

# The Uneasy Peace

OCTOBER 22, 1962: THE WHITE HOUSE

President John F. Kennedy walked into the Oval Office at 6:59 P.M., stepping over TV cables on the way to his desk. He was about to deliver some frightening news to the American people—news of a mounting Soviet threat in Cuba.

In a controlled, almost dull tone, Kennedy explained what the United States would do in response to the threat caused by the Russians installing missiles in Cuba. It would ask for a United Nations meeting. It would blockade Cuban shipping lanes with American destroyers to keep more weapons from reaching the island, and it would put the United States military on full alert. If even one missile were fired from Cuba toward any nation in the Western Hemisphere, the United States would launch a nuclear attack on

the Soviet Union. Suddenly the world teetered on the brink of disaster.

What had happened? Just 17 years before, people of the United States and the Soviet Union embraced and toasted their stunning World War II victory. Franklin Roosevelt's warmth and diplomacy in dealing with the Soviets near the end of the war had raised hopes of cooperation between the two powers. Now, however, the wartime alliance had soured into a bitter and dangerous rivalry—a cold war—affecting the entire world. ■

## HISTORY JOURNAL

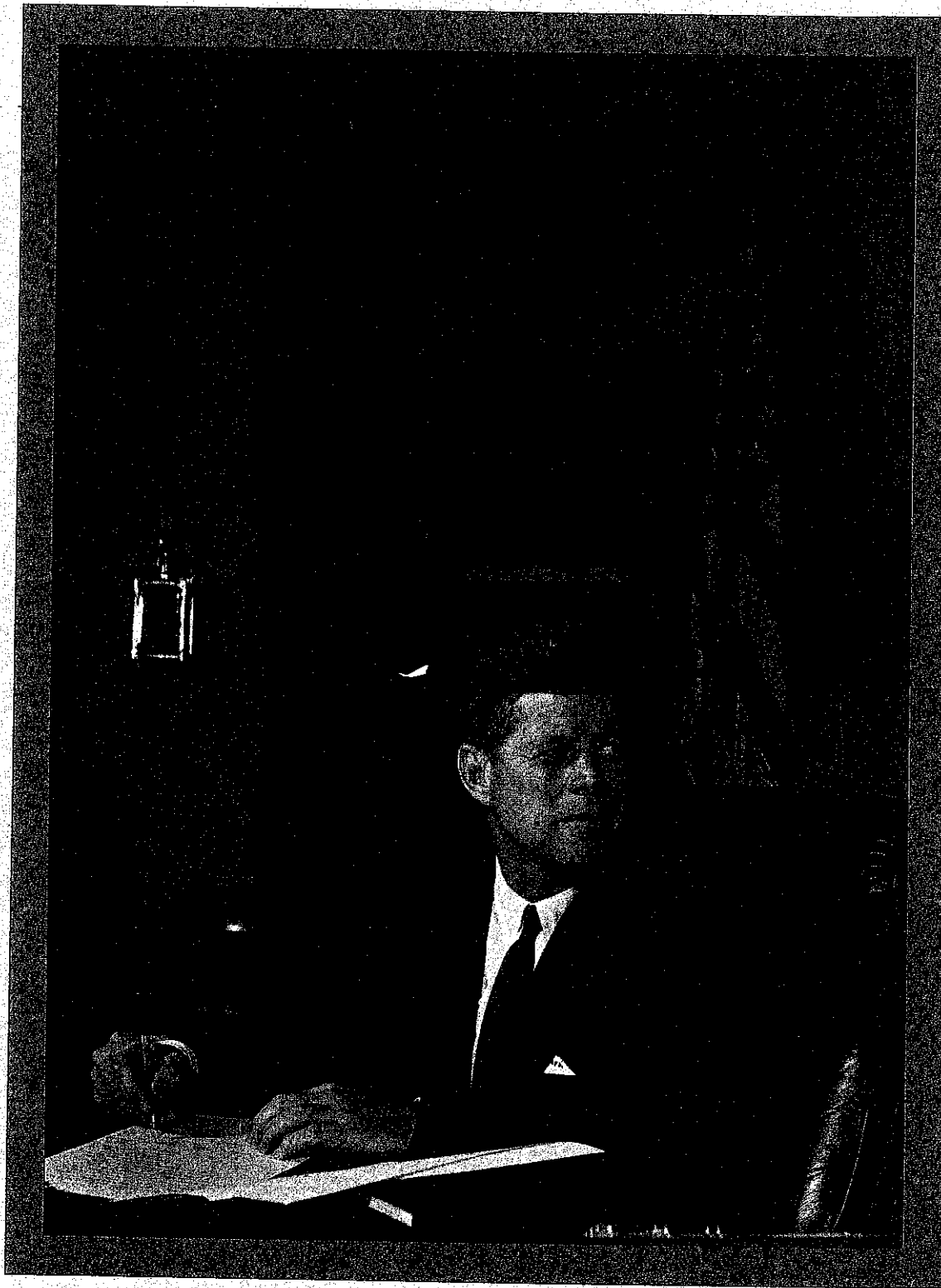
Think about what you have heard or know about the Cuban missile crisis or early cold war. Now look at the picture of President John F. Kennedy on page 561.

Write down what it might have been like to be President during these tense times.

## HISTORY Online

### Chapter Overview

Visit the *American Odyssey* Web site at [americanodyssey.glencoe.com](http://americanodyssey.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter 17—Chapter Overview** to preview the chapter.



CECIL STODOLN/LIFE MAGAZINE © TIME WARNER, INC.



PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY PAUSES TO REFLECT DURING THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS.

# The Cold War Begins

APRIL 25, 1945: GIs MEET SOVIET TROOPS

LILACS BLOOMED AND THE SUN SHONE ON APRIL 25, 1945, AS AMERICAN SOLDIERS BATTLING THE GERMANS FROM THE WEST APPROACHED THEIR SOVIET ALLIES FIGHTING FROM THE EAST. Victory was in the air, and as the armies neared the Elbe River south of Berlin, small patrols of Americans drove out in jeeps to meet their Soviet comrades-in-arms. Throughout the day Soviet and American soldiers embraced for the first time. Andy Rooney, staff writer for the armed forces newspaper, *Stars & Stripes*, caught the moment:

There was a mad scene of jubilation on the east and west banks of the Elbe at Torgau as infantrymen of Lieutenant General Courtney H. Hodges . . . swapped K



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

War's End  
American and Soviet soldiers congratulate each other on the fall of Nazi Germany.

rations for a vodka with soldiers of Marshal Kornian's Ukrainian Army, congratulating each other . . . on the linkup.

Men of the 69th Division sat on the banks of the Elbe in warm sunshine today with no enemy in front of them or behind them and . . . watched their new Russian friends and listened to them as they played accordions and sang Russian songs.

The Russian soldiers are the most carefree bunch . . . that ever came together in an army. They would best be described as exactly like Americans, only twice as much. . . . You get the feeling of exuberance, a great new world opening up.

—Andy Rooney, "Good Soldiers Meet," *Stars & Stripes*, April 28, 1945

## GUIDE TO READING

### Main Idea

The United States and the Soviet Union emerged from World War II deeply distrustful of each other and with conflicting visions for the future.

### Vocabulary

- ▶ containment
- ▶ cold war

### Read to Find Out . . .

- ▶ the events that led to Soviet domination in Eastern Europe, the Truman Doctrine, and the Marshall Plan.
- ▶ how ideological differences between the Soviet Union and the United States fueled the cold war.

# An Iron Curtain Falls

## Soviets Break With Allied Nations

The possibility of the opening of that “great new world” evaporated quickly. The war left the United States and the Soviet Union as the world’s dominant powers. Cautious allies during the struggle, the two nations emerged from the war with misgivings about one another. Each viewed the other with deep mistrust. Each had special interests to protect. Each carried the weight of its own history to the moment.

### An Uneasy Alliance

During the war, Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States, and 23 other nations had joined forces as the Allied Powers. Having pooled their military might, the 26 set out to crush the Axis Powers in Europe and Asia.

The organization was a strong, but uneasy, alliance. Among its members were nations with old hatreds and misunderstandings of one another, bound together by a common enemy. At the heart of the alliance stood the United States and the Soviet Union.

While the Soviets praised the courage of American soldiers and the leadership of President Roosevelt, old hostilities simmered beneath the surface. The Soviets resented that American troops, along with British and French forces, had tried to undo their revolution of 1917. When that attempt failed, the United States still refused to recognize the Soviet government until 1933. Furthermore, Soviet propaganda stirred up popular fears of American capitalism with its divisions between rich and poor and its swings between prosperity and depression.

The Allies’ delay in launching a second front also made Stalin suspicious. He had counted on an invasion of France in 1942 to divert German forces from his country. The United States and Britain delayed the attack for two years, making Stalin think that the Americans secretly wanted a weakened Soviet Union.

Americans also harbored fears of the Soviet Union. Communism, with its emphasis on world revolution, had always frightened Americans. Furthermore, past Soviet agreements with Germany rankled Americans. In 1918 the Soviets struck a separate peace with Germany, forcing the West to fight Germany without Soviet help. In 1939 Stalin signed a short-lived nonaggression pact with Hitler. Adding to American fears were memories of Stalin’s bloody attacks on his internal enemies in the 1930s.

During the war Roosevelt struggled to keep the Allies focused on military issues—the common problem—and off the areas of disagreement. As the war came to an end, the United States and the Soviet Union faced their greatest challenge.



EAST PHOTO

**Victory in Europe** After World War II, victory celebrations took place in both American and Soviet cities. *What effects of the war are evident in this picture?*

### Two Views of the World

At the end of the war, the western Soviet Union was a scene of awful destruction. More than 20 million Soviets had died in the struggle. Ground fighting and air bombing had destroyed more than 4.7 million homes, nearly 2,000 towns, and 70,000 villages. Through the ruins wandered the hungry and homeless—25 million of them—seeking a place to settle.

Nothing was more important to Soviet leaders than protecting themselves from a rearmed Germany and rebuilding their shattered economy. One key to their security, they believed, was a permanently weakened Germany. Another was a ring of pro-Soviet nations protecting their western border. From Napoleon’s attack on Moscow in 1812 through the German invasions of World Wars I and II, enemy armies had always swept in from the west.

Unlike the Soviets, the Americans emerged from the war more powerful than when they entered it. American deaths of 405,000 were tragic, but the number was small compared with the millions of Soviet dead. A booming American economy controlled nearly 50 percent of the world’s wealth, and most Americans felt proud of their successful fight for democracy.

American leaders envisioned a future of international peace and prosperity. They imagined a world patterned after the United States—democratic, open to business expansion and free trade. In this world free nations would solve their differences by talking, not by fighting. Like the Puritans and the believers in Manifest Destiny before them, many Americans felt they had a mission: to build a free world with the United States leading the way.

## Turning Point at Yalta

### Soviets Take Power in Eastern Europe

In February 1945, near the end of the war, the Big Three—Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin—met in the Soviet city of Yalta to work out control of the postwar world. The three men and their advisers arrived at a moment when victorious Soviet armies were sweeping across Eastern Europe.

Each leader brought his own concerns to the table. Churchill hoped to save the British Empire; Stalin intended to protect his borders and rebuild his country. Unlike Churchill and Stalin, who believed in great powers controlling spheres of influence, Roosevelt sought the worldwide spread of democracy and free trade. The American President, however, also needed Soviet aid in the war against Japan. All agreed, ultimately, that working out these interests together was the only path to peace.

Every day for a week, the Big Three met in the ballroom of the former czar's palace along the Black Sea. They talked, debated, and compromised.

The meeting at Yalta marked a high point of cooperation among the Big Three. It also became a turning point in the relationship between the major powers, and in many ways it determined the form the postwar world would take.

### Big Three Agreements

Many key agreements came out of the Yalta talks. Much to Roosevelt's relief, Stalin agreed to join the fight against Japan "two or three" months after Germany



The Big Three Meet At Yalta, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin reached a number of historic agreements. Which of these agreements affected the future of Germany?

surrendered. In return, Stalin would receive territories in Asia. Stalin also pledged Soviet support for the United Nations (UN), an international body that would be formed to help keep world peace.

Agreement broke down over Germany and Eastern Europe. Even though all three leaders feared a rearmed Germany, they disagreed on how to keep Germany under control. Stalin wanted to punish Germany by demanding \$20 billion in war payments. Half of the money would go to the Soviet Union to help rebuild its shattered economy. Roosevelt and Churchill knew that Germany could not afford the payments without their help; they feared having to support Germany so it could pay Stalin.

Rather than debate the issue, the three agreed that each nation would control the part of Germany its troops held at the end of the war. Later a commission would solve the problem of war payments.

### Control in Eastern Europe

Eastern Europe and Poland were even touchier issues. Stalin demanded recognition of Soviet power in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia to protect his western border. Soviet forces already occupied much of Eastern Europe, and Stalin had installed a government in Poland. Roosevelt and Churchill protested strongly. Britain went to war "so that Poland should be free," Churchill exclaimed.

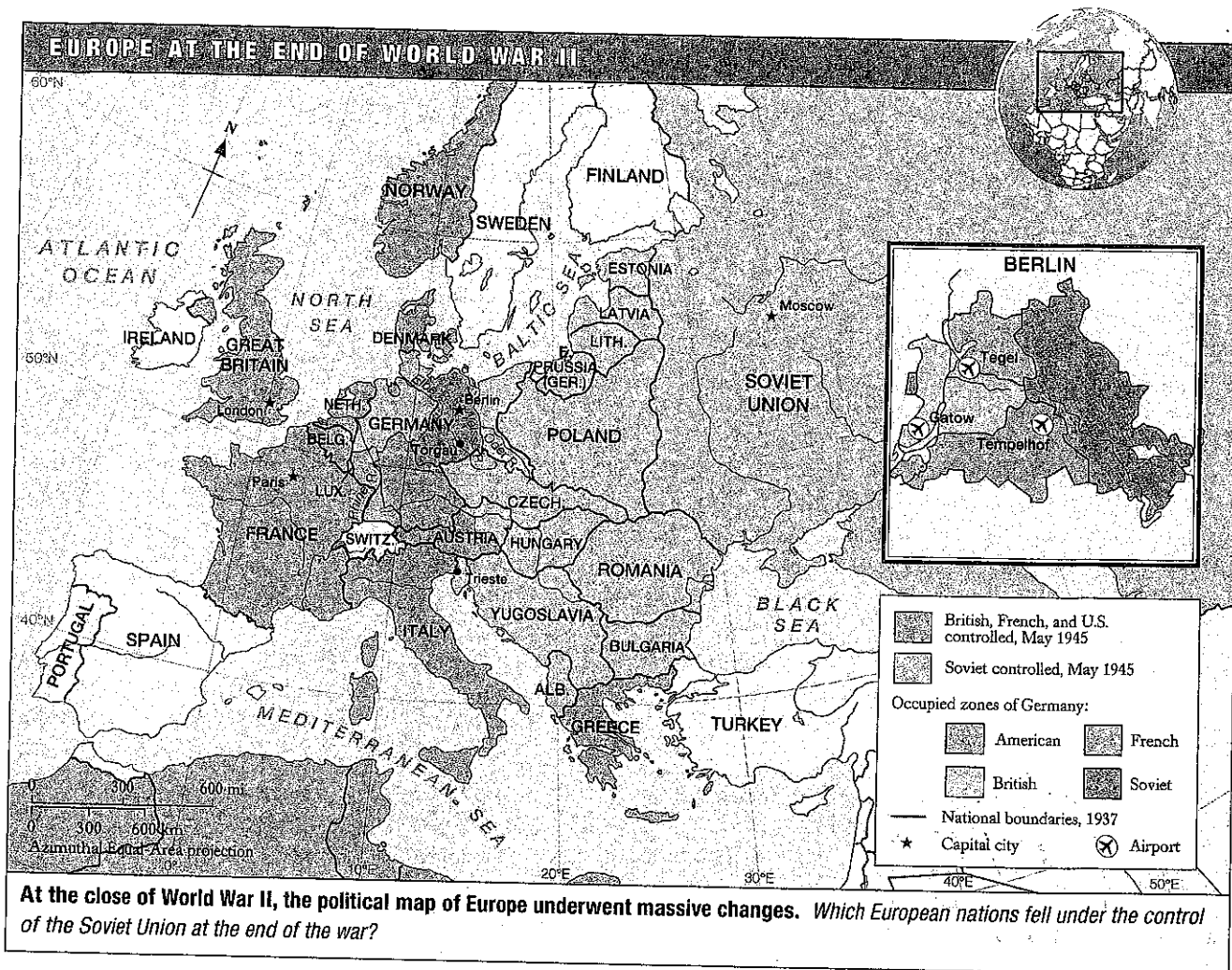
In the end, however, Roosevelt and Churchill had little choice but to give in. With the Pacific war still raging, they had no means of forcing Stalin to back down. Reluctantly they agreed to Soviet influence in Eastern Europe but insisted that Stalin hold "free and unfettered elections" at an "early date."

