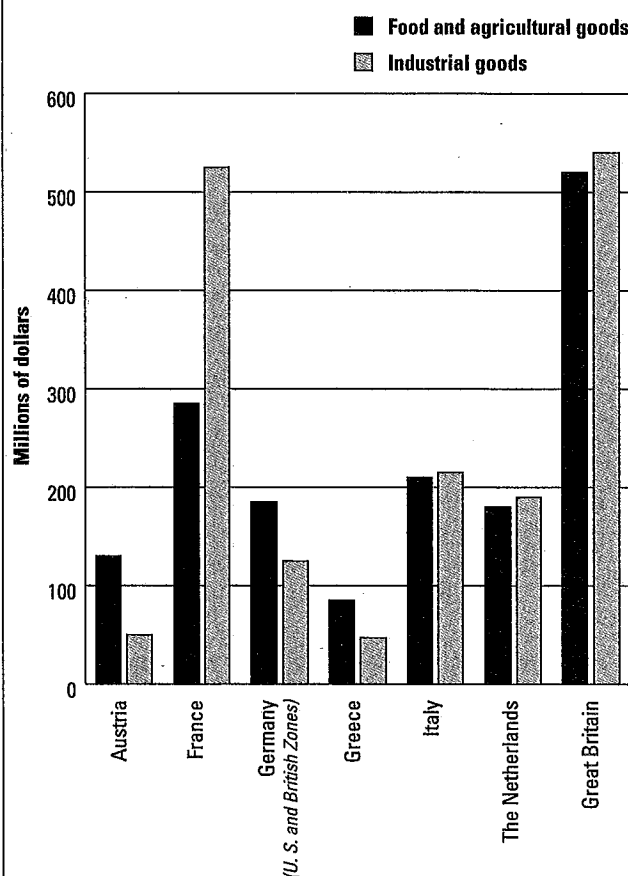
When World War II ended and the countries of Europe needed emergency relief and economic aid, the United States, Canada, and other nations contributed to the effort. Despite their efforts, necessities were still in short supply. In some countries, food was even scarcer than it had been during the war. To determine the full extent of the problem, President Truman sent former President Herbert Hoover on a fact-finding mission to 22 European nations. On his return, Hoover reported the stark reality to Truman. People were starving in Europe, and stopgap aid would not solve the problem. A long-term plan was needed.

During a Harvard College commencement address in June 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall offered the aid of the United States to all European nations in need. He asked the nations of Europe to agree on a plan of recovery and to tell the United States what aid was needed. In return for the aid of the United States, Marshall proposed that European nations would have to agree to cooperate and remove trade barriers. Although invited to participate, the Soviet Union refused Marshall's offer. In addition, the Soviets prevented their satellite nations in Eastern Europe from applying for aid.

In all, 16 Western European countries applied for assistance under what was known as the European Recovery Program, or the Marshall Plan. Congress heatedly debated the plan for ten months. The loudest and most insistent criticism concerned the estimated cost—about \$12.5 billion. For a time, it looked as if Congress would reject the plan. However, in February 1948, a Soviet-backed uprising put Communists in control of Czechoslovakia. Alarmed by this Soviet aggression, Congress promptly approved the Marshall Plan by large majorities in both houses.

The Marshall Plan proved to be a great success, both politically and economically. The spread of communism was halted, and Western European economies quickly revived. Within three years, the production of goods in Western Europe surpassed prewar levels. The Marshall Plan also proved beneficial to the American economy, for an economically revitalized Western Europe provided a ready market for American goods and services.

Aid for Europe, 1948



Interpreting Text and Graphics

1. What commodity was particularly scarce in Europe after the war? _____

2. Which two countries on the graph received the most total aid in 1948, the first year of the Marshall Plan? _____

Why do you suppose this was true? _____

3. Why do you think the Soviet Union opposed the Marshall Plan? _____

4. How many dollars worth of food and agricultural aid did Italy receive in 1948? _____

5. Which country received the most in total aid in 1948? _____

What was the total dollar amount, approximately? _____

6. What event finally moved Congress to approve the Marshall Plan? _____

7. In your own words, explain the following statement: "The Marshall Plan saved Western Europe from being absorbed into the Soviet Bloc." _____

CHAPTER
26

Section 1

PRIMARY SOURCE *from* **Harry S. Truman's
Letter to His Daughter**

In this excerpt, Truman tells of first becoming president and of his meeting with Churchill and Stalin at the Potsdam Conference near Berlin. As you read, think about the challenges Truman faced at the beginning of his presidency.

