

Origins of the Cold War

The Cold War developed as differences about the shape of the postwar world created suspicion and distrust between the United States and the Soviet Union. The first – and most difficult – test case was Poland, the eastern half of which had been invaded and occupied by the USSR in 1939. Moscow demanded a government subject to Soviet influence; Washington wanted a more independent, representative government following the Western model. The Yalta Conference of February 1945 had produced an agreement on Eastern Europe open to different interpretations. It included a promise of "free and unfettered" elections.

1. **What European country provided the first test case in the Cold War?**
 - a. Austria
 - b. Germany
 - c. Latvia
 - d. Poland

2. **The ____ accords promised "free and unfettered elections" in countries liberated by the Allies.**
 - a. Camp David
 - b. Casablanca
 - c. Dayton Peace
 - d. Yalta

Meeting with Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Vyacheslav Molotov less than two weeks after becoming president, Truman stood firm on Polish self-determination, lecturing the Soviet diplomat about the need to implement the Yalta accords. When Molotov protested, "I have never been talked to like that in my life," Truman retorted, "Carry out your agreements and you won't get talked to like that." Relations deteriorated from that point onward.

3. **Who served as the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs at this time?**

4. **Harry S. Truman showed himself to be quite flexible on the issue of Polish self-determination.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

During the closing months of World War II, Soviet military forces occupied all of Central and Eastern Europe. Moscow used its military power to support the efforts of the Communist parties in Eastern Europe and crush the democratic parties. Communists took over one nation after another. The process concluded with

a shocking coup d'état in Czechoslovakia in 1948.

5. How did the Soviet Union support the efforts of the Communist parties in Eastern Europe and crush the democratic parties?

6. In 1948, the Soviets backed a shocking coup d'état in what country?

- a. China
- b. Czechoslovakia
- c. Italy
- d. Vietnam

Public statements defined the beginning of the Cold War. In 1946 Stalin declared that international peace was impossible "under the present capitalist development of the world economy." Former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill delivered a dramatic speech in Fulton, Missouri, with Truman sitting on the platform. "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic," Churchill said, "an iron curtain has descended across the Continent." Britain and the United States, he declared, had to work together to counter the Soviet threat.

7. Who coined the phrase "iron curtain"?



The map to the left depicts Poland following World War II.