In the weeks after the conference at Yalta, Roosevelt worried as the Soviets installed Communist governments in country after country. Still, he had faith in his ability to win Stalin's trust of the West. Newly elected to a fourth term, Roosevelt believed he could persuade Stalin that the Soviets had nothing to fear and could relax their iron grip on Eastern Europe. Any such hopes were dashed, however, when Roosevelt died suddenly on April 12, 1945.

## Truman Comes to Power

### Truman Gets Tough With Stalin

"I don't know whether you fellows ever had a load of hay or a bull fall on you, but last night the moon, stars, and all the planets fell on me." Harry S Truman could well feel overwhelmed on his first day as President—April 13, 1945. Nations were still battling, and the world had reached a turning point in its history: The old system of



**At the close of World War II, the political map of Europe underwent massive changes. Which European nations fell under the control of the Soviet Union at the end of the war?**

power was crumbling and a new, unknown system remained to be built.

Truman stepped into the presidency unprepared. Raised in a small Missouri town with little chance for an education, the gritty, intelligent Truman worked his way up from the farm to business and finally to the United States Senate. Nominated as Roosevelt's running mate in 1944, he spent only 12 weeks as Vice President before Roosevelt's death.

During those 83 days, Truman got little information from Roosevelt. The President shared no details of key military or foreign policies with him, and Truman received only two short foreign relations briefings. According to Roosevelt's key adviser, Harry Hopkins, Truman himself knew "absolutely nothing of world affairs." Yet only 10 days after Truman assumed the presidency, international events took center stage.

### Formation of the United Nations

At Yalta, the Big Three had agreed in principle to an international peacekeeping organization. On April 25, 1945, 50 countries met in San Francisco to draft the charter for the United Nations. United States support

was voiced in Truman's address to the conference: "We must build a new world, a far better world—one in which the eternal dignity of man is respected."

The first article of the charter stated that the purpose of the United Nations was to maintain international peace and security. By October 1945, a majority of the participating nations had ratified the charter, and the United Nations officially came into existence.

The United States hoped that the United Nations would help to bring about a world in which every country would be free to run its own government. The Soviet Union—and to a lesser extent Great Britain—believed, however, that self-determination applied only to those countries that did not have strategic value to Soviet, or British, interests. In particular, the Soviets were determined to control Eastern Europe as a protection against future aggression from the West.

Truman's advisers urged him to get tough with the Soviets, and Truman exhibited his hard-line approach during the visit of Soviet ambassador V.M. Molotov. Truman sharply criticized Molotov for failing to support the Yalta agreements. Specifically, Truman demanded to know why the Soviets had not held free elections in Poland.

Accustomed to Roosevelt's friendly, patient style, Molotov was shaken. "I have never been talked to like that in my life," he reportedly said to Truman.

"Carry out your agreements and you won't get talked to like that," Truman snapped.

### Meetings at Potsdam

In this mood of growing hostility, Truman, Stalin, and Churchill met in Potsdam, a suburb of Berlin, in July 1945. Germany had surrendered in May, but the fight with Japan wore on. At this final wartime meeting, the three leaders tried to tie up some loose ends from Yalta, especially the future of Germany.

Truman and Stalin were meeting for the first time, and Truman was determined to be hard-nosed. A few days into the sessions, the already determined Truman learned that American scientists had successfully exploded the atomic bomb. He kept the news to himself, but it was soon clear that something had happened. Churchill recalled, "When he [Truman] got to the meeting after having read the report he was a changed man. He told the Russians just where they got off and generally bossed the whole meeting."

In spite of Truman's attitude, the three leaders reached agreement on Germany. The country would be completely disarmed and its war industries dismantled. Each occupying nation would be allowed to take war payments from its zone.

With this decision the three leaders began moving down the path to a divided Germany. The western half of Germany would remain under British, French, and United States control. The eastern half would stay in Soviet hands. The capital city of Berlin, 110 miles (177 km) deep in the Soviet zone, would also be carved up among the four nations.

All too quickly the world was dividing into two camps. The United States dominated one. The Soviet Union dominated the other.

### The Idea of Containment

Over the next seven months, Truman's and Stalin's mistrust of one another grew. Stalin continued to oppress most of Eastern Europe, forcing loyalty to the Soviet Union through phony trials and executions. In the Middle East, Stalin kept his troops in Iran long after United States and British troops had pulled out. Iran complained before the United Nations, and Truman protested as well. In early 1946 the United States gave Britain a \$3.5 billion loan but ignored a Soviet request for help.

On February 9, 1946, Stalin added to the growing tension with an important speech in which he declared that capitalism was a danger to world peace. Capitalism and communism, he said, would eventually clash. Because of that danger, he would protect Soviet security by stopping trade with the West and developing modern weaponry no matter how high the cost. In the United States, Supreme Court Justice William Douglas said the speech sounded like "a declaration of World War III."

Truman then received a momentous 16-page telegram from George Kennan, a brilliant young diplomat at the American embassy in Moscow. An expert in Soviet history and culture, Kennan advised Truman that the United States needed to pursue "long-term, patient, but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies." **Containment**—the restriction of communism to its current borders—was the only way to secure the peace.

A few weeks later, in March 1946, Winston Churchill supported this view in a famous speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri. Somberly he warned that "from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an

## GALLERY OF PRESIDENTS

### Harry S Truman

1945-1953

"The American people desire, and are determined to work for, a world in which all nations and all peoples are free to govern themselves as they see fit. . . . Democracy alone can supply the vitalizing force to stir the peoples of the world into triumphant action, not only against their human oppressors, but also against their ancient enemies—hunger, misery, and despair."

Inaugural Address, January 20, 1949



THE HARRY S. TRUMAN LIBRARY

#### BACKGROUND

- ▶ Born 1884; Died 1972
- ▶ Democrat, Missouri
- ▶ Served in the Senate 1935-1944
- ▶ Elected Vice President 1944
- ▶ Assumed presidency 1945
- ▶ Elected to full term 1948

#### ACHIEVEMENTS IN OFFICE

- ▶ United Nations founded (1945)
- ▶ Marshall Plan (1947)
- ▶ North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1949)

iron curtain has descended across the continent." Furthermore, Churchill warned, English-speaking people should join forces against the Soviet threat. "There is nothing the Communists admire so much as strength and nothing for which they have less respect than for military weakness."

## Cold War Is Declared

### Foreign Aid Blocks Communism

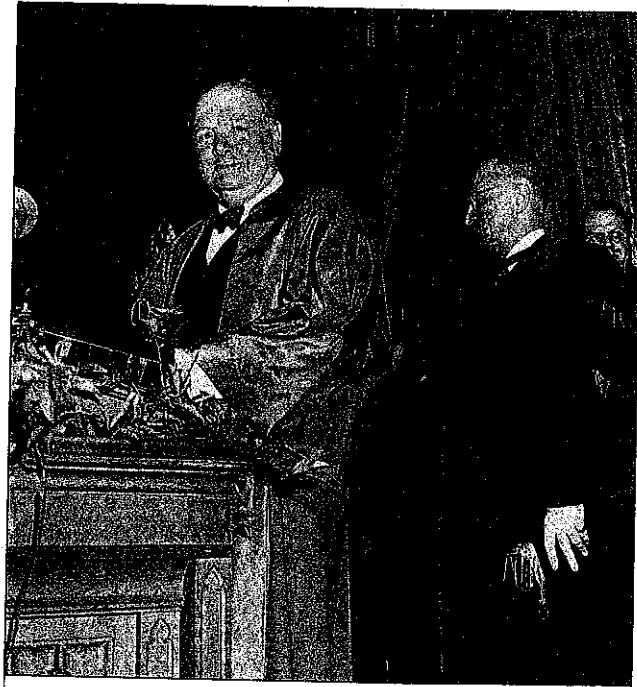
Churchill's speech gave the world a clear picture of the future: The West, led by the United States, would resist any Soviet attempts to expand its influence in the world. The **cold war** had begun—a United States–Soviet conflict in which the two powers would avoid fighting each other directly but would block each other's goals around the world.

### The Truman Doctrine

In February 1947, the British gave the United States a chance to put containment to work. Nearly bankrupt at the end of the war, the British asked the United States government to take over support of the Greek and Turkish governments. The Soviet Union was trying to force the Turks to share control of a key shipping channel between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. In Greece the government was fighting Communist rebels, although the Soviet Union was not directly involved.

Truman talked to his advisers, who convinced him that the United States had to act. Otherwise, they believed, the Communists might succeed, and that would "open three continents to Soviet penetration."

Truman agreed but knew he had to convince a Congress that wanted to reduce taxes—not raise them. He would have to "scare the American people" and Congress into supporting the plan.



**Iron Curtain Speech** Winston Churchill speaks at Westminster College. What was Churchill's famous speech about?

On March 12, 1947, Truman called a joint session of Congress. In his speech he grimly pictured a threatening world:

**A**t the present moment, nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies

### THE ROAD TO THE COLD WAR, 1945–1948

February 1945  
Stalin demands  
Soviet power in  
Eastern Europe.

July 1945–February 1946  
Stalin declares capitalism a threat  
to peace; containment policy is  
proposed by the United States.

February 1947  
Truman Doctrine  
is presented; United States sends  
\$400 million to Turkey and Greece  
to stop communism.

1945

1946

1947

1948

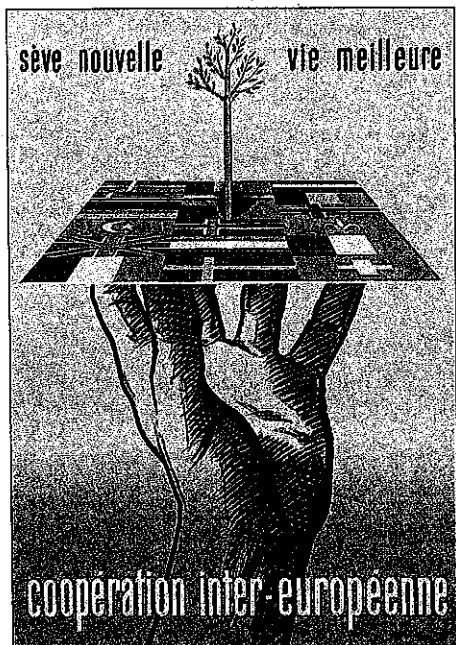
April 1945  
Truman criticizes  
Soviets for not holding  
elections in Poland.

July 1945  
Truman confronts  
Soviets at Potsdam.

March 1946  
Churchill  
gives "iron curtain speech."

April 1948  
Truman  
approves Marshall Plan.





**Marshall Plan** A poster urges European cooperation with the Marshall Plan, which is seen as an opportunity for new growth and new life. How did nations qualify for Marshall Plan aid?

upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

—Harry S Truman, Speech to Joint Session of Congress, March 12, 1947

Truman went on to state that the United States must help all free people who were “resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures.” Then he asked for \$400 million in military and economic aid to support the Greek and Turkish governments. Although many observers felt that Truman painted too harsh a picture, his dramatic appeal worked. Congress approved the request about one month later.

The so-called Truman Doctrine defined United States foreign policy for the next 20 years. Most Americans now saw communism as a worldwide threat to democracy that had to be resisted. The cold war soon became not just a struggle for territory but a fight between two opposing views of the world.

### The Marshall Plan

Truman and his advisers knew that military aid was only part of the answer. In June 1947, Secretary of State George Marshall suggested another way to bolster freedom—a plan for helping Europe rebuild.

Although the war had been over for two years, Europeans still struggled to survive. Millions of people were sick, homeless, and hungry. In May 1947, Churchill lamented that Europe was “a rubble heap . . . a breeding ground of pestilence [disease] and hate.”

Conditions like these were not only heartbreaking but also dangerous. Such terrible suffering provided ideal conditions for communism to grow, and already Communist parties were gathering strength in France and Italy. A ruined, starving Europe would drain the American economy—and American businesses desperately depended on European markets.

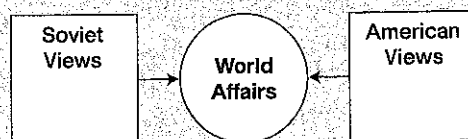
Marshall’s plan involved spending billions of dollars to help put Europe, including the USSR, back on its feet. To qualify for the aid, nations had to agree to spend the dollars on American goods. At first many conservatives in Congress disagreed with the plan, but events in Eastern Europe soon changed their minds. The Soviets rejected the plan, criticizing it as the United States’s way of taking over Europe. In February 1948, the Communist party seized control of Czechoslovakia, completing the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.

Two months later Truman approved Congress’s bill for \$17 billion in aid to Europe over 5 years. Sixteen nations participated in the plan, and by 1952 it was more successful than anyone had dreamed. The Communist party in Western Europe was severely weakened. Western European industries had increased their output by 64 percent, and the prosperity of the United States was ensured. At the same time, however, tensions with the Soviet Union continued to grow.

## SECTION ASSESSMENT

### Main Idea

1. Use a diagram like this one to show how differing world views paved the way for a cold war between the United States and Soviet Union.



### Vocabulary

2. Define: containment, cold war.

### Checking Facts

3. What was the toll taken in Russian life and property during World War II? Which six Eastern European nations did Stalin demand control over at Yalta?
4. Describe the commitment of the United States to rebuild Europe as part of the Marshall Plan.

### Critical Thinking

5. **Making Comparisons** Why did the Soviets prefer Roosevelt’s style of diplomacy to Truman’s?

# The Cold War Deepens

JUNE 1948: UNITED STATES AIR FORCE HEADS FOR BERLIN

ON A LAZY SATURDAY MORNING IN 1948, LIEUTENANT COLONEL GUY B. DUNN, JR., HEADED FOR A GOLF GAME NEAR BROOKLEY AIR FORCE BASE IN ALABAMA. Before he could get to the course, though, Colonel George S. Cassidy told him they had to get to work—fast. They had to organize 12 aircraft, 3 crews per aircraft, and 62 maintenance people to start a squadron of planes. Their destination—Berlin.

Dunn and his group got underway quickly. Once airborne and droning over the Atlantic, Dunn's colleague Lieutenant Colonel Jim Haun got on the radio. From the air he organized the rest of the squadron, calling on crews from Travis Air Force Base in California and Great Falls Air Force Base in Montana.

The 12 planes heading to Berlin were cargo planes on a mission of mercy—not bombers. Just two weeks later, though, Truman ordered 60 B-29 bombers—the



UPI/BETTMAN

### Berlin Airlift

Young Berliners are glad to see cargo planes arrive with much-needed supplies.

“atomic bombers”—to bases in Great Britain. There they would be within easy striking range of Moscow.