As you know I was Vice-President from Jan. 20 to April 12, 1945. I was at Cabinet meetings and saw Roosevelt once or twice in those months. But he never did talk to me confidentially about the war, or about foreign affairs or what he had in mind for the peace after the war. . . .

Well the catastrophe we all dreaded came on April 12 at 4:35 P.M. At 7:09 I was the President and my first decision was to go ahead with the San Francisco Conference to set up the U.N.

Then I had to start in reading memorandums, briefs, and volumes of correspondence on the World situation. Too bad I hadn't been on the Foreign Affairs Committee or that F.D.R. hadn't informed me on the situation. . . . Then Germany folded up. You remember that celebration that took place on May 8, 1945—my 61st birthday.

Then came Potsdam. . . . Stalin was a day late, Churchill was on hand when I arrived, I found the Poles in eastern Germany without authority and Russia in possession of East Prussia, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, as well as Rumania and Bulgaria. Churchill had urged me to send our troops to the eastern border of Germany and keep them there.

We were about 150 miles east of the border of the occupation zone line agreed to at Yalta. I felt that agreements made in the war to keep Russia fighting should be kept and I kept them to the letter. Perhaps they should not have been adhered to so quickly. . . . Perhaps if we had been slower moving back we could have forced the Russians, Poles, Bulgars, Yugos etc. to behave. But all of us wanted Russia in the Japanese War. Had we known what the Atomic Bomb would do we'd have never have wanted the Bear [symbol of Russia] in the picture. You must remember no tests had been made until several days after I arrived in Berlin [for the Potsdam Conference].

Adm. Leahy told me that he was an explosives expert and Roosevelt had just thrown \$2,600,000,000 away for nothing. He was wrong. But his guess was as good as any. [Senator Jim] Byrnes thought it [the A-bomb] might work but he wasn't sure. He thought if it did we would win the

Japanese War without much more losses but we still needed the Russians. That was one of my prime objects in going to Berlin—to get the Russians into the Jap War. Well, many agreements were made at Potsdam, the Foreign Minister's Conference was set up, I suggested that the Danube, the Rhine, . . . the Black Sea Straits all be made free waterways and that no trade barriers be set up in Europe. The last suggestion got nowhere. Had it been adopted all Europe's and the World's troubles would have been half over.

We entered into agreements for the Government of Germany—not one of which has Russia kept. We made agreements on China, Korea and other places none of which has Russia kept. So that now we are faced with exactly the same situation with which Britain + France were faced in 1938/39 with Hitler. A totalitarian state is no different whether you call it Nazi, Fascist, Communist or Franco's Spain.

Things look black. We've offered control and disarmament through the U.N., giving up our one most powerful weapon for the world to control. The Soviets won't agree. They're upsetting things in Korea, in China, in Persia (Iran) and in the Near East.

A decision will have to be made: I am going to make it. I am sorry to have bored you with this. But you've studied foreign affairs to some extent and I just wanted you to know your dad as President asked for no territory, no reparations, no slave laborers—only Peace in the World.

from Margaret Truman, ed., Letters from Father: The Truman Family's Personal Correspondence (New York: Arbor House, 1981), 103–108.

Discussion Questions

1. According to his letter, what challenges did Truman face when he became president?
2. What does Truman's letter reveal about his attitude toward the Soviet Union?
3. How well do you think Truman handled foreign affairs right after he became president? What could he have done differently?

CHAPTER
26**Section 2****PRIMARY SOURCE** *from Douglas MacArthur's Farewell Address to Congress*

President Truman's dismissal of General MacArthur as Commander of the UN forces in Korea sparked debate in Congress over Truman's strategy of fighting a limited war in Korea. MacArthur was asked to address a Joint Session of Congress as part of the congressional investigation into this issue. What follows is an excerpt of MacArthur's speech in which he defends his position. As you read his speech, pay attention to the reasons he gives for expanding the war and decide whether you agree with him.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and distinguished members of the Congress:

I stand on this rostrum with a sense of deep humility and great pride—humility in the wake of those great American architects of our history who have stood here before me, pride in the reflection that this forum of legislative debate represents human liberty in the purest form yet devised. Here are centered the hopes, and aspirations, and faith of the entire human race.