8. What body of water borders Poland to the north?

- a. Atlantic Ocean
- b. Baltic Sea
- c. Indian Ocean
- d. Mediterranean Sea

9. What three countries bordered Poland at this time?

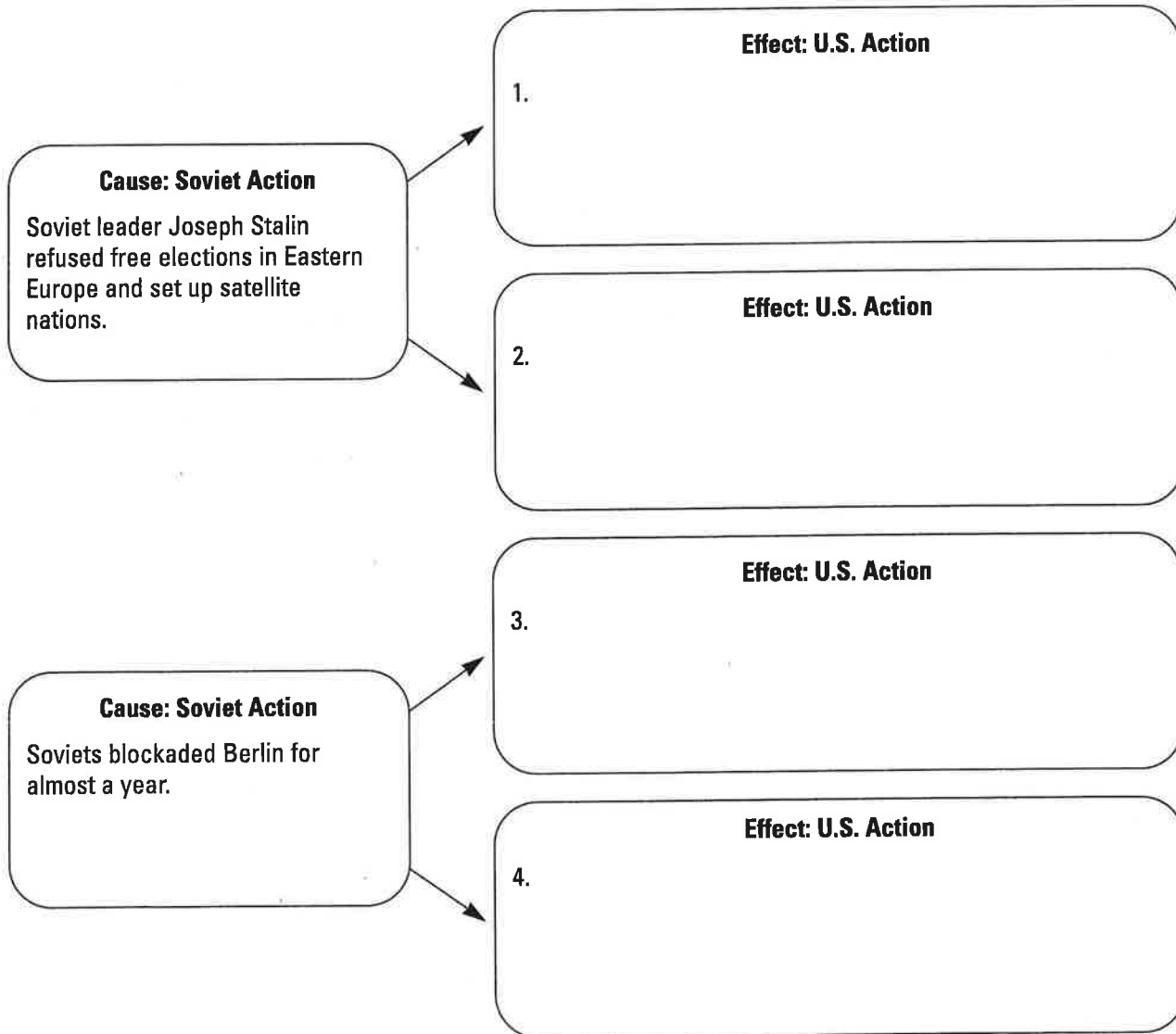
CHAPTER
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GUIDED READING *Origins of the Cold War*

Section 1

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

containment Truman Doctrine Berlin airlift NATO



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

Cold War Marshall Plan

Containment

Containment of the Soviet Union became American policy in the postwar years. George Kennan, a top official at the U.S. embassy in Moscow, defined the new approach in the Long Telegram he sent to the State Department in 1946. He extended his analysis in an article under the signature "X" in the prestigious journal *Foreign Affairs*. Pointing to Russia's traditional sense of insecurity, Kennan argued that the Soviet Union would not soften its stance under any circumstances. Moscow, he wrote, was "committed fanatically to the belief that with the United States there can be no permanent *modus vivendi*, that it is desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our society be disrupted." Moscow's pressure to expand its power had to be stopped through "firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies. ..."

1. Who defined the U.S. policy of containment?

The first significant application of the containment doctrine came in the Middle East and eastern Mediterranean. In early 1946, the United States

demanded, and obtained, a full Soviet withdrawal from Iran, the northern half of which it had occupied during the war. That summer, the United States pointedly supported Turkey against Soviet demands for control of the Turkish straits between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. In early 1947, American policy crystallized when Britain told the United States that it could no longer afford to support the government of Greece against a strong Communist insurgency.

2. Describe the U.S. policy of containment in your own words.

In a strongly worded speech to Congress, Truman declared, "I believe that it must be the policy of the United

States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." Journalists quickly dubbed this statement the "Truman Doctrine." The president asked Congress to provide \$400 million for economic and military aid, mostly to Greece but also to Turkey. After an emotional debate that resembled the one between interventionists and isolationists before World War II, the money was appropriated.

3. "I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

This is known as the _____.

- a. containment policy
- b. Domino Theory
- c. Truman Doctrine
- d. Zimmermann telegram

Critics from the left later charged that to whip up American support for the policy of containment, Truman overstated the Soviet threat to the United States. In turn, his statements inspired a wave of hysterical anti-Communism throughout the country. Perhaps so. Others, however, would counter that this argument ignores the backlash that likely would have occurred if Greece, Turkey, and other countries had fallen within the Soviet orbit with no opposition from the United States.