## Berlin Crisis

### Soviets in Germany

Not since the cold war began had the United States and the Soviet Union inched so close to war. Threatening speeches and hostile policies had deepened the two countries' fear of each other. Now they had a powder keg on their hands—Berlin.

Since the end of the war, Soviet and American plans for Germany had put the two nations on a collision course. The United States wanted a strong Germany to promote the recovery of Western Europe and to help contain communism. The Soviets demanded a powerless Germany that could never attack the Soviet Union again.

## GUIDE TO READING

### Main Idea

Both the Soviets and Chinese Communists tested the United States policy of containment, triggering a dangerous arms race and the Korean War.

### Vocabulary

- ▶ land reform
- ▶ arms race
- ▶ limited war

### Read to Find Out . . .

- ▶ the causes of the Berlin blockade and the Communist takeover of China and the effect of each event on United States foreign policy.
- ▶ how the Korean War strengthened the powers of the presidency and the United States military.

Unable to find a common solution, the two powers pursued their own aims in the zones of Germany and Berlin that they controlled. The United States, Britain, and France hammered out plans to rebuild the three western zones, tie their economies to the rest of Europe, and lay the groundwork for a free West German state. The Soviets viewed these plans with growing anger and alarm.

On June 18, 1948, tensions reached a breaking point when the United States, Britain, and France announced a new currency for the three western zones and West Berlin. Outraged, the Soviet government angrily reminded the Western powers that at Potsdam they had agreed to treat Germany as one country. The Soviets warned them to scrap their currency plan or accept a Soviet currency system for the eastern zone and *all* of Berlin.

Over the next three days, tempers flared. Western leaders reminded the Soviets they had no authority in West Berlin. The Soviets insisted that Berlin was part of their territory. At meetings on June 22, the powers searched for a compromise but gave up at 10:00 P.M.

### Showdown in Berlin

The next morning, Soviet leaders declared that their currency would start circulating the following day. It would be the official currency in the Soviet zone and all four zones of Berlin. Soviet troops then blockaded the highways and railroads crossing the eastern zone to West Berlin and shut off electric power in West Berlin.

Suddenly 2 million West Berliners found themselves sealed off from the outside world, with no way to import food and fuel. By isolating West Berlin, Stalin hoped to



SOLOVETZMAN NEWSPHOTOS

**Help Arrives** This plane carries the first shipment of coal to Berlin. Why did Truman choose an airlift rather than troops to open the roads to Berlin?

force the Allies into giving up their plans for West Germany or surrendering Berlin to the Communists.

Truman seemed to have two choices—order American troops to open Berlin and risk World War III, or surrender Berlin to Stalin. His advisers, however, had another idea. After Truman heard it, he declared, “We are going to stay—period.”

Taking advantage of a 1945 agreement to keep three air corridors open to Berlin, Truman launched an airlift. He ordered more than 50 C-54 and 80 C-47 cargo planes, all war-weary and in need of repair, to fly everything from milk, potatoes, blankets, and coal to clothing and vitamins into West Berlin’s Tempelhof and Gatow airports.

### Airlift Saves Berlin

For 11 months American and British pilots worked to exhaustion. At first they landed every 3 minutes, carrying in 2,400 pounds (1,089.6 kg) of supplies a day. At the peak of the airlift, the planes set down on makeshift runways every 45 seconds, day and night. Feverishly, crews unloaded some 13,000 tons (11,791 t) of supplies a day. The effort—some 277,000 flights delivering 2 million tons (1.8 million t) of supplies—melted wartime hatred between the Americans and Germans.

Before long West Berliners by the hundreds were traveling out to Tempelhof to thank the pilots. They brought whatever gifts they had—flowers, hand-knitted sweaters, treasured family heirlooms. “An old man, so

## HISTORY



### Student Web Activity 17

Visit the *American Odyssey* Web site at [americanodyssey.glencoe.com](http://americanodyssey.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter 17—Student Web Activities** for an activity relating to the cold war.

thin you could see through him, showed up with a watch that would have fed him for months on the black market," recalled the American public affairs officer. "He insisted on giving it to an American. He called it 'a little token from an old and grateful heart.'"

The blockade was a complete disaster for Stalin. World opinion turned against the Soviet Union and its tactic of starving innocent people to achieve its ends. The United States, however, emerged a resourceful hero, and Berlin quickly became a symbol of America's fight against communism.

In May 1949, Stalin lifted the blockade, but the strong West Germany he had tried to prevent now became a reality. Late in May the United States, Britain, and France agreed to form the Federal Republic of Germany, sealing tight the once loose border between the eastern and western zones. In October 1949, Stalin countered by declaring the German Democratic Republic of Eastern Germany. With those decisions Europe lay divided in half, and the Allied Powers saw that a new alliance was needed.

### Allies Form NATO

The Berlin blockade convinced the Allies that Western Europe needed military as well as economic support to remain free. In April 1949, a month before Stalin lifted the blockade, the United States, Canada, and 10 European

nations formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Not since the Revolutionary War had the United States joined a military alliance with Europe.

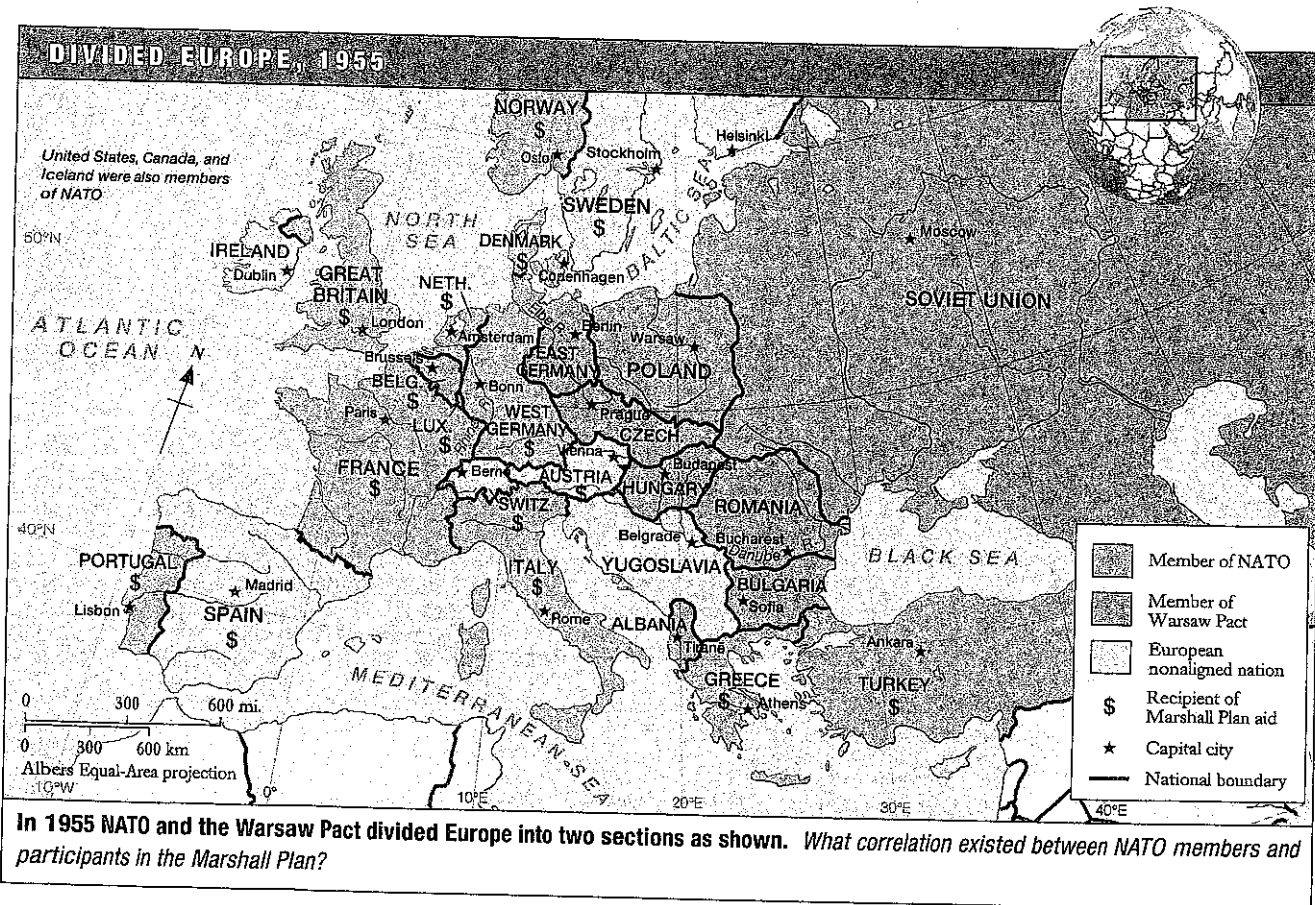
In Truman's mind, NATO would work like a "trip-wire." If the Soviet Union dared to invade Western Europe, it would "trip the wire" and set off an American military response. Said Truman, "An armed attack against one or more [nations] in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all." NATO knit Western Europe together as a force and discouraged individual countries from staying uncommitted to the rest.

Truman also persuaded Congress to spend \$1.5 billion for military aid to NATO countries, beginning a military buildup in the United States. A few years later, in 1955, the Soviet Union matched NATO with the Warsaw Pact, a Soviet-Eastern Europe alliance planted squarely across the iron curtain.

## The Cold War in Asia

### Changes Rock the Far East

While the cold war unfolded in Europe, massive changes rocked the Far East. Throughout Asia, British, French, and Dutch colonies began demanding their





**Mao inspects the Red Army** Mao Zedong reviews his troops as they prepare to march behind enemy lines. *Why did Chinese Communist and Nationalist forces unite during World War II?*

freedom. Stretched thin by the job of rebuilding at home, the European powers had little choice but to give in. In 1947 Britain granted freedom to India and to Pakistan—which later split into Pakistan and Bangladesh—and in 1949 the Dutch gave up control of Indonesia.

### Civil War in China

At the end of World War II, revolution was also raging in China, one of the key allies of the United States. There, Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), leader of the Nationalist government, was fighting a civil war with Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), leader of the Communist forces.

To most Americans, Jiang's success seemed essential to world peace. They believed a strong anti-Communist government in China, the most populous country in the world, would block Soviet expansion and give the United States an important trading partner. Mao's success, many feared, could open Asia to Soviet control.

Yet this view of China was too simple. For one thing, Americans did not understand the Soviets' mistrust of Mao. A brilliant leader, Mao described himself as part tiger and part monkey—part ruthless and part clever. Stalin did not trust Mao or his brand of communism, saying once that "the Chinese Communists are not

really Communists. They are 'margarine' Communists." A weak China, like a weak Germany, would have pleased Stalin more. Likewise, Americans failed to understand a major cause of the Chinese civil war—the oppression by a landlord class of millions of peasant farmers.

In the early 1910s, the Nationalist party swept into power, promising to rid China of foreign powers and to institute **land reform**—redistribution of property to the land-hungry peasants. Once in power, however, the Nationalists ignored the needs of the peasants and put up with corruption at all levels of government. Furthermore, Jiang forced the Communists who helped put him in power out of the government. By the late 1920s, the Communists and the Nationalists were locked in battle.

When the Japanese invaded China in 1937, the Nationalists and the Communists joined forces to defeat the Japanese. As the fighting wore on, however, the fortunes of the Nationalists and the Communists changed dramatically.

Within a year Japanese forces crushed the Nationalist armies and conquered China's coast and river valleys—the industrial and farming heart of the country. With this defeat, the Nationalists lost much of their military strength and their power base.

By contrast, the Communists took advantage of the war to expand their control in the countryside. Stepping in where the Japanese had destroyed normal life, the Communists set up governments and small police forces. They gave peasants their own plots of land. In time, more and more people felt Mao's Communists protected and took care of them.

By the end of World War II, Communist forces had grown from about 100,000 in 1937 to more than 900,000. As their shoestring army attracted more followers, they began to fight Jiang. Soon they welcomed deserters from Jiang's poorly fed, sickly army into their own ranks.

### Truman Steps In

Late in 1945 Truman sent George Marshall to meet with Jiang and Mao and find a way for the two leaders to share control. The idea, however good, was doomed. Both Mao and Jiang wanted to control China alone.

At this point, Truman had to choose a side, and he chose Jiang's. To fuel the Nationalist cause, the United States sent more than \$3 billion to help solve China's problems. In return Truman told Jiang to stop his friends from helping themselves to the treasury, to take care of his tattered army, and to answer the cry for land reforms by dividing the land more fairly among the people.

Jiang continued to ignore these problems, while Mao's forces began winning battles. By January 1949, Jiang's forces abandoned Beijing. In May Mao seized Shanghai; in October he took Guangzhou and declared the People's Republic of China. Jiang fled to the offshore island of Taiwan in December, and in the American view, 500 million Chinese were "lost" to communism.

### The Response of the United States

To many Americans, Mao's victory represented a frightening failure of containment. The most populous nation on the earth had fallen into the enemy camp. "Who lost China?" many demanded to know.

Republican leaders blamed Truman and the State Department. They believed more military support would have stopped Mao.

Truman responded that China was not America's to lose. Jiang, Truman said, lost because he refused to solve his nation's problems. The United States already had expensive programs to pay for in Europe. A full-scale war in China would have been too costly.

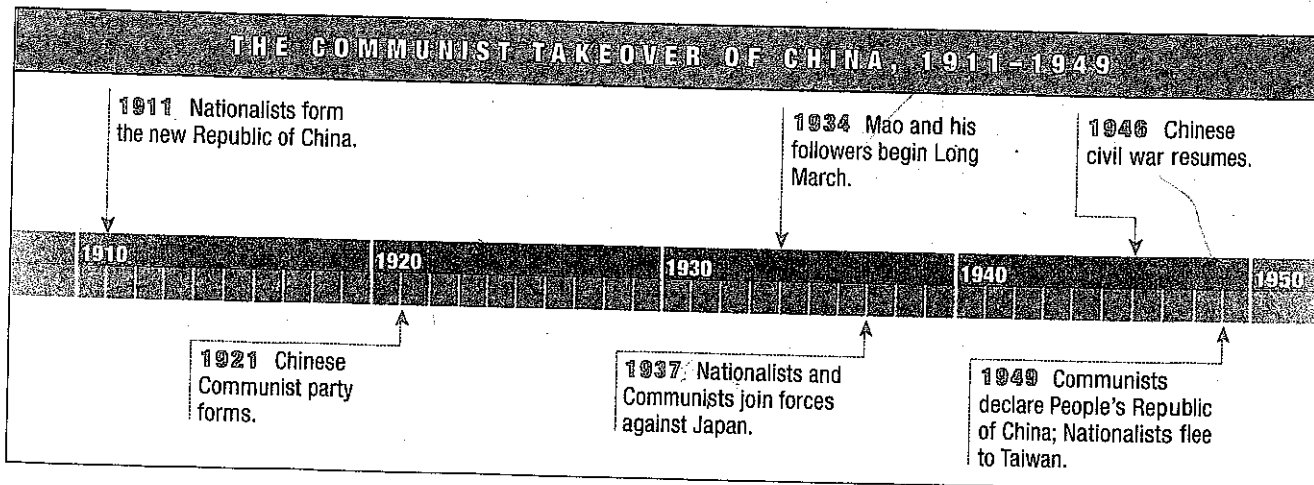
Still, the failure of containment was disturbing. To anchor freedom in Asia, the National Security Council urged the President to support the remaining friendly nations in Asia. Jiang's government was one. Another was Bao Dai's regime in Vietnam.

### The Arms Race Begins

As hard as the Truman administration tried to keep people calm, events in Berlin and China unnerved everybody—including Truman himself. In January 1950, he ordered a high-level study of the defenses of the United States. The outcome of that study—the top secret National Security Council Report NSC-68—suggested beginning a massive buildup of weapons to stay ahead of the Soviets. The subsequent competition between the United States and the Soviet Union for greater military strength became known as the **arms race**.