I do not stand here as advocate for any partisan cause, for the issues are fundamental and reach quite beyond the realm of partisan consideration. They must be resolved on the highest plane of national interest if our course is to prove sound and our future protected. I trust, therefore, that you will do me the justice of receiving that which I have to say as solely expressing the considered viewpoint of a fellow American. I address you with neither rancor nor bitterness in the fading twilight of life with but one purpose in mind—to serve my country. . . .

I now turn to the Korean conflict. While I was not consulted prior to the President's decision to intervene in support of the Republic of Korea, that decision from a military standpoint proved a sound one as we hurled back the invaders and decimated his forces. Our victory was complete and our objectives within reach when Red China intervened with numerically superior ground forces. This created a new war and an entirely new situation—a situation not contemplated when our forces were committed against the North Korean invaders—a situation which called for new decisions in the diplomatic sphere to permit the realistic adjustment of military strategy. Such decisions have not been forthcoming.

While no man in his right mind would advocate sending our ground forces into continental China,

and such was never given a thought, the new situation did urgently demand a drastic revision of strategic planning if our political aim was to defeat this new enemy as we had defeated the old.

Apart from the military need as I saw it to neutralize the sanctuary protection given the enemy north of the Yalu, I felt that military necessity in the conduct of the war made mandatory:

1. The intensification of our economic blockade against China.
2. The imposition of a naval blockade against the China coast.
3. Removal of restrictions on air reconnaissance of China's coast areas and of Manchuria.
4. Removal of restriction on the forces of the Republic of China on Formosa [Taiwan] with logistical support to contribute to their effective operations against the common enemy.

For entertaining these views, all professionally designed to support our forces committed to Korea and bring hostilities to an end with the least possible delay and at a saving of countless American and Allied lives, I have been severely criticized in lay circles, principally abroad; despite my understanding that from a military standpoint the above views have been fully shared in the past by practically every military leader concerned with the Korean campaign, including our own Joint Chiefs of Staff.

I called for reinforcements, but was informed that reinforcements were not available. I made clear that if not permitted to destroy the buildup bases north of the Yalu; if not permitted to utilize the friendly Chinese force of some 600,000 men on Formosa [Taiwan]; if not permitted to blockade the China coast to prevent the Chinese Reds from getting succor from without; and if there were to be no hope of major reinforcements, the position of

the command from the military standpoint forbade victory. We could hold in Korea by constant maneuver and at an approximate area where our supply line advantages were in balance with the supply line disadvantages of the enemy, but we could hope at best for only an indecisive campaign, with its terrible and constant attrition upon our forces if the enemy utilized his full military potential.

I have constantly called for the new political decisions essential to a solution. Efforts have been made to distort my position. It has been said, in effect, that I am a warmonger. Nothing can be further from the truth. I know war as few other men now living know it, and nothing to me is more revolting. I have long advocated its complete abolition as its very destructiveness on both friend and foe has rendered it useless as a means of settling international disputes. . . .

But once war is forced upon us, there is no other alternative than to apply every available means to bring it to a swift end. War's very object is victory—not prolonged indecision. In war, indeed, there can be no substitute for victory.

There are some who for varying reasons would appease Red China. They are blind to history's clear lesson; for history teaches with unmistakable emphasis that appeasement but begets new and bloodier war. It points to no single instance where the end has justified that means—where appeasement has led to more than a sham peace. Like blackmail, it lays the basis for new and successively greater demands, until, as in blackmail, violence becomes the only other alternative.

Why, my soldiers asked of me, surrender military advantages to an enemy in the field? I could not answer. Some may say to avoid spread of the conflict into an all-out war with China; others, to avoid Soviet intervention. Neither explanation seems valid. For China is already engaging with the maximum power it can commit and the Soviet will not necessarily mesh its actions with our moves. Like a cobra, any new enemy will more likely strike whenever it feels that the relativity in military or other potential is in its favor on a worldwide basis.

The tragedy of Korea is further heightened by the fact that as military action is confined to its territorial limits, it condemns that nation, which it is our purpose to save, to suffer the devastating impact of full naval and air bombardment, while the enemy's sanctuaries are fully protected from such attack and devastation. Of the nations of the

world, Korea alone, up to now, is the sole one which has risked its all against communism. The magnificence of the courage and fortitude of the Korean people defies description. They have chosen to risk death rather than slavery. Their last words to me were, "Don't scuttle the Pacific."