Containment also called for extensive economic aid to assist the recovery of war-torn Western Europe.

With many of the region's nations economically and politically unstable, the United States feared that local Communist parties, directed by Moscow, would capitalize on their wartime record of resistance to the Nazis and come to power. "The patient is sinking while the doctors deliberate," declared Secretary of State George C. Marshall. In mid-1947 Marshall asked troubled European nations to draw up a program "directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

4. Whose plan was to direct financial aid to troubled European nations?

The Soviets participated in the first planning meeting, then departed rather than share economic data and submit to Western controls on the expenditure of the aid. The remaining 16 nations hammered out a request that finally came to \$17,000 million for a four-year period. In early 1948 Congress voted to fund the "Marshall Plan," which helped underwrite the economic resurgence of Western Europe. It is generally regarded as one of the most successful foreign policy initiatives in U.S. history.

5. How much money did nations pledge to the Marshall Plan?

- a. 170,000,000
- b. 1,700,000,000
- c. 17,000,000,000
- d. 170,000,000,000

Postwar Germany was a special problem. It had been divided into U.S., Soviet, British, and French zones of occupation, with the former German capital of Berlin (itself divided into four zones), near the center of the Soviet zone. When the Western powers announced their intention to create a consolidated federal state from their zones, Stalin responded. On June 24, 1948, Soviet forces blockaded Berlin, cutting off all road and rail access from the West.

6. What four countries controlled zones of Germany following World War II?

American leaders feared that losing Berlin would be a prelude to losing Germany and subsequently all of Europe. Therefore, in a successful demonstration of Western resolve known as the Berlin Airlift, Allied air forces took to the sky, flying supplies into Berlin. U.S., French, and British planes delivered nearly 2,250,000 tons of goods, including food and coal. Stalin lifted the blockade after 231 days and 277,264 flights.

7. Describe the Berlin Airlift.

By then, Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, and especially the Czech coup, had alarmed the Western Europeans. The result, initiated by the Europeans, was a military alliance to complement economic efforts at containment. The Norwegian historian Geir Lundestad has called it "empire by invitation." In 1949 the United States and 11 other countries established the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). An attack against one was to be considered an attack against all, to be met by appropriate force. NATO was the first peacetime "entangling alliance" with powers outside the Western hemisphere in American history.

8. Why was NATO formed in 1949?

9. The acronym *NATO* stands for what?

The next year, the United States defined its defense aims clearly. The National Security Council (NSC) - the forum where the President, Cabinet officers, and other executive branch members consider national security and foreign affairs issues - undertook a full-fledged review of American foreign and defense policy. The resulting document, known as NSC-68 (published as a top secret on April 14, 1950), signaled a new direction in American security policy. Based on the assumption that "the Soviet Union was engaged in a fanatical effort to seize control of all governments wherever possible," the document committed America to assist allied nations anywhere in the world that seemed threatened by Soviet aggression. After the start of the Korean War, a reluctant Truman approved the document. The United States proceeded to increase defense spending dramatically.

10. Name the forum where the president and other executive branch members consider national security and foreign affairs issues.

11. What document committed America to assist nations that seemed threatened by Soviet aggression?

12. Do you agree with America's commitment to assist allied nations anywhere in the world that seemed threatened by Soviet aggression? Why or why not?

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GUIDED READING *The Cold War Heats Up*

Section 2

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

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

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

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

Name - _____

Date - _____

US History

Korean War

Conflict in Korea

In 1910, Japan occupied the Korean Peninsula and ruled it harshly. After Japan's defeat in World War II, Korea was divided at the 38th parallel of latitude. The Soviet Union backed a Communist government in North Korea. The United States backed a non-Communist government in South Korea. Tensions between North and South Korea continued to increase. Then, on June 25, 1950, North Korean troops suddenly invaded South Korea. Armed with Soviet tanks and artillery, the North Koreans shattered the South Korean army and pushed south. Within three days, the invasion had reached South Korea's capital, Seoul. Korea, it appeared, would soon fall to the Communists. President Truman quickly responded to the attack. At his urging, the UN Security Council voted to send a military force to Korea. Truman appointed World War II hero General Douglas MacArthur to lead the force. Although 16 nations sent troops to fight under the UN flag, 90 percent were American. The Soviet delegate was not present at the UN debate and so failed to veto the proposal.