According to NSC-68, the Soviet Union should be considered an enemy with a "design for world domination." As the leader of the "free world," only the United States could be expected to lead the fight against Soviet expansion. That job, however, required a huge army and navy and the best weapons that money could buy. To pay for such a massive defense system would require more than three times the \$13 billion defense budget.

Truman and his advisers agreed with the report, but they worried about persuading Congress and the public to support a huge increase in taxes. "We were sweating over it," said a State Department aide, "and then, thank God, Korea came along."

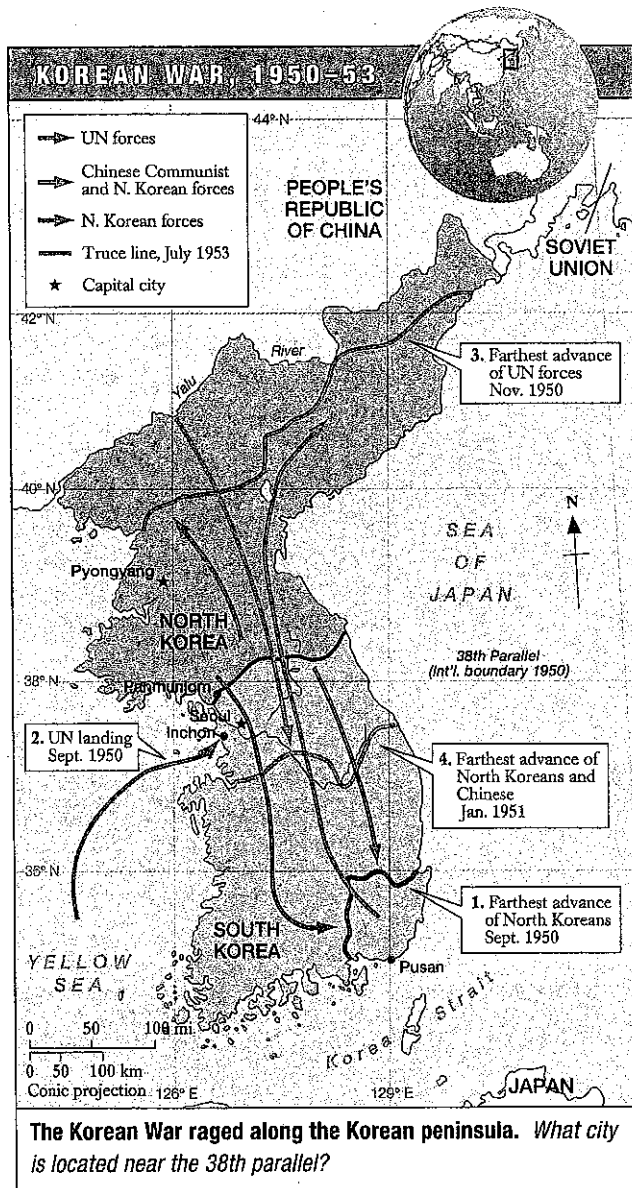


# Hot War Flares in Korea

## North Korean Communists Invade South

Korea, which had been brutally ruled by Japan since 1910, suffered a fate much like Germany's. At the end of World War II, the victors divided Korea at the 38th parallel, leaving a Communist government in the north and a pro-Western government in the south. Each government wanted to reunite Korea; however, it wanted to do so on its own terms. North Korea struck first.

On June 25, 1950, some 90,000 North Korean troops following Soviet-made tanks poured across the 38th parallel. In a matter of days, they overran the South Korean capital of Seoul. They "struck like a cobra," recalled General Douglas MacArthur.



## Truman Responds

Truman saw the assault as a test of containment. On June 27, without seeking approval from Congress, he ordered air and naval forces to Korea. He then sought the help of the United Nations.

The Soviet delegate to the UN Security Council was not present to block Truman's request. He had walked out in protest of the council's refusal to seat a representative from Mao's China. The rest of the council condemned the Korean invasion and voted money to help South Korean, American, and supporting UN forces repel the attack.

By the summer the well-trained North Korean army had cornered poorly trained UN troops in the southeast around Pusan. UN air forces, led by American pilots, inflicted heavy damage on North Korean ground troops in a "scorched earth" campaign that destroyed thousands of villages and exacted a huge civilian toll. On September 15, MacArthur landed UN forces behind enemy lines at Inchon, a port city near Seoul. With some 18,000 marines and tanks, he freed Seoul and then drove the North Koreans back to the 38th parallel.

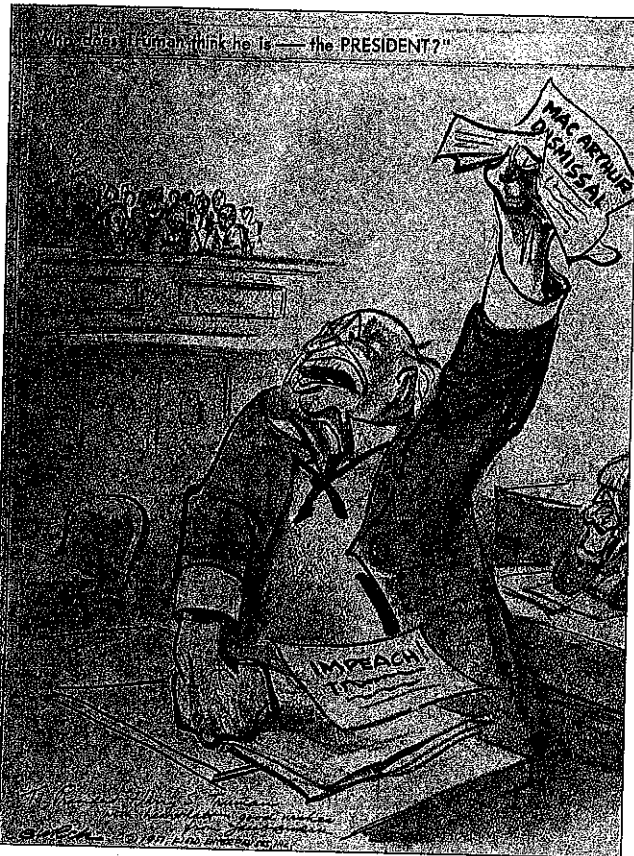
MacArthur smelled victory and persuaded Truman to let him attempt to unify Korea under Western control. By November MacArthur had pinned North Korean troops against the Chinese border at the Yalu River. Stubborn and overconfident, he ignored warnings from Mao to back off, bombed bridges crossing into China, and launched yet another attack to the north.

In late November, Mao sent Chinese soldiers streaming across the Yalu, taking MacArthur by surprise. Through the bitterly cold winter, Chinese forces drove UN troops back across the 38th parallel, recaptured Seoul, and inflicted terrible losses on UN units. The war slowed to a brutal stalemate, with soldiers on both sides fighting and dying over small, snow-covered hills.

## Truman Fires MacArthur

MacArthur demanded permission to attack China, using nuclear weapons if necessary. "In war there is no substitute for victory," he insisted. "We are trying to prevent a world war—not start one," Truman shot back. The President made clear his intentions to seek a peace settlement.

MacArthur publicly criticized Truman's policy of **limited war**—containing the conflict to one area and avoiding the use of nuclear weapons. In April 1951, Truman fired MacArthur for insubordination and for undermining the Constitution's provision for civilian control of the military.



HARRY S. TRUMAN LIBRARY

**MacArthur Fired** Truman's firing of General Douglas MacArthur was the beginning of a decline in the President's popularity. Why was Truman criticized throughout his second term?

## The Korean War's Impact

### Support Grows for a Stronger Military

The Korean War settled little. When the fighting ended in 1953, the official border was set at the cease-fire line, not far from where the fighting began. Korea continued to have a Communist regime in the north and a pro-Western government in the south. Still, the conflict had far-reaching effects.

First, the Korean War claimed more than 2 million civilian lives and left a legacy of bitterness lasting into the 2000s. Second, it convinced Americans to support a huge military buildup. Moving faster than NSC-68 suggested, Congress increased defense spending from \$22.3 billion in 1951 to \$50.4 billion in 1953. The United States emerged from the Korean War with an army of 3.5 million, overseas military bases, and powerful new weapons like the long-range B-52 bomber. Plus, the country now had a stockpile of 750 nuclear warheads, an increase of 600 in 2 years.

The public also supported Truman's decisive actions in Korea, overlooking the fact that he never sought a declaration of war from Congress. His independent action enhanced the power of the presidency and laid the basis for later undeclared wars.

President Truman's action ignited a storm of public fury. After all, Americans had just won a world war. Why not let MacArthur, a warrior and a hero, rid Asia of communism? Truman's popularity took a nosedive; only 31 percent of the public agreed with him, even though the Joint Chiefs of Staff had unanimously recommended MacArthur's dismissal. Returning home for the first time since World War II, MacArthur initially received widespread public support.

Many government officials supported Harry Truman, however. They knew that the United States could not afford to provoke the Soviet Union into open warfare. Nor could the United States expend all of its resources in Asia, leaving the continent of Europe unprotected. After a much-publicized United States Senate investigation of MacArthur's dismissal, popular support for his position declined sharply.

In July 1951, shortly after General MacArthur's firing, United Nations representatives and North Koreans met to begin peace talks. The fighting and the talks dragged on for two more years in a bloody stalemate. The peace talks were finally settled by the next President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

## SECTION ASSESSMENT

### Main Idea

1. Use a chart like this one to show Communist challenges to containment and the United States response.

Policy of Containment	
Soviet Challenges	United States Response

### Vocabulary

2. Define: land reform, arms race, limited war.

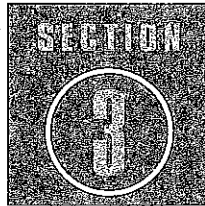
### Checking Facts

3. What does the acronym NATO stand for? What was the name of NATO's Soviet counterpart?
4. Why did Truman fire General MacArthur?

### Critical Thinking

5. **Drawing Conclusions** How might a Nationalist victory in the Chinese civil war have affected the outcome of the Korean conflict?





# Cold War in the Atomic Age

AUGUST 1949: THE SOVIET UNION JOINS THE NUCLEAR CLUB

THUNDER BOOMED OMINOUSLY, AND HAIL CLATTERED DOWN ON THE WHITE HOUSE ROOF THE MORNING OF SEPTEMBER 23, 1949. Just after 10:30 A.M., White House reporters finished a routine meeting with Charles Ross, President Harry S Truman's press secretary. On their way out, however, Ross's secretary, Myrtle Bergheim, told the reporters to stick around. She called them out of the nearby pressroom and back into Ross's office just seconds before 11:00 A.M. None of them knew what was coming, and none of them realized how perfectly the storm outside would fit the news.



THE BOSTON GLOBE

### Atomic Scare

The world became a more frightening place for many Americans when they learned that the USSR had exploded an atomic bomb.

As the last reporter filed in, Ross said, "Close the door. Nobody is leaving until everybody has this statement."

Ross handed each reporter a short statement by Truman. The first reporter to scan the copy gasped; in seconds the whole group tore out of Ross's office and down the hall for the pressroom phones. In the mad rush, somebody crashed into a stuffed deer head and broke off its nose.

When the presidential statement hit the papers, it stunned the nation. "We have

evidence," Truman announced, "that within recent weeks an atomic explosion occurred in the USSR."

## GUIDE TO READING

### Main Idea

Soviet nuclear tests and the launching of a Soviet satellite made the arms race more deadly—and peace more imperative—than at any time in history.

### Vocabulary

- ▶ massive retaliation
- ▶ brinksmanship
- ▶ military-industrial complex

### Read to Find Out . . .

- ▶ how the Soviet atomic bomb affected United States society and the arms race.
- ▶ reasons for the policy of massive retaliation and how it helped spur the growth of a disarmament movement.
- ▶ how *Sputnik* brought far-reaching changes to the United States.

# Living With Fear

## Two Nuclear Powers

With this chilling announcement, the United States's sense of security went up in a cloud of smoke—a dark, fearsome mushroom-shaped cloud. The world now had two nuclear powers, and what happened to Hiroshima and Nagasaki could just as easily happen to New York or Chicago or Los Angeles.

### Public Worry

When the atomic age burst into history at Hiroshima in 1945, Americans were shocked, confused, and terrified. Like children whistling in the dark, they also joked about the bomb. Stores had atomic sales, bars sold atomic cocktails, musicians wrote ballads and polkas about the bomb, but under the surface laughter ran a deep current of fear. Months passed before Americans got used to the idea of life with the bomb.

With Truman's announcement America's fears surged back to the surface. The media jumped on the story, both soothing the panic with helpful advice and intensifying fears with hair-raising descriptions. One radio show broadcast the following account of a make-believe nuclear attack on Chicago:

**M**ost of those in the center of the city were violently killed by the blast or by the following vacuum, which explosively burst their stomachs. . . .

Those few who escaped the blast, but not the gamma rays, died slowly after they had left the ruined city. No attempt at identification of the bodies or burial ever took place. Chicago was simply closed.

—NBC radio program,  
August 1949

To help calm the public's jangled nerves, Truman organized the Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA). Within months the agency flooded the country with posters and booklets telling people they *could* survive a nuclear war—if they were prepared.

How should Americans prepare? Best of all, they

could build some kind of underground bomb shelter. A simple one could be a trench covered with dirt. They could also take shelter in the family car or a well-stocked basement protected with piles of dirt around the outside walls.

If a shelter was not handy when an attack came, people learned to “jump in any . . . ditch or gutter” and “bury their faces in their arms.” Grade schools instructed children in these procedures. To keep from panicking during an attack, people were encouraged to use “little tricks to help steady their nerves—reciting jingles or the multiplication tables.”

Once again, all of America seemed preoccupied with nuclear war. Real estate agents offered houses in “safe locations.” Doctors and ministers took courses on coping with radiation injuries and panic. Entrepreneurs tried to sell every product they could dream up—burn medicine, ready-made bomb shelters, dog tags, even radiation-proof clothing for dad, mom, kids, and the dog.

### The Game Gets Deadlier

Scary as nuclear bombs were, most Americans thought the best way to prevent nuclear war was to have more and better bombs than the Soviets. Truman agreed. In January 1950, after a heated debate with his advisers, the President ordered scientists to develop a deadly hydrogen bomb, a superbomb. By late 1952, the scientists were ready to test the first H-bomb—nicknamed Mike—on a coral island in the South Pacific.

No one who saw the explosion after the bomb was dropped ever forgot it. Out of a blast of white heat, 5



**Bomb Shelter** Public fear of nuclear attack resulted in the building of backyard bomb shelters and numerous publications from the Federal Civil Defense Administration. *What caused Americans to become so fearful during the 1950s?*

UPI/BETTANN NEWSPHOTOS

times hotter than the center of the sun, billowed a monstrous mushroom-shaped cloud. Purple, gray, and yellow and nearly 100 miles (160.9 km) wide, it climbed 25 miles (40.2 km) into the sky. The blast carved a mile-long (1.6 km) crater in the bottom of the ocean and spilled radioactive dust over thousands of square miles. Nuclear scientists had let a terrible genie out of the bottle, and now there was no way to put it back.

## Eisenhower Elected

### A War Hero in the White House

Three days after the H-bomb Mike blew a coral island to smithereens, Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower won the 1952 presidential election. The World War II hero stepped into the White House at the height of the cold war. China had fallen. United States troops were bogged down in Korea. Growing stockpiles of atomic bombs had Americans on edge. In the midst of mounting danger, Ike seemed like the perfect leader.

Raised on the Kansas frontier and honed into a tough army officer by West Point and World War II, Eisenhower was both a seasoned soldier and a grandfather figure. He had an instinct for people, and his homespun charm won hearts instantly. Said one of Eisenhower's World War II compatriots: "He has the power of drawing the hearts of men towards him as a magnet attracts bits of metal. He merely has to smile at you, and you trust him at once." People, as the campaign buttons said, liked Ike.