I have just left your fighting sons in Korea. They have met all tests there and I can report to you without reservation they are splendid in every way. It was my constant effort to preserve them and end this savage conflict honorably and with the least loss of time and a minimum sacrifice of life. Its growing bloodshed has caused me the deepest anguish and anxiety. Those gallant men will remain often in my thoughts in my prayers always.

I am closing my fifty-two years of military service. When I joined the Army, even before the turn of the century, it was the fulfillment of all my boyish hopes and dreams. The world has turned over many times since I took the oath on the plain at West Point, and the hopes and dreams have long since vanished. But I still remember the refrain of one of the most popular barrack ballads of that day which proclaimed most proudly that—

Old soldiers never die;
they just fade away.

And like the old soldier of that ballad, I now close my military career and just fade away—an old soldier who tried to do his duty as God gave him the light to see that duty.

Good-by.

from The 82nd Congress, 1st Session, House Doc. No. 36

Discussion Questions

1. What parts of this speech excerpt do you find the most persuasive? the least persuasive?
2. What do you think MacArthur's attitude in this speech is? To get a sense of his attitude, try reading parts of the speech aloud as you think he might have delivered it. Then, cite words and phrases from the speech as evidence to support your opinion.
3. After its investigation, Congress failed to agree on whether to continue Truman's policy of a limited war in Korea. If you had been a member of Congress at the time, how would you have voted? Cite evidence from your textbook, as well as from MacArthur's speech, to support your opinion.

CHAPTER
26**Section 4****PRIMARY SOURCE** *from* **Dwight D. Eisenhower's
Statement on the U-2 Incident**

When Nikita Khrushchev announced that an American U-2 had been shot down over Soviet territory, U.S. officials at first denied that the U-2 was a spy plane. Then, President Dwight D. Eisenhower decided to tell the truth in a TV and radio broadcast. As you read this excerpt from his speech, keep in mind the reasons he gives for spying on the Soviets.

Our safety, and that of the free world, demand, of course, effective systems for gathering information about the military capabilities of other powerful nations, especially those that make a fetish of secrecy. This involves many techniques and methods. In these times of vast military machines and nuclear-tipped missiles, the ferreting out of this information is indispensable to free-world security. . . .

I take full responsibility for approving all the various programs undertaken by our government to secure and evaluate military intelligence.

It was in the prosecution of one of these intelligence programs that the widely publicized U-2 incident occurred.

Aerial photography has been one of many methods we have used to keep ourselves and the free world abreast of major Soviet military developments. The usefulness of this work has been well established through four years of effort. The Soviets were well aware of it. . . . Only last week, in his Paris press conference, Chairman Khrushchev confirmed that he knew of these flights when he visited the United States last September.

Incidentally, this raises the natural question—why all the furor concerning one particular flight? He did not, when in America last September, charge that these flights were any threat to Soviet safety. He did not then see any reason to refuse to confer with American representatives. This he did only about the flight that unfortunately failed, on May 1, far inside Russia.

Now, two questions have been raised about this particular flight: first, as to its timing, considering the imminence of the summit meeting; second, our initial statement when we learned the flight had failed.

As to the timing, the question was really whether to halt the program and thus forgo the gathering of

important information that was essential and that was likely to be unavailable at a later date. The decision was that the program should not be halted. The plain truth is this: When a nation needs intelligence activity, there is no time when vigilance can be relaxed. Incidentally, from Pearl Harbor we learned that even negotiation itself can be used to conceal preparations for a surprise attack.

Next, as to our government's initial statement about the flight, this was issued to protect the pilot, his mission, and our intelligence processes, at a time when the true facts were still undetermined.

Our first information about the failure of this mission did not disclose whether the pilot was still alive, was trying to escape, was avoiding interrogation, or whether both plane and pilot had been destroyed. Protection of our intelligence system and the pilot, and concealment of the plane's mission, seemed imperative. . . .

I then made two facts clear to the public: first, our program of aerial reconnaissance had been undertaken with my approval; second, this government is compelled to keep abreast, by one means or another, of military activities of the Soviets, just as their government has for years engaged in espionage activities in our country and throughout the world.