The first UN forces to arrive at the front were badly outnumbered and poorly supplied. They fought bravely but were pushed back almost to the tip of the Korean Peninsula. As fresh troops and supplies arrived, however, the defensive line held. Then, in September, General MacArthur launched a bold counterattack. UN forces at Inchon, a port city near Seoul, were able to pursue the North Koreans back across the 38th parallel into North Korea. MacArthur's forces chased the North Koreans almost to the Yalu River, which separates North Korea from China. China's government responded angrily. As UN soldiers neared the Yalu, masses of Chinese troops crossed the border. The UN forces were overwhelmed. Soon, the battlefield was once again in South Korea. There, the war settled down into a stalemate, a situation in which neither side wins.

Truman Versus MacArthur

General MacArthur believed that the United States could win in Korea only if it attacked China. MacArthur publicly called for the bombing of supply bases in China, including advocating the use of nuclear weapons. President Truman was more cautious. He believed that an American attack on China might start a new world war. Truman warned MacArthur against making further public statements. MacArthur disregarded these warnings. He publicly argued that he could not win the war because of politicians in Washington. Truman was furious and fired MacArthur.

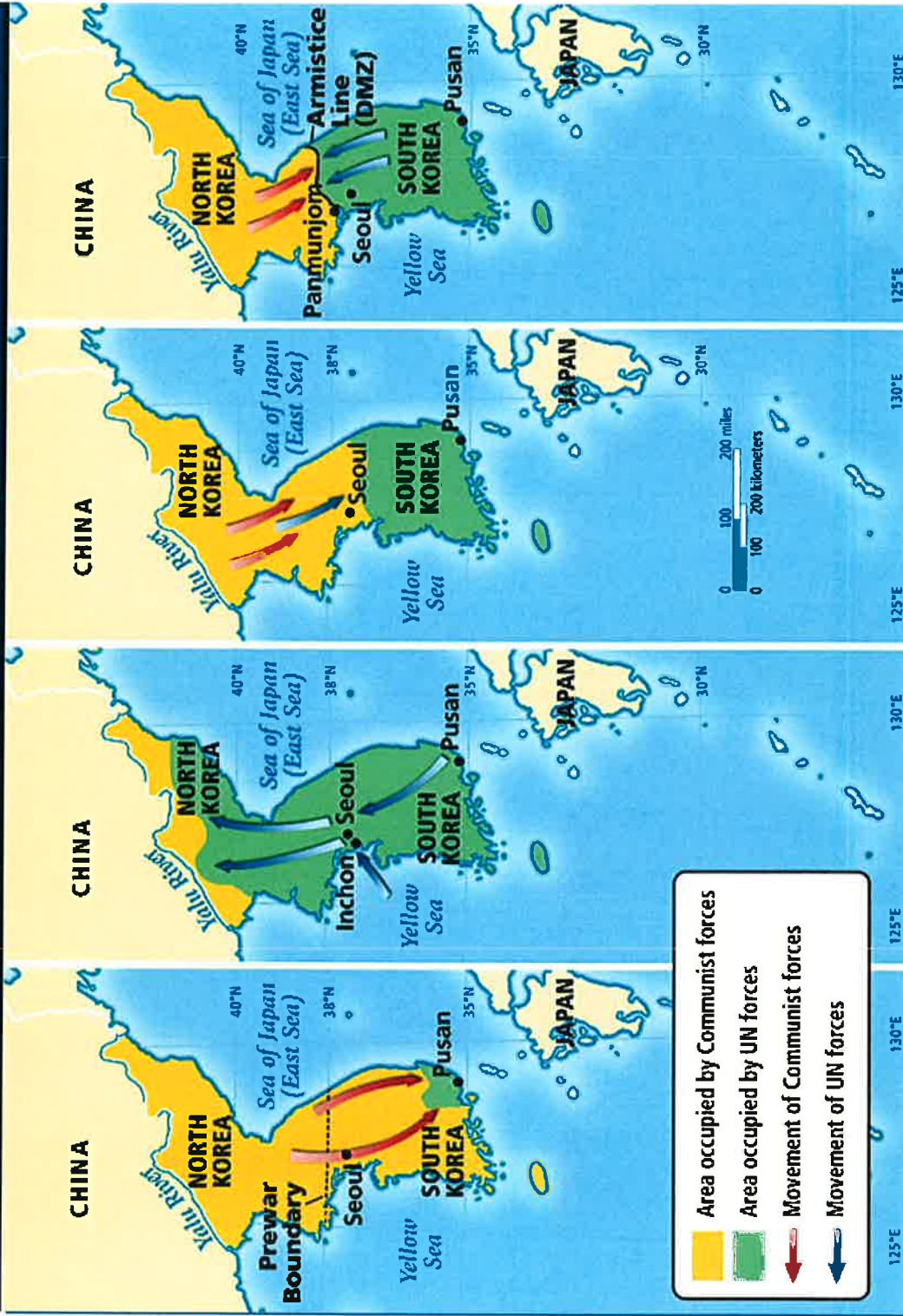
Peace Talks

Meanwhile, the stalemate in Korea continued. In July 1951, the opposing sides began peace talks. These talks would continue for two long years. All the while, the fighting and the killing continued. A cease-fire finally ended the fighting in July 1953. The border between the warring sides stood almost exactly where it had been before the war. The two sides agreed to establish a demilitarized zone, an area which neither side controls. It still divides the two countries a half-century later. The war's toll was horrendous. At least two million Koreans died in the fighting. Most of them were civilians. American losses totaled well over 30,000 dead and more than 100,000 wounded. Thousands of soldiers from other nations also were killed. With the cease-fire, the fighting ended in Korea. However, tensions between North and South Korea continued well into the next century. Two heavily armed forces continued to face each other across the demilitarized zone.

Questions

1. (a) Recall - How did the Korean War start?
(b) Synthesize Information - How did the U.S. response to the Korean War reflect the goals of the Truman Doctrine?