### Eisenhower in Korea

Americans found President Eisenhower's upbeat outlook and his practicality comforting in dangerous times. They also liked his determination to settle the Korean War.

Before the election in 1952, Eisenhower had accused the Democrats of "mishandling the war," and vowed that his first job as President would be "to bring the Korean war to an early and honorable end. If that job requires a personal trip to Korea," Eisenhower had declared, "I shall make that trip."

True to his word, three weeks after the election, Eisenhower toured the Korean front and confirmed his hunch that peace talks offered the only way out. "Small attacks on small hills would not end this war." Still, Eisenhower took time to review other ways of ending the war, including full-scale war against China and nuclear attacks on Korea. Finally, though, he decided to demand peace talks backed up by a veiled threat to use nuclear weapons.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

The First Family Mamie and Ike's eight years in the White House was the longest they had lived in one place. What qualities did Eisenhower project to Americans?

The death of Joseph Stalin in March 1953 aided Eisenhower's search for peace. Communist leaders in China and North Korea could no longer be sure of Soviet help; nor could they be sure whether Eisenhower was bluffing or telling the truth about a nuclear attack. With little choice but to settle the fight, United Nations and Communist delegates finally signed an agreement in July 1953 dividing Korea into two parts at the truce line.

### Eisenhower and Dulles

With the Korean War behind him, Eisenhower could focus on the cold war and the arms race. Like Truman, Eisenhower was a passionate anti-Communist. Unlike Truman, however, Eisenhower stepped into office with a solid grasp of world affairs. He had lived in Latin America, Europe, and Asia. As a World War II general and, later, the commander of NATO, he had mingled with heads of state. Even so, Eisenhower wanted a secretary of state who would hold the line on communism and advise him on areas like the Middle East and Asia.

John Foster Dulles fit the bill. A polished international attorney, Dulles had spent more than 40 years in foreign relations. The son of a Presbyterian minister, white-haired Dulles was also deeply religious and fiercely anti-Communist. Many Americans found Dulles humorless and argumentative. Churchill once said that Dulles was the only "bull he knew who carried his own china shop with

him." Premier Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Union would later say of Dulles that he "knew how far he could push us and he never pushed us too far."

## A New Strategy

### Cold War Questions

Together, Eisenhower and Dulles took a fresh look at the cold war game board. Problems and unknowns were everywhere. Who would replace Stalin in the Soviet Union? How long could the United States afford to build bigger armies and navies and bombs? Was containment the best defense against communism? How did nuclear weapons figure into all of this?

In May 1953, Eisenhower assigned three top-level groups to study the situation, while he worked with defense officials to cut military costs. Out of these studies emerged a new containment policy.

### Massive Retaliation

Instead of depending on costly armies and navies to fight limited wars as Truman did, Eisenhower decided to rely on cheaper air power and nuclear weapons. This program, called the New Look, would retire 500,000 soldiers and 100,000 sailors but would increase the air force by 30,000 men. The new defense plan would save about \$4 billion a year, thereby providing "a bigger bang for the buck."

Smaller armies and navies required a different way to fight communism, so Eisenhower and Dulles proposed a new policy. If the Soviet Union attacked any nation, the United States would launch **massive retaliation**—an instant nuclear attack "by means and at places of our own



**John Foster Dulles** Dulles speaks before the United Nations. What policy did Eisenhower and Dulles propose to fight communism?

choosing." Such a vague threat, Eisenhower believed, would force the Communists to think twice before attacking because they could not be sure where the United States might strike.

Critics called this tough stance **brinkmanship**—the art of never backing down from a crisis, even if it meant pushing the nation to the brink of war. By keeping the Communists from testing every weak spot along their borders, the United States could stay out of small, limited wars that cost huge amounts of money.

To back up this tough stance, Eisenhower and Dulles also circled the Soviet Union and China with more American military bases and allies. By the end of the decade, Dulles had worked out mutual defense treaties with 43 countries around the globe.

## GALLERY OF PRESIDENTS

### Dwight David Eisenhower

1953 - 1961

"We must be ready to dare all for our country. For history does not long entrust the care of freedom to the weak or the timid. We must acquire proficiency in defense and display stamina in purpose. We must be willing, individually and as a Nation, to accept whatever sacrifices may be required of us. A people that values its privileges above its principles soon loses both."

Inaugural Address, January 20, 1953



THE BETTMAN ARCHIVE

#### BACKGROUND

- ▶ Born 1890; Died 1969
- ▶ Republican, Kansas
- ▶ Graduated West Point 1915
- ▶ Commanding general of United States forces in Europe 1942
- ▶ Supreme commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force in Europe 1943

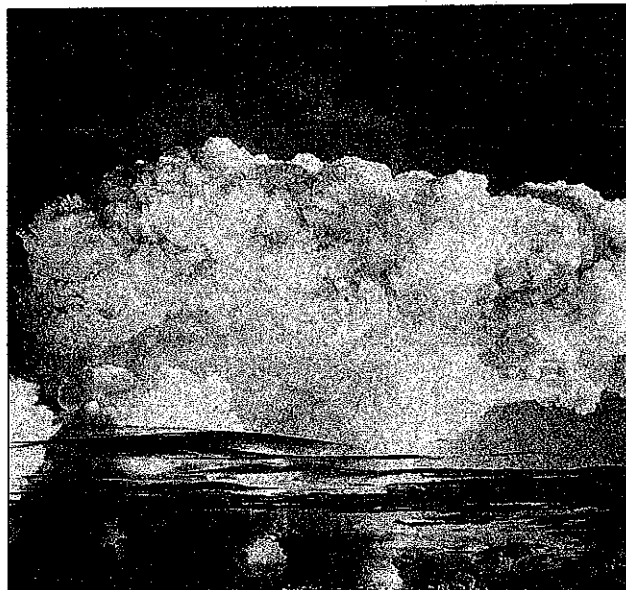
#### ACHIEVEMENTS IN OFFICE

- ▶ Southeast Asia Treaty Organization formed (1954)
- ▶ NASA formed (1958)

## Policy Dangers

The policy of massive retaliation had two dangerous results. First, it gave the United States only two extreme ways of responding to a Communist attack: either fight a nuclear battle or do nothing. The middle ground, using armies to fight small wars, virtually disappeared. The United States had to gamble on threats and Soviet insecurity to keep the peace.

Second, the Soviets did not sit idly by and let the United States sprint ahead in the arms race. Heavy spending by the United States for nuclear weapons spurred the Soviets to step up their own research, and in July 1953, they exploded an H-bomb in Siberia. "The U.S. and Soviet Union are like two scorpions in a bottle, each capable of killing the other but only at the risk of his own life," observed J. Robert Oppenheimer, father of the atomic bomb. The world had reached, in Churchill's words, a new "balance of terror."



**H-bomb Test** A mushroom-shaped cloud from a nuclear test looms over the Marshall Islands in the fall of 1952. What was the name of the biggest H-bomb the United States tested?

## Eisenhower Wages Peace

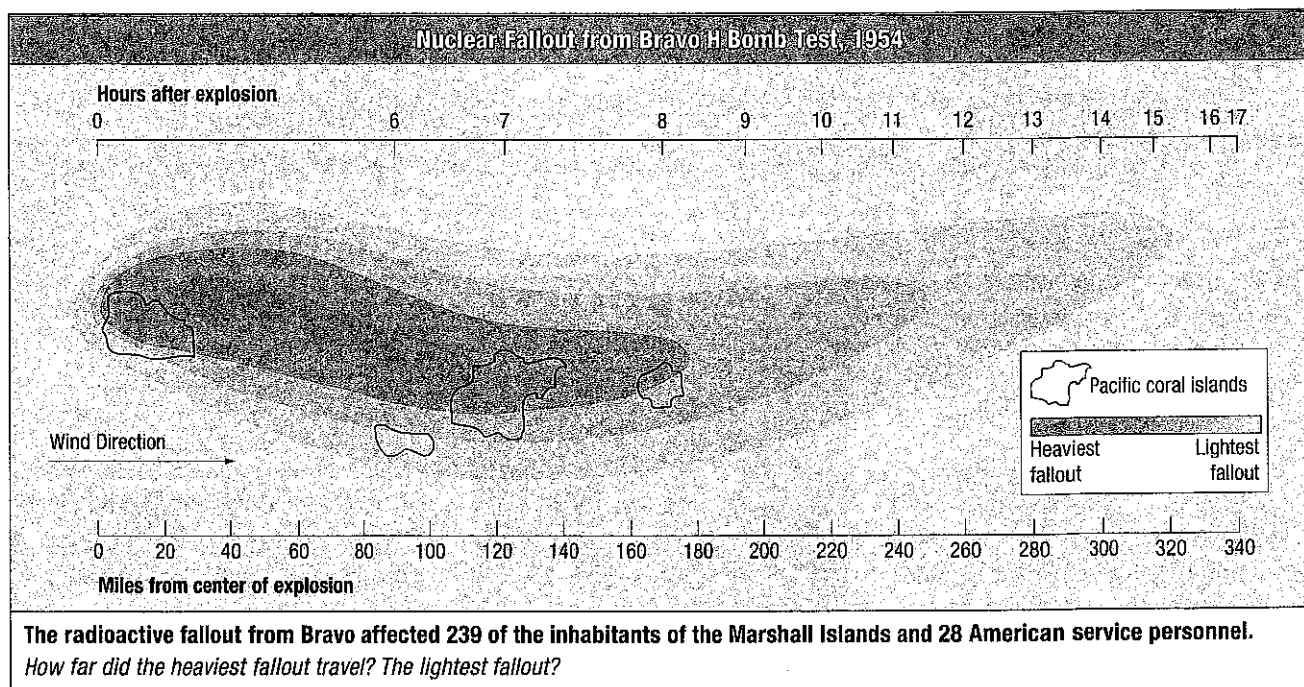
### A Plan for Nuclear Disarmament

Eisenhower was a realist. He knew he had to be tough with the Soviets, so he kept the war machine working. Like Oppenheimer, he understood that nuclear war was pointless. From the early days of his presidency, Eisenhower searched for ways to disarm atomic weapons.

A few weeks after Stalin's death, Eisenhower made his famous "Chance for Peace" speech before a group of newspaper editors. "An era ended with the death of

Joseph Stalin," Eisenhower said, inviting friendlier relations with the Soviet Union. He went on to spell out the high costs of cold war. "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies . . . a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed." Eisenhower closed with an appeal for nuclear disarmament.

In December 1953, Eisenhower carried his appeal to the United Nations. There he proposed an "atoms for peace" plan in which Soviets and Americans would contribute radioactive materials to a stockpile for peaceful uses.



## Fallout Fears

As Eisenhower worked for peace, arms research continued. On March 1, 1954, the United States set off the biggest H-bomb it had ever tested—the equivalent of 15 million tons (13.6 million metric tons) of TNT, nicknamed Bravo.

The massive explosion in the South Pacific created a radioactive cloud that rained deadly silver ash on 7,000 square miles (18,130 sq km) of ocean waters and islands. Worst of all, radioactive ash fell on 23 Japanese fishers aboard the *Lucky Dragon*, some 80 miles (128.7 km) from the blast. By the time the fishers got back to Japan, all 23 were sick with radiation poisoning. A few months later, Aikichi Kuboyama, the radioman, died.

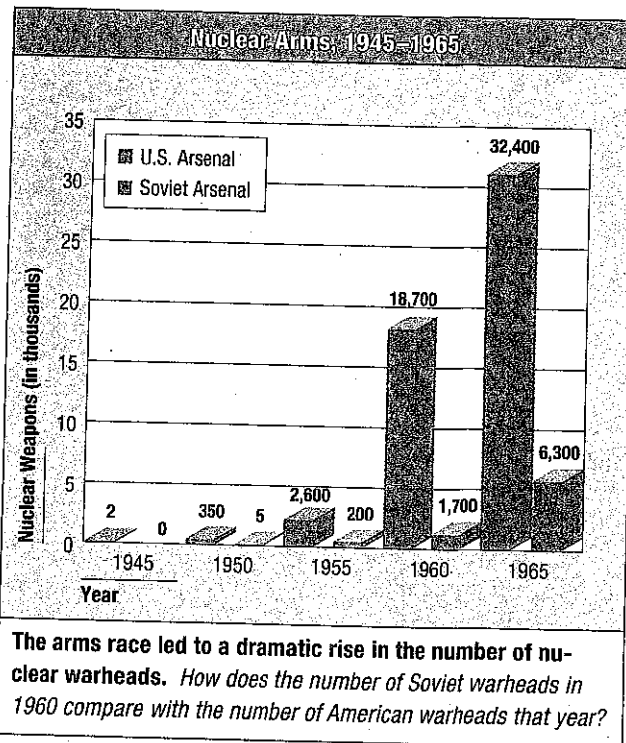
Suddenly people had something new to worry about—radioactive fallout. It was possible to live hundreds of miles from a nuclear blast and still be killed. Around the world, concern grew about nuclear tests and the effects of their deadly radioactive clouds.

## Talks in Geneva

By the autumn of 1954, international voices were clamoring for a halt to the arms race. Late that year Soviet and Western leaders finally agreed to meet the following summer—their first face-to-face talk since 1945.

Eisenhower flew to the meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, with high hopes of improving relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. The first few days of meetings went poorly, however. The Soviet leaders—Nikolay Bulganin and Nikita Khrushchev, the real power—“drank little and smiled much,” Eisenhower commented. Their actions seemed unnatural, rehearsed.

After several days, Eisenhower decided to loosen things up. Speaking earnestly to the Soviet leaders, he proposed the “open skies” idea in which the two nations would inspect each other’s military sites from the air. Bulganin agreed to think about the idea, but Khrushchev dismissed the plan as an obvious spying ploy. Ten years

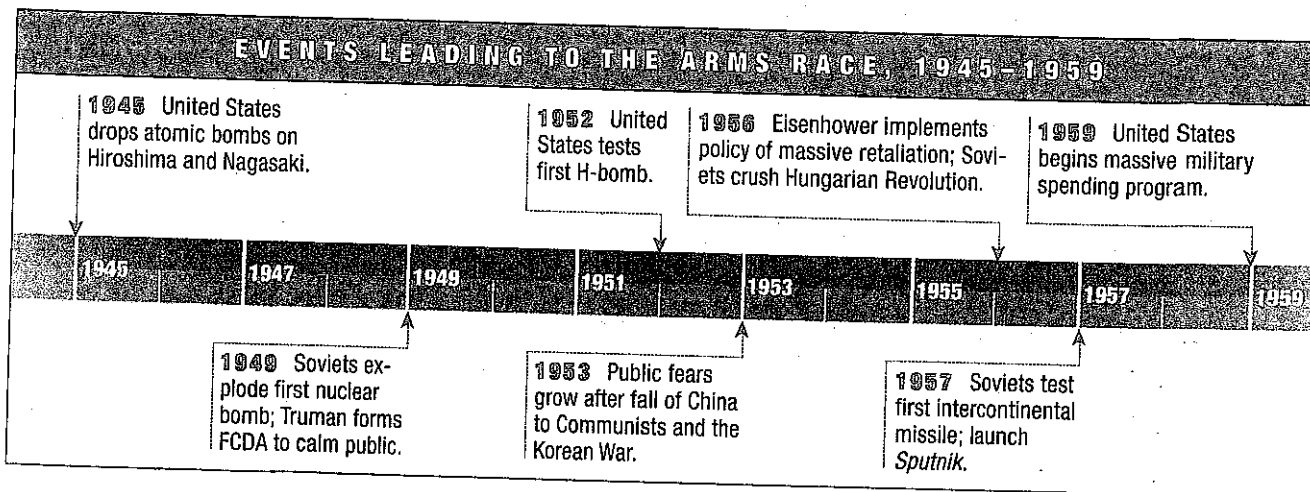


of bitter mistrust stood in the way of the idea, and in the end the Soviets let it die. Even so, the Geneva conference did end on an upbeat note—the powers had begun to talk again.