*from Department of State Bulletin, June 6, 1960,
pp. 899-903*

Discussion Questions

1. What reasons does Eisenhower give for gathering information about the Soviet military?
2. In your opinion, was the United States right to spy on the Soviets during the Cold War? Support your opinion with facts and reasons.

CHAPTER
26

Section 4

LITERATURE SELECTION *from The Nuclear Age*
by Tim O'Brien

The main character of this novel, 49-year-old William Cowling, grew up under the dark cloud of anxiety that loomed during the height of the Cold War. In this excerpt, Cowling recalls how he reacted to the threat of nuclear attack when he was a teenager in the 1950s. As you read, think about the steps Cowling takes to protect himself. Do you think his plan could help him survive a nuclear war?

When I was a kid, I converted my Ping-Pong table into a fallout shelter. Funny? Poignant? A nifty comment on the modern age? Well, let me tell you something. The year was 1958, and I was scared. Who knows how it started? Maybe it was all that CONELRAD stuff on the radio, tests of the Emergency Broadcast System, pictures of H-bombs in *Life* magazine, strontium 90 in the milk, the times in school when we'd crawl under our desks and cover our heads in practice for the real thing. Or maybe it was rooted deep inside me. In my own inherited fears, in the genes, in a coded conviction that the world wasn't safe for human life.

Really, who knows?

Whatever the sources, I was a frightened child. At night I'd toss around in bed for hours, battling the snagged sheets, and then when sleep finally came, sometimes close to dawn, my dreams would be clotted with sirens and melting ice caps and radioactive gleamings and ICBMs whining in the dark.

I was a witness. I saw it happen. In dreams, in imagination, I watched the world end. . . .

Even as a kid, maybe because I was a kid, I understood that there was nothing make-believe about doomsday. No hocus-pocus. No midnight fantasy. I knew better. It was real, like physics, like the laws of combustion and gravity. I could truly see it: a sleek nose cone, the wiring and dials and tangled circuitry. Real firepower, real danger. I was normal, yes, stable and levelheaded, but I was also willing to face the truth.

Anyway, I didn't have much choice. The nightmares had been squeezing my sleep for months, and finally, on a night in early May, a very quiet night, I woke up dizzy. My eyeballs ached. Things were so utterly silent I feared I'd gone deaf. Absolute silence. I sat up and wiped my face and waited for the world to rebalance itself. I'd been dreaming of

war—whole continents on fire, oceans boiling, cities in ash—and now, with that dreadful silence, it seemed that the universe had died in its sleep.

I was a child. There were few options.

I scrambled out of bed, put on my slippers, and ran for the basement. No real decision, I just did it. Basement, I thought.

I went straight for the Ping-Pong table.

Shivering, wide awake, I began piling scraps of lumber and bricks and old rugs onto the table, making a thick roof, shingling it with a layer of charcoal briquettes to soak up the deadly radiation. I fashioned walls out of cardboard boxes filled with newspapers and two-by-fours and whatever basement junk I could find. I built a ventilation shaft out of cardboard tubing. I stocked the shelter with rations from the kitchen pantry, laid in a supply of bottled water, set up a dispensary of Band-Aids and iodine, designed my own little fallout mask.

When all this was finished, near dawn, I crawled under the

table and lay there faceup, safe, arms folded across my chest.

And, yes, I slept. No dreams.

My father found me down there. Still half asleep, I heard him calling out my name in a voice so distant, so muffled and hollow, that it might've come from another planet.

I didn't answer.

A door opened, lights clicked on. I watched my father's slippers glide across the concrete floor.

"William?" he said.

I sank deeper into my shelter.

"Hey, cowboy," my father said. "Out."

His voice had a stern, echoing sound. It made me coil up.

"Out," he repeated.

I could see the blue veins in his ankles. "Okay, in a minute," I told him. "I'm sort of busy right now."

My father stood still for a moment, then shuffled to the far end of the table. His slippers made a whish-whish noise. "Listen here," he said, "it's a swell little fort, a dandy, but you can't—"

"It's not a fort," I said.

"No?"

And so I explained it to him. How, in times like these, we needed certain safeguards. A line of defense against the man-made elements. A fallout shelter.

My father sneezed.

He cleared his throat and muttered something. Then, suddenly, in one deft motion, he bent down and grabbed me by the ankles and yanked me out from under the table.