2. Why did the United States get involved when North Korea invaded South Korea?
3. Why do you think the United States accepted an armistice?

Phases of the Korean War



The Cold War in Asia and the Middle East

While seeking to prevent Communist ideology from gaining further adherents in Europe, the United States also responded to challenges elsewhere. In China, Americans worried about the advances of Mao Zedong and his Communist Party. During World War II, the Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek and the Communist forces waged a civil war even as they fought the Japanese. Chiang had been a war-time ally, but his government was hopelessly inefficient and corrupt. American policy makers had little hope of saving his regime and considered Europe vastly more important.

With most American aid moving across the Atlantic, Mao's forces seized power in 1949. Chiang's government fled to the island of Taiwan. When China's new ruler announced that he would support the Soviet Union against the "imperialist" United States, it appeared that Communism was spreading out of control, at least in Asia.

1. Who gained control of China in 1949?

- a. Chiang Kai-shek
- b. Emperor Puyi
- c. Joseph Stalin
- d. Mao Zedong

The Korean War brought armed conflict between the United States and China. The United States and the Soviet Union had divided Korea along the 38th parallel after liberating it from Japan at the end of World War II. Originally a matter of military convenience, the dividing line became more rigid as both major powers set up governments in their respective occupation zones and continued to support them even after departing.

2. The U.S. and U.S.S.R. divided what country along the 38th parallel following World War II?

- a. China
- b. Japan
- c. Korea
- d. Philippines

In June 1950, after consultations with and having obtained the assent of the Soviet Union, North Korean leader Kim Il-sung dispatched his Soviet-supplied army across the 38th parallel and attacked southward, overrunning Seoul. Truman, perceiving the North Koreans as Soviet pawns in the global struggle, readied American forces and ordered World War II hero General Douglas MacArthur to Korea. Meanwhile,

the United States was able to secure a U.N. resolution branding North Korea as an aggressor. (The Soviet Union, which could have vetoed any action had it been occupying its seat on the Security Council, was boycotting the United Nations to protest a decision not to admit Mao's new Chinese regime.)