## The Deep Freeze Returns

### Soviet Power in Hungary

Through the rest of 1955 and into 1956, the cold war seemed to be thawing. The talks in Geneva had broken the ice, and back home Khrushchev made some astounding statements. In a momentous speech before the Party Congress in February 1956, he openly condemned Stalin’s crimes against the Soviet people. Moreover, he



stated that Communists and capitalists might be able to live together peacefully and even declared that the Soviets might tolerate different kinds of communism.

All over Eastern Europe, Khrushchev's words inspired people to seek more freedom. In Hungary a new government announced that the country would leave the Warsaw Pact and remain neutral. The Soviets responded with force. On November 4, 1956, Khrushchev sent 200,000 troops and 2,500 tanks into Budapest to put down an uprising of poorly armed students and workers. Khrushchev, the "bare-knuckle slugger" who was taking control, had revealed another side. Clearly, the cold war was far from over.

### ***Sputnik Fires the Arms Race***

If any hopes remained of slowing the arms race, they fizzled completely in the fall of 1957. On August 1, the Soviets tested their first successful intercontinental missile, a long-range missile carrying a nuclear warhead. On October 4, the Soviets jolted Americans when they

launched *Sputnik*, a 184-pound (83.5 kg) satellite, into orbit around the earth.

People read the news with awe and fear: the United States was running second in the survival race. Critics accused Eisenhower of "permitting a technological Pearl Harbor." A missile gap had developed, they cried, and now the United States was threatened by satellites they feared were capable of carrying weapons!

*Sputnik* shifted the arms race into high gear. Almost immediately Eisenhower increased the funding for missile development from \$4.3 billion in 1958 to \$5.3 billion in 1959. He launched the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), which worked feverishly to close the missile gap. With large new congressional appropriations, the Defense Department expanded the B-52 bomber fleet, built submarines outfitted with nuclear missiles, and installed a ring of short-range missiles in Europe.

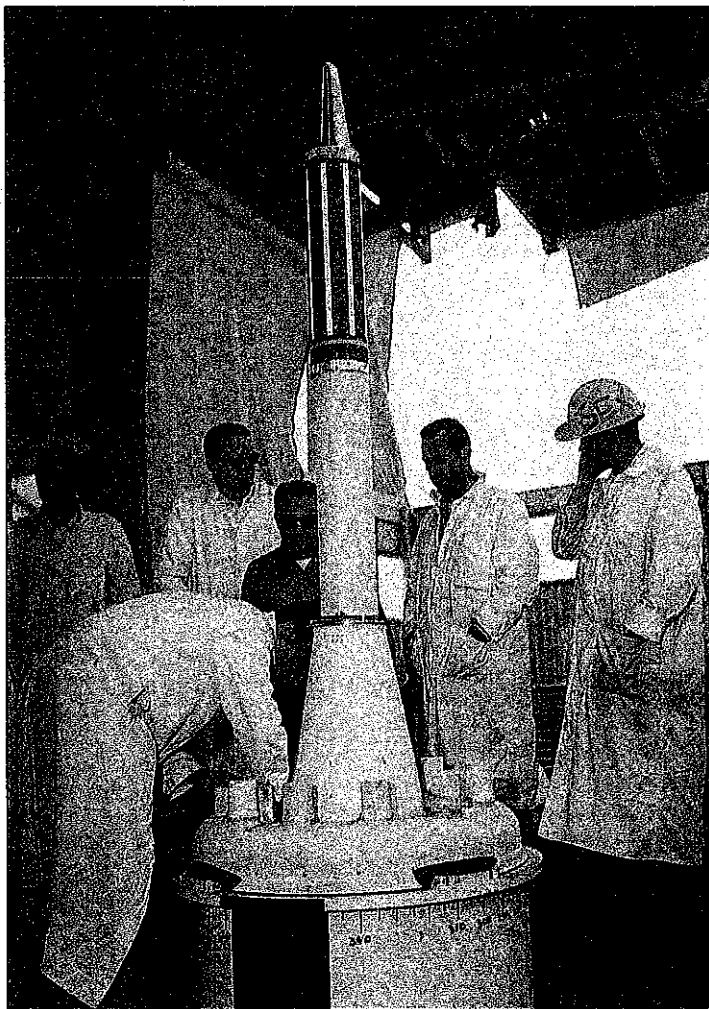
To make sure the United States would not be caught short again, the government poured money into education to train scientists and engineers. Billions of dollars also went to universities; nearly one-third of all university scientists and engineers directed their energies to full-time weapons research. A powerful military-educational-industrial combination was taking shape.

### **Protests Slow Testing**

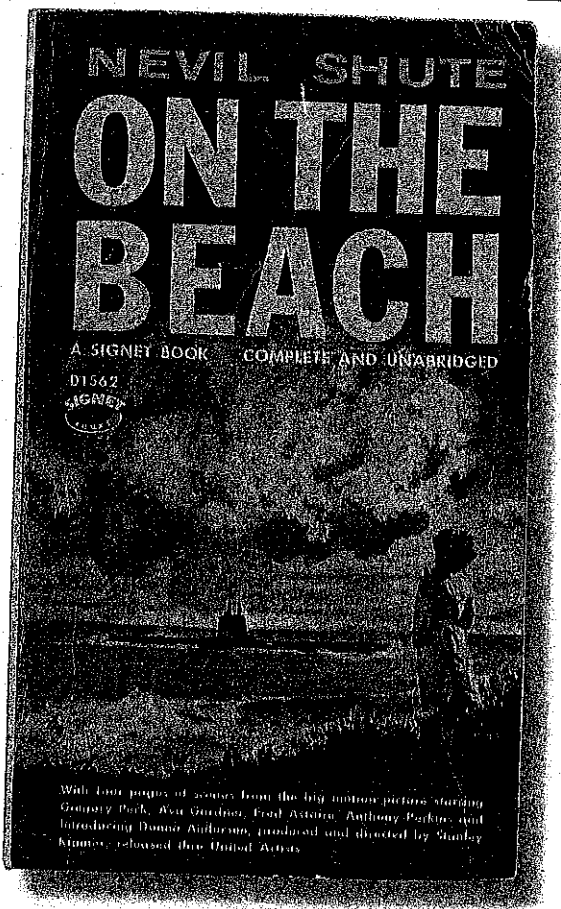
In spite of the Soviets' military achievements and the United States's headlong race to keep up, strong pressure was still building for arms control. The nuclear fallout scare of 1954 continued into 1955 when radioactive rain fell in Chicago. Scientists and doctors began to warn of fallout dangers like bone cancer and leukemia.

In 1957, the same year that *Sputnik* roared into orbit, a group of business, scientific, and publishing leaders established SANE, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Within a year its membership grew to 25,000, and SANE began pressuring for change with powerful newspaper ads: "We must stop the contamination of the air, the milk children drink, the food we eat."

In 1957 Nevil Shute's novel *On the Beach* hit the best-seller list, adding its strength to the growing antinuclear movement. Terrifyingly real, the book told the story of massive nuclear war that destroyed the Northern Hemisphere and sent clouds of radioactive dust swirling into the Southern Hemisphere. There, millions of people talked, planned, worried, cried—and waited for the end. In the book, Moira Davidson, a young Australian woman, rages at her friend, submarine commander Dwight Towers:



**The Space Race Begins** Technicians prepare *Explorer I*, the United States's first artificial earth satellite, for launch. *Why did Eisenhower increase funding for missile development?*



**People Fear Nuclear Fallout** Nevil Shute's novel helped galvanize public opinion against nuclear testing. What percentage of Americans in 1957 wanted the United States to stop H-bomb testing?

It's not fair. No one in the Southern Hemisphere ever dropped a bomb. . . . We had nothing to do with it. Why should we have to die because other countries nine or ten thousand miles away from us wanted to have a war? . . ."

There was a pause, and then she said angrily, "It's not that I'm afraid of dying, Dwight. We've all got to do that sometime. It's all the things I'm going to have to miss. . . . All my life I've wanted to see the Rue de Rivoli. I suppose it's the romantic name. It's silly, because I suppose it's just a street like any other street. But that's what I've wanted, and I'm never going to see it. Because there isn't any Paris now, or London, or New York."

—Nevil Shute, *On the Beach*, 1957

Forty newspapers serialized *On the Beach*, and eventually the book was made into a movie. The book contributed its weight to shifting public opinion. In 1957 a Gallup Poll found that 63 percent of Americans wanted the government to halt H-bomb tests.

The United States and the Soviet Union bowed to a growing world outcry and agreed to limit nuclear testing. In 1963 the two nuclear powers signed a test-ban treaty that banned nuclear tests in the atmosphere but permitted them underground and in outer space.

### The Military-Industrial Threat

Changes in nuclear testing solved one problem, but the United States and the Soviet Union continued to invent and stockpile new doomsday weapons. In the process, a new threat was born in the United States—the vast, interwoven military establishment and arms industry. At the end of his presidency, Eisenhower alerted the nation to the danger of this **military-industrial complex**.

In the councils of government we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence . . . by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

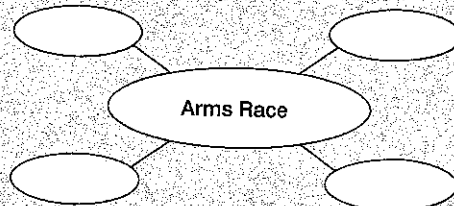
We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes.

—President Dwight Eisenhower,  
Farewell Speech, 1961

## SECTION ASSESSMENT

### Main Idea

1. Use a diagram like this one to show ways in which the arms race became more deadly during the 1950s.



### Vocabulary

2. Define: massive retaliation, brinkmanship, military-industrial complex.

### Checking Facts

3. Why did Eisenhower appoint Dulles as his secretary of state?
4. What steps did the United States take to close the missile gap after the launching of *Sputnik*?

### Critical Thinking

5. **Predicting Consequences** In 1961, Eisenhower predicted the rise of a military-industrial complex. What are some possible consequences of an alliance between industry and the military?



SPORTS: Brooklyn mourns loss of the team they love to hate: The Dodgers ("dem bums") head to L.A.

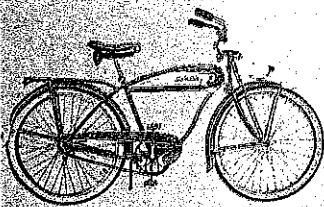
# One Day in History

Friday, October 4, 1957

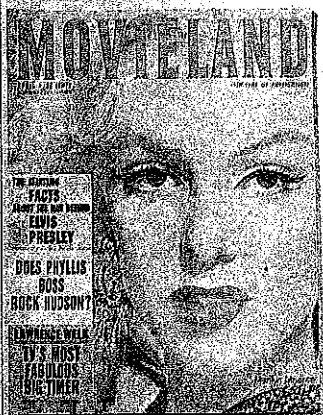
## MARKET BASKET

Here is where a dollar will go:

- 8-oz. bottle of Coca-Cola . . . 5¢
- Loaf of bread . . . . . 19¢
- Roll of film . . . . . 42¢
- Hotel room, per night . . . . \$5
- Men's leather shoes . . \$19.95



- Bicycle . . . . . \$64.95
- Record . . . . . \$9.98
- Steak, per pound . . . . . \$1
- Phonograph . . . . . \$28.50



- Magazine . . . . . 25¢
- Movie projector . . . . . \$89.95
- Television set . . . . . \$550
- Ford sedan . . . . . \$2,272
- 4-bedroom house . . . \$19,500



**Sputnik 1** Soviet students look at a model of the Soviet Union's artificial satellite. The name *Sputnik* means "fellow traveler," a reference to its companion satellite, Earth.

## Soviet "Moon" Circles Earth

*Reds Win Race Into Outer Space*

MOSCOW, OCTOBER 4—The Soviet Union today launched the first manufactured "moon." Named *Sputnik*, the Soviet satellite is now spinning around Earth at a speed of five miles a second.

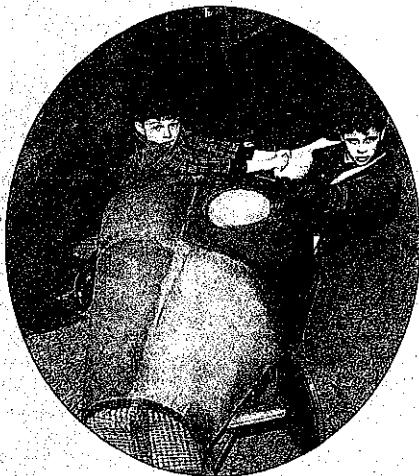
Weighing 185 pounds and measuring 23 inches in diameter, the artificial moon was launched by an intercontinental ballistic missile, which gave the satellite the necessary spin to circle the world in 1 hour and 35 minutes.

**THE CAT IN THE HAT** introduces Thing One and Thing Two in Dr. Seuss's new series of Beginner Books. *Cat* nets \$8 million.



## Hoffa to Head Teamsters

WASHINGTON—James R. Hoffa was elected president of the giant Teamsters Union last night in open defiance of the AFL-CIO order that the union clean its house of corrupt elements like Hoffa. His election is certain to spur support for federal legislation to crack down on labor racketeering. The AFL-CIO has warned the Teamsters that it faces expulsion if it doesn't rid itself of corruption and those responsible for it.



MOVIE STILL ARCHIVES

Beaver and Wally Cleaver

## Leave It to Beaver Debuts

NEW YORK—The Cleaver family, with Beaver and big brother Wally, makes its first television appearance. In the first episode, Beaver tried to avoid being "spelled from school."

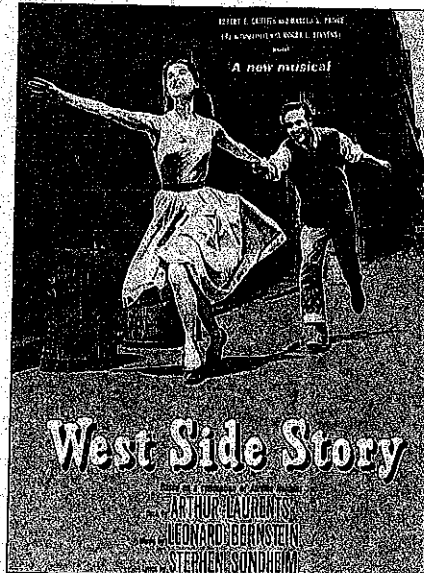


UPI/BETTMAN

Althea Gibson (right) and Darlene Hard

## New Champion Honored

NEW YORK—A ticker-tape parade welcomed home tennis champion Althea Gibson after her dual victory at Wimbledon. Gibson first won the women's singles title and then won the women's doubles.



THE CARSON COLLECTION

*West Side Story*, based on *Romeo and Juliet*, with music by Leonard Bernstein, opens on Broadway.

## MUSIC

DETROIT—Entrepreneur Berry Gordy, Jr., invests \$700 to start Motown, a new record company that promotes African American rock musicians such as Stevie Wonder and Diana Ross and the Supremes.