Oddly, he was smiling.

"William," he murmured. "What's this?"

"What?"

"This. Right here."

Learning forward, still smiling, he jabbed a finger at my nose. At first I didn't understand.

"Oh, yeah," I said. "It's a fallout mask."

Actually, of course, it was just a paper bag filled with sawdust and charcoal briquettes. The bag had ventilation holes in it, and the

whole contraption was attached to my face by strings and elastic bands. I grinned and started to show him how it worked, but my father raised his arm in a quick jerky movement, like a traffic cop, as if to warn me about something, then he squeezed my shoulder.

"Upstairs," he said. "On the double. Right now."

He seemed upset.

He pulled the mask off and marched me up the stairs, coming on strong with all that fatherly stuff about how I could've caught pneumonia, how he had enough to worry about without finding his kid asleep under a Ping-Pong table. All the while he kept glancing at me with those sharp blue eyes, half apprehensive and half amused, measuring.

When we got up to the kitchen, he showed my mother the mask. "Go ahead," he said, "guess what it is." But he didn't give her a chance. "A fallout mask. See there? Regulation fallout mask."

My mother smiled.

"Lovely," she said.

Then my father told her about the Ping-Pong table. He didn't openly mock me; he was subtle

about it—a certain change of tone, raising his eyebrows when he thought I wasn't looking. But I was looking. And it made me wince. "The Ping-Pong table," he said slowly, "it's now a fallout shelter. Get it? A fallout shelter." He stretched the words out like rubber bands, letting them snap back hard: "Fallout shelter. Ping-Pong."

"It's sweet," my mother said, and her eyes did a funny rolling trick, then she laughed.

"Fallout," my father kept saying.

Again, they didn't mean to be cruel. But even after they'd scooted me in for a hot bath, I could hear them hooting it up, making jokes, finally tiptoeing down to the basement for a peek at my handiwork. I didn't see the humor in it.

Over breakfast, I tried to explain that radiation could actually kill you. Pure poison, I told them.

*Over breakfast,
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Or it could turn you into a mutant or a dwarf or something. "I mean, cripes," I said, "don't you guys even think about it, don't you worry?" I was confused. I couldn't understand those sly smiles. Didn't they read the newspapers? Hadn't they seen pictures of people who'd been exposed to radioactivity—

hair burned off, bleeding tongues, teeth falling out, skin curled up like charred paper? Where was the joke in all that?

Somehow, though, I started feeling defensive, almost guilty, so finally I shut up and finished my pancakes and hustled off to school. God, I thought, am I crazy?

But that didn't end it.

All day long I kept thinking about the shelter, figuring ways to improve on it, drawing diagrams, calculating, imagining how I'd transform that plywood table into a real bastion against total war. In art class, I drew up elaborate renovation blueprints; in study hall, I devised a makeshift system for the decontamination of water supplies; during noon recess, while the rest of the kids screwed around, I began compiling a detailed list of items essential to human survival.

No question, it was nuke fever. But I wasn't wacko. In fact, I felt fully sane—tingling, in control.

In a way, I suppose, I was pushed on by the memory of that snug, dreamless sleep in my shelter. Cozy and walled in and secure. Like the feeling you

get in a tree house, or in a snow fort, or huddled around a fire at night. I'll even admit that my motives may have been anchored in some ancestral craving for refuge, the lion's instinct for the den, the impulse that first drove our species into caves. Safety, it's normal. The mole in his hole. The turtle in his shell. Look at history: the Alamo, castles on the Rhine, moated villages, turrets, frontier stockades, storm cellars, foxholes, barbed wire, an attic in Amsterdam, a cave along the Dead Sea. Besides, you can't ignore the realities. You can't use psychology to explain away the bomb.

I didn't need a shrink. I needed sanctuary.

And that's when the Pencil Theory hit me. I was sitting at my desk during the final hour of classes that day, daydreaming, doodling, and then bang, the answer was there like a gift from God. For a second I sat there frozen. I held the solution in my hand—a plain yellow pencil.

"Pencils," I said.

I must've said it in a loud voice, too loud, because the teacher suddenly jerked her head and gave me a long stare. I just smiled.

The rest was simple.