3. Who served as president of North Korea during the Korean War?

4. What American general was sent to Korea in 1950?

The war seesawed back and forth. U.S. and Korean forces were initially pushed into an enclave far to the south around the city of Pusan. A daring amphibious landing at Inchon, the port for the city of Seoul, drove the North Koreans back and threatened to occupy the entire peninsula. In November, China entered the war, sending massive forces across the Yalu River. U.N. forces, largely American, retreated once again in bitter fighting. Commanded by General Matthew B. Ridgway, they stopped the overextended Chinese, and slowly fought their way back to the 38th parallel.

MacArthur meanwhile challenged Truman's authority by attempting to orchestrate public support for bombing China and assisting an invasion of the mainland by Chiang Kai-shek's forces. In

April 1951, Truman relieved him of his duties and replaced him with Ridgway.

5. Why did President Truman replace MacArthur with Ridgway?

The Cold War stakes were high. Mindful of the European priority, the U.S. government decided against sending more troops to Korea and was ready to settle for the prewar status quo. The result was frustration among many Americans who could not understand the need for restraint. Truman's popularity plunged to a 24-percent approval rating, the lowest to that time of any president since pollsters had begun to measure presidential popularity. Truce talks began in July 1951. The two sides finally reached an agreement in July 1953, during the first term of Truman's successor, Dwight Eisenhower.

6. Who succeeded Harry Truman as president of the United States?

- a. Douglas MacArthur
- b. Dwight D. Eisenhower
- c. John Kennedy
- d. Matthew Ridgway

Cold War struggles also occurred in the Middle East. The region's strategic

importance as a supplier of oil had provided much of the impetus for pushing the Soviets out of Iran in 1946. But two years later, the United States officially recognized the new state of Israel 15 minutes after it was proclaimed - a decision Truman made over strong resistance from Marshall and the State Department. The result was an enduring dilemma - how to maintain ties with Israel while keeping good relations with bitterly anti-Israeli (and oil-rich) Arab states.

7. **What newly formed Middle Eastern country was officially recognized by the United States in 1948?**

8. **Do you agree with Truman's decision to return the Korean peninsula to the prewar status quo? Why or why not?**

9. **Given America's economic interests in the Middle East, do you agree with the decision to quickly recognize the newly declared state of Israel? Why or why not?**



10. **List the four countries that border Israel.**

CHAPTER
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GUIDED READING

The Cold War Comes Home

Section 3

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

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

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

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

HUAC

blacklist

Senator Joseph McCarthy

The Cold War at Home

Not only did the Cold War shape U.S. foreign policy, it also had a profound effect on domestic affairs. Americans had long feared radical subversion. These fears could at times be overdrawn, and used to justify otherwise unacceptable political restrictions, but it also was true that individuals under Communist Party discipline and many "fellow traveler" hangers-on gave their political allegiance not to the United States, but to the international Communist movement, or, practically speaking, to Moscow. During the Red Scare of 1919-1920, the government had attempted to remove perceived threats to American society. After World War II, it made strong efforts against Communism within the United States. Foreign events, espionage scandals, and politics created an anti-Communist hysteria.

When Republicans were victorious in the midterm congressional elections of 1946 and appeared ready to investigate subversive activity, President Truman established a Federal Employee Loyalty Program. It had little impact on the lives of most civil servants, but a few hundred were dismissed, some unfairly.

In 1947 the House Committee on Un-American Activities investigated the motion-picture industry to determine whether Communist sentiments were

being reflected in popular films. When some writers (who happened to be secret members of the Communist Party) refused to testify, they were cited for contempt and sent to prison. After that, the film companies refused to hire anyone with a marginally questionable past.

In 1948, Alger Hiss, who had been an assistant secretary of state and an adviser to Roosevelt at Yalta, was publicly accused of being a Communist spy by Whittaker Chambers, a former Soviet agent. Hiss denied the accusation, but in 1950 he was convicted of perjury. Subsequent evidence indicates that he was indeed guilty.

In 1949 the Soviet Union shocked Americans by testing its own atomic bomb. In 1950, the government uncovered a British-American spy network that transferred to the Soviet Union materials about the development of the atomic bomb. Two of its operatives, Julius Rosenberg and his wife Ethel, were sentenced to death. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath declared there were many American Communists, each bearing "the germ of death for society."