For the best in TV dining!  
**Swanson's TV dinners**

Meals like Mom's  
in only 25 minutes!  
No thawing!  
No dishes!

for only **98¢**



COURTESY CAMPBELL SOUP COMPANY

# Study and Writing Skill

## ANALYZING SECONDARY SOURCES

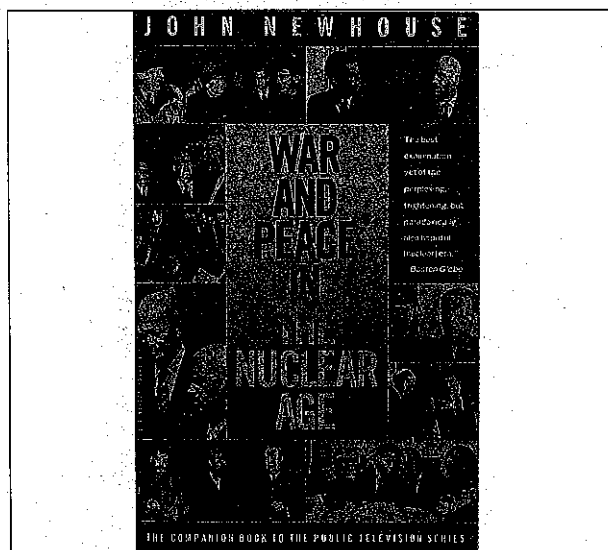
### Learning the Skill

A source created at or near the time of the events it reports is a primary source. Historians often use primary sources such as letters, original documents, speeches, and photographs as the basis for their descriptions or analyses of events. Books or other materials that draw from primary sources to explain a topic are secondary sources. Most history books are secondary sources.

The book *War and Peace in the Nuclear Age*, by John Newhouse, is a secondary source that analyzes the cold war events described in this chapter. The value and accuracy of a secondary source depend on how its author uses primary sources.

To determine whether an author uses primary sources effectively, ask these questions:

- Are there references to primary sources in the acknowledgments, footnotes, or text?
- Who are the authors of the primary sources? What insights or biases might these people have?
- Is the information from the primary sources interwoven effectively to support or describe an event?
- Are different kinds of primary sources considered? Do they represent varied testimony?
- Is the interpretation of the primary sources sound?



**Secondary Sources** Good secondary sources synthesize information from primary sources to give a full picture of events. *Judging from the information on the book's cover, what do you think are some of the sources it analyzes?*

### Practicing the Skill

Read this excerpt from *War and Peace in the Nuclear Age*. Identify the primary source Newhouse uses. Then answer the questions below.

**E**isenhower was very taken with the Open Skies idea. . . . Eisenhower described in his memoirs the . . . [reaction] of Soviet Prime Minister Bulganin, who said it had real merit and would be studied sympathetically. "The tone of his talk seemed as encouraging as his words," wrote Eisenhower. A few minutes later, walking toward the bar with Khrushchev, he was disabused but enlightened. "I don't agree with the Chairman," Khrushchev said, smiling—but there was no smile in his voice. I saw clearly then . . . the identity of the real boss of the Soviet delegation." "From then on," said Eisenhower, "I . . . devoted myself exclusively to an attempt to persuade Mr. Khrushchev of the merits of the Open Skies plan."

- What primary source does Newhouse quote?
- Why is Eisenhower an excellent primary source to explore the topic?
- How well has Newhouse used the excerpt to convey Eisenhower's feelings? To create a sense of immediacy?
- Is the information from the primary source interwoven effectively into the text?
- What other primary sources could you use to explore the cold war years?

### Applying the Skill

Find and read an in-depth article in a newspaper or magazine today. Then analyze how reliable you think the primary sources are. List the primary sources the writer used. How effectively does the author interweave information from the primary sources?

FROM "WAR AND PEACE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE" BY J. NEWHOUSE. REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION OF RANDOM.



The Glencoe Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook, Level 2 CD-ROM provides more practice in key social studies skills.

# A New Battleground

MIDNIGHT, AUGUST 2, 1953: CIA PLOTS THE TAKEOVER OF IRAN

LATE IN THE SUMMER OF 1953, TROUBLE WAS BREWING IN IRAN, AND EISENHOWER WAS WORRIED. This Middle Eastern country was important to the United States for two reasons: Iran bordered the Soviet Union, and it had some of the richest reserves of oil in the world.

Eisenhower worried about Iran's troubled economy and its increasing reliance on the Soviet Union. If the Communists seized Iran's government, yet another country—and one with a huge supply of valuable oil—would join the Soviet bloc. Something had to be done quickly. That something began this way:



**Kermit Roosevelt**  
This dapper-looking man was actually a spy for the United States.

opens the gate to the garden, slips out, glances up and down the street, and silently climbs into the back seat of an ordinary-looking black sedan. Without a backward glance, the driver pulls away slowly, smoothly and heads toward the royal palace. In the back seat, the American huddles down on the floor and pulls a blanket over him.

At the palace gate, the sentry flashes a light in the driver's face, grunts, and waves the car through. Halfway between the gate and the palace steps, the driver parks, gets out, and walks away. A slim, nervous man walks down the drive, glancing left and right as he approaches. The American pulls the blanket out of the way and sits up as the man enters the car. . . .

**A** large, ornate garden in Teheran [Iran's capital].  
A medium-sized, medium-height, rather nondescript American wearing a dark turtleneck shirt, Oxford gray slacks, and Persian sandals,

## GUIDE TO READING

### Main Idea

Cold war rivalries led the United States and the Soviet Union to spy on each other and to interfere in the affairs of developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

### Vocabulary

- ▶ emerging nation
- ▶ covert operation
- ▶ nationalization

### Read to Find Out . . .

- ▶ how the United States and Soviet Union competed for the loyalty of emerging nations.
- ▶ reasons for United States interest in the Middle East and the policies adopted to protect American influence in the region.
- ▶ causes and effects of the Cuban missile crisis.

They look at each other. Then His Imperial Majesty, Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi, Shahanshah of Iran, Light of the Aryans, allows himself to relax and even smile.

—Kermit Roosevelt, *Countercoup: The Struggle for Control of Iran*, 1979

The American hiding under the blanket in the backseat that night was Kermit (Kim) Roosevelt, the grandson of President Theodore Roosevelt and a cousin of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. A top United States spy, Roosevelt had entered Iran under a phony name to meet secretly with Iran's 34-year-old Shah, or ruler.

Why were Roosevelt and the Shah sneaking around in the middle of the night? What was going on?

## New Worlds to Conquer

### Movements for National Independence

Iran, like many developing countries, found itself in turmoil after World War II. These **emerging nations**—developing countries in Asia, Latin America, and Africa—were shaking off colonial rule and taking charge of their futures. So widespread and powerful were these movements for national independence that between 1946 and 1960 alone 37 new countries emerged. Loyal to neither the United States and its democratic allies nor the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc, these newly independent nations became a new cold war battleground.

### United States Interests

Winning the loyalty of emerging nations was crucial to Eisenhower. The United States depended on rich stores of rubber, oil, and other natural resources from developing countries and on their vast markets for American products. Just as important, emerging nations that were allied with the United States could help defend against Communist expansion.

Eisenhower and Dulles believed they needed to act decisively. They assumed that struggles for self-determination in the developing world were really revolutions directed by the Soviet Union. Left unopposed, these revolutions could result in neutral states or, worse, Communist ones throughout the Southern Hemisphere. If the Soviets managed to increase their influence in these regions, said Dulles, the scales would tip decisively against the Western democracies.

### The Views of Emerging Nations

Drawing emerging nations into the American camp was difficult, however. Many newly independent countries, such as India and Egypt, wanted no part of outside

control—United States or Soviet. Having just gotten rid of one foreign ruler, they had no desire for another.

Even establishing friendships with emerging nations proved difficult. For the millions of poor people in developing nations, life was a grim daily struggle to stay alive. They resented the United States's wealth, which they glimpsed in the luxurious lifestyles of American tourists and diplomats. Likewise, Soviet propagandists pointed to America's troubled race relations and asked nonwhite people in these nations: If the United States does not treat its fellow citizens equally, how will it treat you? Finally, in the struggles of emerging nations, the United States often sided with the wealthy, not the common, people. Even though America itself was born of revolution, the United States now worried about protecting its overseas investments and military bases. To people struggling for freedom, the United States seemed like just another threat.

Facing resistance from emerging nations, the United States used many methods to win friends and wage cold war. Massive amounts of foreign aid—the primary method—helped improve farming, schools, and medical care in developing countries. When Eisenhower became President, he relied increasingly on the Central Intelligence Agency, the CIA, to promote the allegiance of newly independent nations. The CIA spied and conducted **covert operations**, or undercover missions, of all kinds.

## The CIA Joins the Fight

### Agents Spy on the Soviet Union

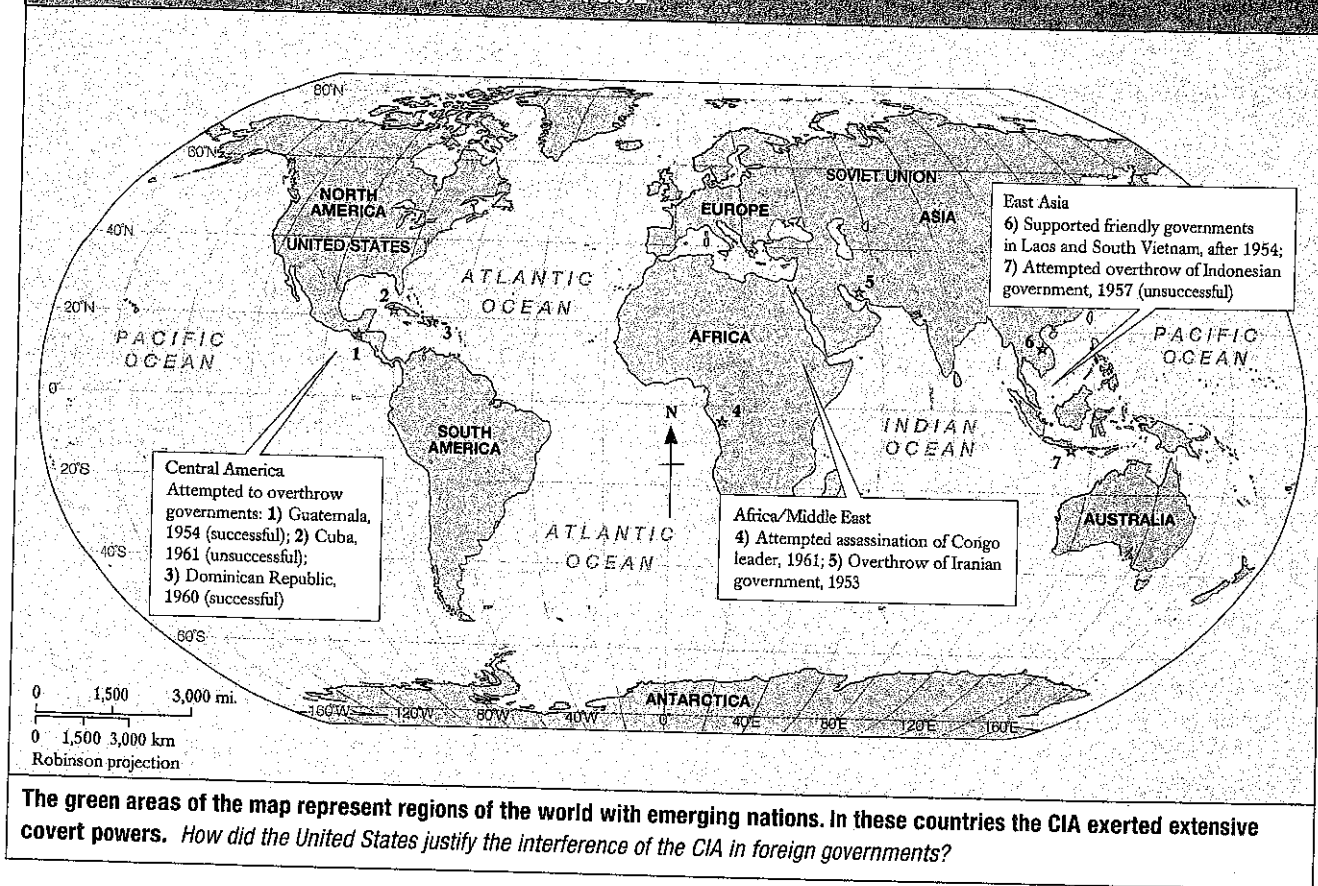
The CIA was not Eisenhower's idea but rather a government agency President Truman created. After World War II, Truman decided that peacetime America no



The CIA President Truman approved the seal of the CIA on February 17, 1950. What actions did the CIA take during Truman's administration?

COURTESY, THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

## CIA ACTIONS IN THE WORLD, 1950-1962



longer needed a network of spies. By 1946, however, Truman changed his mind as United States-Soviet relations soured and intelligence gathering began to seem necessary again.

### CIA Powers

In 1947 Congress passed the historic National Security Act, which streamlined the defense system and created the CIA and the National Security Council (NSC). The newly created NSC and CIA reported directly to the President.

The act also gave the CIA sweeping powers with this loose definition of its job: The CIA shall perform "functions and duties related to intelligence affecting national security as the National Security Council will direct." This language left the CIA free to spy and to carry on covert operations. Used with care, the CIA enabled the President to take quick, controversial action in foreign trouble spots without waiting for congressional or public approval. This resource gave the White House virtual control of foreign policy.

In its early years, the CIA carried out few covert operations. Its main job was to spy on the Soviet military and prop up European democracies by secretly funding democratic political parties, labor unions, and other Western groups.

The CIA was so successful that in 1949 Congress gave that agency the right to spend unlimited amounts of money without telling anyone except the director where the money went and what it was used for. This authority gave the President and the CIA a free hand. In time they would bribe overseas politicians, hire secret armies, and plot the assassinations of troublesome leaders.

### The CIA Grows Powerful

With its increase in power and funding, the CIA mushroomed. In 1949 the agency had about 300 employees and spent \$4.7 million. Just 3 years later, the CIA had grown to 20 times its original size. It employed nearly 6,000 people all over the world and spent nearly \$82 million.

As the CIA grew, more Americans saw it as "the good way to fight communism." Exciting, glamorous, and challenging, the agency attracted talented young graduates from Harvard, Yale, and other top universities. Eventually the CIA would have an important role, instead of just a hand, in shaping events all over the world. As the map above shows, CIA agents worked behind the scenes worldwide to overthrow neutral or pro-Soviet governments and to prop up pro-Western ones.

## The CIA and the Shah

### The CIA Attempts an Overthrow

The CIA's first attempt to overthrow a government took place in Iran. At the end of World War II, a monarch and a two-house parliament ruled oil-rich Iran. The Shah (king), Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, was a dark, handsome man who looked dashing and powerful but was actually young and insecure.

After the war the Shah faced a tough problem—Iranian hatred of the British-owned Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Through Anglo-Persian Oil, the British controlled most of Iran's oil industry and drained the country of great wealth. Angry Iranians wanted to take control of their oil, but they needed a leader.

The man who stepped forward to lead the Iranians was not the Shah but wealthy 70-year-old Dr. Mohammad Mossadeg. On the surface Mossadeg seemed harmless. He was small, thin, and often emotional. He appeared to be no threat to the Shah. Beneath the surface, however, the rich landowner was a masterful politician.

In 1951 the popular Mossadeg had become prime minister and pushed through the legislature a bill authorizing **nationalization** of the oil fields—that is, declaring them the property of Iran. Outraged, the British refused to accept the payment Mossadeg offered. Instead, the British shut down their refineries, stopped buying Iranian oil, and convinced other countries to do the same. As Iran's oil market dried up, its economy slipped toward bankruptcy.

### Eisenhower Steps In

By the time Eisenhower took office, Iran was in serious trouble. In Eisenhower's mind the situation was a perfect breeding ground for communism. The best way

to protect Iran's oil supply for the West, Eisenhower thought, was to keep the Shah and get rid of Mossadeg.

Eisenhower ordered CIA agent Kim Roosevelt, who was in a "safe house" in Tehran, to engineer Mossadeg's overthrow. In a plan nicknamed AJAX, Roosevelt would organize military and public support for the Shah. Then the Shah would sign a royal decree deposing Mossadeg.