When the final bell rang, I trotted down to the school supply room, opened up my book bag, stuffed it full of No. 2 soft-lead pencils, zipped the bag shut, and high-tailed it for home. Nothing to it. I didn't like the idea of thievery, but this wasn't a time for splitting moral hairs. It was a matter of live or die.

That evening, while my mom and dad were watching *I've Got a Secret*, I slipped down into the basement and quietly went to work reinforcing my shelter.

The theory was simple: Pencils contain lead; lead acts as an effective barrier against radiation.

*No question, it was
nuke fever. But I
wasn't wacko. In
fact, I felt fully
sane—tingling,
in control.*

It made perfect sense. Logical, scientific, practical.

Quickly, I stripped the table of everything I'd piled on it the night before, and then, very carefully, I began spreading out the pencils in neat rows, taking pains not to leave any cracks or spaces. Wizard, I thought. I replaced the lumber and bricks and rugs, added a double layer of charcoal briquettes, and then crowned it off with an old mattress. All told, my shelter's new roof was maybe three feet

thick. More important, though, it now included that final defensive shield of solid lead.

Research Options

1. William builds a fallout shelter so that he'll be safe in the event of nuclear war. What are the pros and cons of his design? First, research the effects of nuclear war in the 1950s. Then determine whether William's fallout shelter would protect him from those effects. Share your conclusions with classmates.
2. As you learned in Chapter 18, some Americans did build backyard fallout shelters during the Cold War. Find different pictures—photographs, diagrams, advertisements—that illustrate what these fallout shelters looked like. To locate pictures, you might use resources such as history books about the Cold War in the 1950s and early 1960s, magazine articles from the time, or print or on-line encyclopedia articles. With your classmates, create a bulletin board display of fallout shelters and explain it to your classmates. Then, as a class, compare the real fallout shelters with William's.

CHAPTER
26
AMERICAN LIVES
Douglas MacArthur
Flashy, Career Soldier
Section 2

"When I joined the Army, even before the turn of the century, it was the fulfillment of all my boyish hopes and dreams."—Douglas MacArthur in his farewell address to Congress (1951)

Born to a Civil War hero and career officer, Douglas MacArthur grew up on military bases and spent almost his whole life in the Army. He was egotistical, a flashy dresser, and a self-promoter. Another officer once said that MacArthur's father "was the most flamboyantly egotistic man I had ever seen—until I met his son." MacArthur was also a superb officer—in the words of General George Marshall, "our most brilliant general."

MacArthur (1880–1964) succeeded through intelligence, hard work, and self-confidence instilled by his mother. As he prepared for the entrance exam for West Point, she told him, "You'll win if you don't lose your nerve. You must believe in yourself, my son, or no one else will believe in you." He outscored all competitors.

During World War I, MacArthur won a name for bravery in battle. He was also known for his non-regulation dress, which included a long scarf wrapped dashing around his neck.

In 1935, he was loaned to the Philippines to build an army. MacArthur relished the chance to organize the force—and to design his own uniform—as field marshal in the Philippine army. In mid-1941, President Franklin Roosevelt recalled MacArthur to active duty and gave him command of U.S. forces in the Philippines.

MacArthur's troops were trapped when the Japanese attacked in late 1941. In March 1942, MacArthur and his troops managed to escape to Australia, thereby providing the American people with a hero when they needed one. MacArthur declared, "I came through, and I shall return." Characteristically, he did not say that "we"—the United States—would return.

It took two years, but MacArthur did return by pursuing an effective island-hopping strategy. He held casualties down by invading less-well-defended islands. He made effective use of bombers. Finally, in October 1944, U.S. forces landed on the Philippines. MacArthur bravely came ashore the same day and had his picture taken wading ashore. He told the

Philippine people, "I have returned! . . . Rally to me!"

After the war, MacArthur led the American occupation of Japan. He helped demilitarize the country and his staff wrote a new constitution that included democratic reforms. The Japanese people appreciated his efforts.

When North Korea invaded the South in 1950, the situation was dire. MacArthur, placed in command of UN forces by President Harry Truman, planned a brilliant campaign—the invasion of Inchon, a port on the west side of the Korean peninsula behind enemy lines. Navy officers urged against it, as there were logistical problems with the landing site. At a meeting, MacArthur urged approval of the plan: "I can almost hear the ticking of the second hand of destiny. We must act now or we will die. . . . We shall land at Inchon and I shall crush them." The plan was adopted, and MacArthur was proven correct. American spirits soared as apparent defeat had turned to victory. However, MacArthur and President Truman began to disagree on war strategy, and MacArthur publicly disputed him. Then, in early 1951, just a few months after the Inchon landing, Truman shocked the nation by recalling—firing—MacArthur.