### The CIA Operation

AJAX got off to a bad start in August 1953 when the Shah grew nervous about the plot and fled Tehran without signing the decree. It took Roosevelt four days to find the Shah, get the signed document, and deliver it to Mossadeg. By that time, though, the prime minister had discovered the plot. Mossadeg announced the attempted takeover on the radio and demanded the arrest of the Shah's supporters. In response, mobs of Iranians, including Communist supporters, ran wild in the streets, rioting, looting, and searching for enemies. Mossadeg called a stop to the violence only after the United States ambassador threatened to order all Americans out of Iran. Mossadeg knew that his government would look like a failure if the Americans pulled out.

With the mobs under control, Roosevelt sent his Iranian agents into action. On August 19, 200 Zirkaneh giants—huge, frightening-looking weight lifters—marched through Tehran's bazaars chanting, "Long live the Shah!" Other agents ran alongside, passing out money and gathering a crowd of artisans, students, police, and professionals. As the crowd headed for Mossadeg's house, Roosevelt rounded up the Shah's military supporters, who set off with tanks and guns.

The CIA agents and the Shah's men met and clashed with Mossadeg's supporters near Mossadeg's house. The battle lasted several hours and left 400 dead or injured. When Mossadeg's forces ran out of ammunition, the resistance ran out of steam. On the following day Mossadeg surrendered, and the Shah's supporters begged the Shah to return.

The Shah returned victorious. Soon after, Mossadeg was jailed. With the Shah in power, a group of Western oil companies was able to sign an agreement to buy and sell Iranian oil and share the profits with the Shah. AJAX had ensured the CIA's future. It had also planted the seeds of Iranian hatred of the United States.



ITALY'S NEWSPAPERS, ROMA VIA POTT 42. COURTESY, LIFE PICTURE SERVICE

**The Shah Flees Tehran** A woman in Rome peers into the Shah's Buick. *Why did the Shah flee Tehran?*

## War in Egypt

### A Suez Canal Crisis

Three years later another hot spot ignited in the Middle East. This time the CIA was not involved, but the event showed Eisenhower that the developing coun-



**Suez Canal** Sunken ships obstruct the canal in Port Said.  
Who sank the ships and why?

tries of the world presented difficult and dangerous problems.

In 1953 Egypt declared itself an independent republic, and in 1954 the passionate Arab nationalist General Gamal Abdel Nasser demanded that Britain give up control of the Suez Canal, which cut through his country. More than 75 percent of Western Europe's oil imports were shipped through the Suez Canal, a key link between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea. Nasser wanted to collect the \$25 million in annual profits from tolls. As part of his plan for modernizing Egypt, Nasser also wanted to build a dam on the Nile River to provide electric power and irrigation water for farms.

To help draw Egypt into the United States camp, Dulles had offered to help Nasser build his dam. Soon afterward, though, the independent Nasser made an arms deal with the Soviets, and Dulles angrily canceled the loan. In July 1956, Nasser fought back by seizing the Suez Canal. With the millions in tolls from the canal, Egypt would finance the Nile River dam itself.

In October 1956, before Eisenhower could work out a solution to the crisis, Israel, Britain, and France invaded Egypt to seize the canal. Eisenhower and Dulles were appalled, fearing the action would drive the Middle East into the Soviet camp and threaten vital oil resources. Eisenhower called for a UN resolution condemning the

actions of the three American allies. Without United States support, they pulled out, and the canal was returned to Egypt—full of sunken ships.

While Eisenhower managed to head off a full-scale war, the incident had serious consequences. It opened the Middle East to the Soviets, who appeared to side with Egyptian nationalists and eventually built Nasser's dam. The conflict also revealed weaknesses in the Western camp and pulled the United States deeper into Middle Eastern affairs. Afraid of growing Soviet influence in the oil-rich Middle East, Eisenhower promised aid, both economic and military, to pro-Western governments in the region. This policy, known as the Eisenhower Doctrine, would soon involve fighting communism and the Arab governments that did not join the Western camp.

## Latin America

### The Cold War Arrives

The spirit of nationalism fired up people in Central and South America during this period, too. For decades the United States had invested in the region's economies, and by the mid-1950s, United States companies controlled more than \$7 billion of oil, mineral, and agricultural resources in Latin America. These firms enjoyed rich profits from their investments in the region, but little wealth trickled down to the masses of people who lived in poverty. Nationalistic leaders knew they had to loosen the grip of the United States firms on their economies. Revolution was simmering.

### Revolution in Cuba

By the early 1950s, United States corporations virtually controlled the island nation of Cuba. Nearly 90 percent of Cuba's mines, ranches, and oil, half of its sugar crop, and 3 million acres of its land belonged to Americans. Only a few high-level Cubans lived well. Most suffered in grinding poverty.

In 1952 Fulgencio Batista overthrew the government and installed himself as dictator, friendly to the United States. He did little to improve life for the Cuban people, however, and in 1958 a young lawyer named Fidel Castro led a group of peasants and middle-class Cubans in a successful revolt against Batista.

Once in power, Castro moved quickly to solve Cuba's problems by demanding control of American properties. When the United States refused to discuss the matter, Castro turned to the Soviets for economic help. Soon after, Eisenhower ordered the CIA to train a secret force of anti-Castro Cubans called La Brigada, which could be used to overthrow Castro. Before



Eisenhower left office in 1961, Castro had seized all American businesses and signed a trade agreement with Moscow. The United States and Cuba had broken diplomatic relations.

### Kennedy and Cuba

In 1961 John F. Kennedy became President and faced, in his words, the problem of a "Communist satellite on our very doorstep." With Castro's success in Cuba and growing crises in Africa and Southeast Asia, Kennedy feared a Soviet upper hand in the cold war. Before leaving office Eisenhower had urged Kennedy to step up the training of La Brigada. Now in office, Kennedy took the advice of CIA operatives and ordered La Brigada to land secretly in Cuba, inspire a popular uprising, and sweep Castro out of power.

The invasion on April 17, 1961, failed miserably. When the 1,500 commandos tried to land at the Bay of Pigs on Cuba's southern coast, they met disaster at every turn. Their boats ran aground on coral reefs, Kennedy

canceled their air support to keep United States involvement secret, and the promised uprising of the Cuban people never happened. Within 2 days Castro's forces killed several hundred members of La Brigada and captured nearly all the rest.

The Bay of Pigs was a dark moment for Kennedy. The action exposed an American plot to overthrow a neighbor's government, and the clumsy affair made the United States look weak, like a paper tiger.

### To the Brink of War

To assert the United States's strength, Kennedy searched for other ways to unseat Castro. Using the CIA in a plan called Operation Mongoose, he interrupted Cuban trade, ordered more raids by exiles, and even plotted Castro's assassination.

For Castro and Khrushchev, these activities were outrageous. Khrushchev did not want to lose his foothold in the Western Hemisphere, and Castro did not want to lose his freedom from United States influence. "We had

## THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS: JULY - OCTOBER, 1962

Citing Fidel Castro's fear of an American invasion of Cuba, the Soviet Union transformed the island into an enormous military base during the summer of 1962. It was a stunning move that put the Soviet threat less than 100 miles from American shores. The standoff that ensued between the two cold war leaders placed the world close to its first nuclear war.

### SOVIET MILITARY BUILDUP IN CUBA

July-October, 1962

3 intermediate-range ballistic missile sites in progress

42 medium-range ballistic missiles

432 surface-to-air missiles

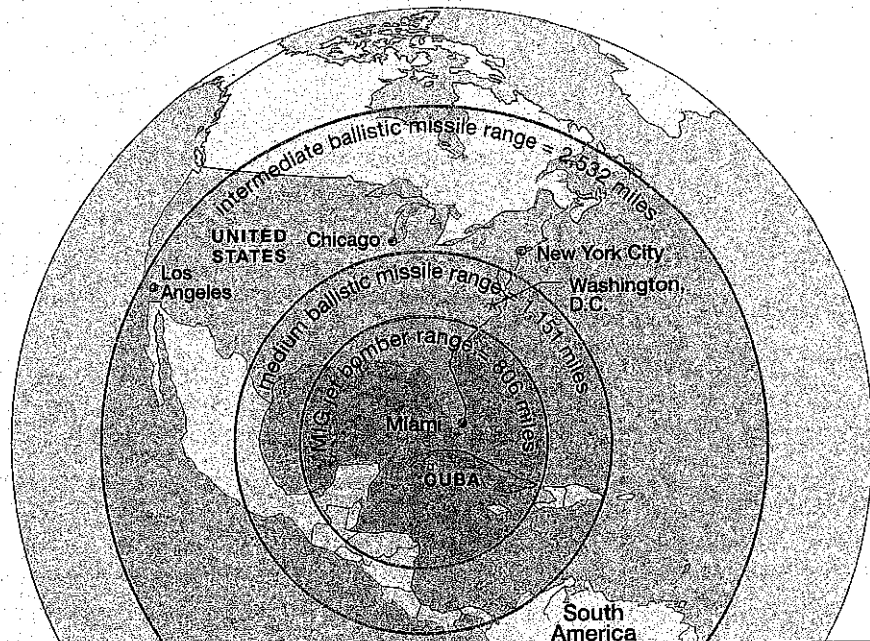
82 high-speed Soviet jet bombers (MIG-15s, MIG-17s, and MIG-21s)

12 missile patrol boats

22,000 Soviet soldiers

4 separate military installations

### RANGE OF CUBAN-BASED AIR POWER



### THE EVENTS UNFOLD

**July (last two weeks)**  
Soviets begin missile and other military shipments to Cuba.

**September 11**  
Soviets warn United States that an attack on Cuba would mean war.

**October 14**  
Photos from U.S. surveillance pilots show Soviet missiles in Cuba.

**October 24**  
Kennedy imposes naval blockade of Cuba.

**October 28**  
Khrushchev agrees to remove missiles from Cuba.

Enemy nuclear warheads positioned close to the United States posed an immediate danger to the country and raised the specter of all-out nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union. Which United States cities are not in range of Cuban missiles?



UPI/RETMANN

**The March to Havana** Fidel Castro addresses a crowd of Cuban people. *How did Castro ascend to power?*

to think of some way of confronting America with more than words," Khrushchev recalled. Their solution was to install Soviet nuclear missiles and bombers near Havana, Cuba's capital, as a warning to the United States.

On October 14, 1962, a United States spy plane flying over Cuba got clear photos of crews installing Soviet missiles. Kennedy called a meeting of his closest advisers to decide what to do.

For a solid, nerve-racking week, the group thrashed out every possible response. Negotiations were ruled out at once; the group feared that drawn-out talks would give the Soviets time to install the missiles. Bombing the missile sites and invading Cuba were both proposed, but Kennedy feared that either could ignite a nuclear war. He finally agreed to block Cuban shipping lanes, while pushing Khrushchev to remove the missiles.

On the evening of October 22, Kennedy announced this decision on national television. Within 2 days 180 warships were sailing to Cuba, B-52 bombers loaded with nuclear weapons were in the air, and military forces worldwide were on full alert—more than 200,000 in Florida alone. For the next 2 days, Soviet ships steamed toward Cuba, and the world held its breath. It was a time when "the smell of burning hung in the air," Khrushchev remembered later. The United States and the Soviet Union had edged to the brink of nuclear war.

On October 26, Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles if the United States vowed never to attack Cuba. The next day he demanded the removal of United States missiles from Turkey. Kennedy agreed to the first demand but ignored the second. He told

Khrushchev to get the missiles out of Cuba—or the United States would do it. On October 28, Khrushchev backed down.

### After the Crisis

As the missiles left Cuba, the world stepped back from the brink and breathed a huge sigh of relief. War had been averted.

The standoff also changed the character of the cold war. At last the United States and the Soviet Union accepted each other's power and admitted the importance of negotiation. In this spirit, American and Soviet leaders installed a hot line, a Teletype link for communication when future crises arose.

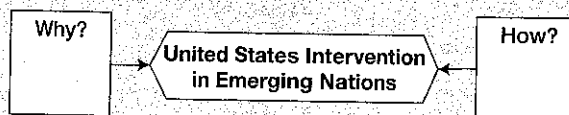
The brush with nuclear war did nothing to slow the arms race, however. For the Soviet Union, the missile crisis had ended in public humiliation. The Soviets vowed, in the words of one official, "never [to] be caught like this again." Back home they launched a huge military buildup.

The United States's victory in the missile crisis renewed the nation's pride and its belief in containment. Through the rest of Kennedy's administration, the United States continued to stockpile nuclear weapons and serve as the world's police force. Before long, though, America's beliefs would be put to the test in the small Asian country of Vietnam.

## SECTION ASSESSMENT

### Main Idea

1. Use a diagram like this one to show why and how the United States became involved in the affairs of emerging nations.



### Vocabulary

2. Define: emerging nation, covert operation, nationalization.

### Checking Facts

3. What sparked the controversy between Iran and Great Britain in 1951?
4. Why did Castro's revolution threaten United States interests?

### Critical Thinking

5. **Predicting Consequences** How would the United States benefit if Castro's revolution failed?



### Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Odyssey* Web site at [americanodyssey.glencoe.com](http://americanodyssey.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter 17—Self-Check Quiz** to prepare for the Chapter Test.

### Reviewing Key Terms

Match each vocabulary word to its definition below. Write your answers on a separate sheet of paper.

**containment**      **cold war**  
**limited war**      **land reform**  
**brinksmanship**  
**massive retaliation**

1. confining war to one area rather than letting it grow into a global confrontation
2. securing peace by restricting communism to its current borders
3. a policy in which the United States would launch a nuclear strike against the Soviet Union if it attacked any ally
4. attempt to keep peace by stating one will never back down
5. redistribution of property to land-poor peasants

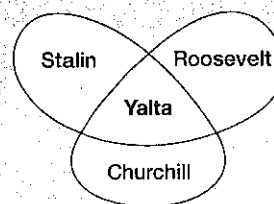
### Recalling Facts

1. How did the United States's position at the end of World War II compare with the Soviet Union's position?
2. Describe the events that prompted the United States to adopt the containment policy of keeping communism confined within its current borders.
3. How did the Marshall Plan help the United States implement its foreign policy following World War II?
4. Why did most Americans hope for a Nationalist victory in China?

5. How did Mao and the Communists win the support of the Chinese people?
6. What were some advantages and some dangers of a policy of massive retaliation?
7. Why did Nikita Khrushchev refuse to agree to Dwight Eisenhower's proposal to inspect each other's military sites?
8. What methods did the United States use to gain the friendship of emerging nations? How was the CIA involved?
9. What conditions in Cuba helped prepare the way for Fidel Castro's takeover?

### Critical Thinking

1. **Recognizing Points of View** Use a diagram like this one to show the concerns of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin when they met at Yalta.



2. **Identifying Assumptions** In 1956 Nikita Khrushchev spoke of tolerating different kinds of communism. What did Eastern European nations assume this statement meant? How were these assumptions proven false in Hungary?



### Standardized Test Practice

1. **The United States's policy during the cold war can best be described as**
  - A maintaining isolation and neutrality.
  - B destroying communism through expansionism.
  - C preventing the spread of communism through containment.
  - D providing aid for communist nations to rebuild their economies.
2. **"The U.S. and Soviet Union are like two scorpions in a bottle, each capable of killing the other but only at the risk of his own life." This quote by J. Robert Oppenheimer best reflects a major shortcoming in the policy of**
  - A containment.
  - B nationalization.
  - C limited war.
  - D massive retaliation.

**Test-Taking Tip:** The cold war was a time of tension between the Soviet Union and the United States. Therefore, the United States had little reason to provide economic aid to the communist block. Answer D can be ruled out.

**Test-Taking Tip:** Think of the meaning of the word *shortcoming*: a defect or failure. Despite their power, what *shortcoming* does each of the two "scorpions" have if it strikes? Which of the listed policies has a similar defect?