After Truman removed him from command, MacArthur was invited to speak before Congress and given a ticker-tape parade in New York. MacArthur hoped to run for president in 1952, but the Republicans turned to another general—Dwight Eisenhower. MacArthur lived the remainder of his life in uncharacteristic quiet.

Questions

1. What kind of image do you think MacArthur wanted to project?
2. MacArthur lived outside the United States from 1937 to 1951. What effect might that have had on his relations with Truman?
3. Why might Eisenhower have been more appealing as a presidential candidate than MacArthur?

CHAPTER
26

AMERICAN LIVES

Margaret Chase Smith

Independent Moderate

Section 3

"Freedom of speech is not what it used to be in America. It has been so abused by some that it is not exercised by others." —Margaret Chase Smith in a Senate speech (1950)

Margaret Chase Smith (1897–1995) was an independent-minded Republican from Maine. The first woman to serve in both the House and the Senate, Smith spoke her mind and voted her beliefs—from 1940, when she supported Democratic President Franklin Roosevelt, to 1970, when she criticized Republican President Richard Nixon.

Margaret Chase began working as a teenager, even then showing her independence. "I didn't go to work because we were poor," she later recalled. "I went to work because I wanted to be independent.

I wanted to spend my own money as I wanted to." Her jobs included work as a night telephone operator (at 10 cents an hour). Through this work, she met Clyde H. Smith, a politician.

By 1930, she had married Smith and entered local politics. She joined the Maine Republican Committee and became Smith's secretary when he was elected to Congress in 1936. Four years later, Smith died, and Margaret Chase Smith was elected to the seat. From the start, she followed her beliefs. In 1940, she voted for the Lend-Lease Act and the Selective Service Act, both positions counter to Republican policy but reflecting her interest in defense matters.

In 1948, Smith easily won election to the Senate. She served there until 1972 and eventually became senior Republican on the Armed Services and Aeronautical and Space Sciences committees.

In 1950, Smith realized that Senator Joe McCarthy had little evidence to back his charges about Communists in the government. Many were afraid to confront him, however. She wrote a "Declaration of Conscience" and persuaded six other Republican moderates to sign. On June 1, she spoke in the Senate against McCarthy. Then she read the declaration, which did not hesitate to criticize President Harry Truman for "lack of effective leadership" and "petty bitterness against" critics. But the declaration blasted "certain elements of the Republican Party" for "resorting to political smears." McCarthy rose from his seat and quietly left the chamber. Soon, though, he belittled Smith, her co-signers, and one other supporting senator as

"Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs."

McCarthy sought revenge in 1954. He sent a young supporter to run against Smith in the primary for her Senate seat. Smith trounced her opponent by a five-to-one margin. Her victory plus growing public disapproval of McCarthy convinced the Senate to censure him in 1954.

Smith took other independent stands in her career. She broke with Republican leadership in supporting federal aid to education, health insurance for older people, and some civil rights laws. Always in favor of a strong defense, Smith criticized President John F. Kennedy in 1961 for weakness in a summit with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. Once criticized by McCarthy, she was now attacked by Khrushchev, who called her "the devil in the disguise of a woman." In 1964, she became the first woman nominated for president by a major party, pulling 27 votes at the Republican convention.

In 1970 near the end of her Senate career—20 years after her stand against McCarthy—Smith once again urged moderation. Angered by the extremism of some of those protesting the Vietnam War, she lamented that "we have a national sickness now from which I pray we will recover." She also expressed anger at the Nixon administration for its overreaction to protesters.

Through all the years, Smith worked hard, setting a record for attending 2,941 straight Senate votes. Smith lost her re-election bid in 1972 and retired. She remained active into her nineties in charitable work as director of the Lily Endowment (1976–1992).

Questions

1. What stands did Margaret Chase Smith take against Republican Party positions?
2. What do you think Smith meant by the statement at the top of the page, which she made in her prelude to the "Declaration of Conscience"?
3. Compare Smith with her fellow senator Joseph McCarthy. Give three examples of some major differences between them.