The most vigorous anti-Communist warrior was Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, a Republican from Wisconsin. He gained national attention in 1950 by claiming that he had a list of 205 known

Communists in the State Department. Though McCarthy subsequently changed this figure several times and failed to substantiate any of his charges, he struck a responsive public chord.

McCarthy gained power when the Republican Party won control of the Senate in 1952. As a committee chairman, he now had a forum for his crusade. Relying on extensive press and television coverage, he continued to search for treachery among second-level officials in the Eisenhower administration. Enjoying the role of a tough guy doing dirty but necessary work, he pursued presumed Communists with vigor.

McCarthy overstepped himself by challenging the U.S. Army when one of his assistants was drafted. Television brought the hearings into millions of homes. Many Americans saw McCarthy's savage tactics for the first time, and public support began to wane. The Republican Party, which had found McCarthy useful in challenging a Democratic administration when Truman was president, began to see him as an embarrassment. The Senate finally condemned him for his conduct.

McCarthy in many ways represented the worst domestic excesses of the Cold War. As Americans repudiated him, it became natural for many to assume that the Communist threat at home and abroad had been grossly overblown. As the country moved into the 1960s, anti-Communism became increasingly suspect, especially among intellectuals and opinion-shapers.

1. Who established a Federal Employee Loyalty Program?

2. What impact did the House Committee on Un-American Activities have on the motion-picture industry?

3. Describe Alger Hiss.

4. Why were Julius and Ethel Rosenberg sentenced to death?

5. How did Senator Joseph R. McCarthy lose public support?



Joseph McCarthy and McCarthyism

Even before the Second World War, there had been a lot of suspicion and paranoia of communism within the United States. During the Cold War this growing fear of communist infiltration in American society was exploited by US Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy, who accused everyone from trade union members to Hollywood stars of carrying out un-American activities or being communist agents.

Joseph McCarthy, born in Wisconsin in 1908, was elected to the US Senate for the first time in 1946. In 1950 he gave a speech during which he showed the audience a piece of paper with a list of the names of 205 supposed active communists working in the State Department. Hearing about these accusations, the American public was anxious for these communists to be identified and removed from power. McCarthyism, taken from the Senator's surname, is the term commonly applied to the anti-communist crusade which McCarthy started.

When McCarthy became the chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, he had greater possibilities for his investigations. He used controversial techniques to identify and question alleged communist activists or sympathisers and often made accusations with

little evidence. Many of the accused were government employees, trade union activists and people in the entertainment industry like Hollywood actors and directors who, given that they were named publicly, had their careers and reputations ruined. Because it was legal to be a member of the Communist Party of the United States, McCarthy had to accuse people of subversion and while there were no convictions for subversion during McCarthy's investigations, many years later some of the people he questioned were actually identified as Communist agents.

McCarthy's downfall came when he made accusations against officers of the US Army. The hearings were televised between April and June 1954 and the general public was able to see McCarthy's brutal interrogation methods. Support for McCarthy quickly diminished and he was censured by the Senate for having abused his power as a senator. He was allowed to remain a Senator but no longer had any power or influence. McCarthy died at the age of 48 of hepatitis, probably caused by his alcoholism.

READING COMPREHENSION

3 Read the text and answer these questions.

- 1 Who was Joseph McCarthy?
- 2 What were his politics?
- 3 What were the first accusations he made?
- 4 Why do you think the American public believed him?
- 5 What other people did he go on to accuse? What were the foundations for his accusations?
- 6 How and why did the reaction of the American public change?

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Section 4

GUIDED READING *Two Nations Live on the Edge*

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER
27

GUIDED READING *Postwar America*

Section 1

A. As you read this section, describe the solutions offered to deal with postwar problems.

1. Problem: Millions of veterans thrown out of work as they return to civilian life.

Solution offered by the Truman administration and Congress	
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2. Problem: Severe housing shortage

Solution offered by developers such as William Levitt	
Solutions offered by Congress under the Truman and Eisenhower administrations	

3. Problem: Runaway inflation

Solution offered by the Truman administration and Congress	
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4. Problem: Labor strikes that threaten to cripple the nation

Solution offered by the Truman administration	
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5. Problem: Discrimination and racial violence

Solutions offered during the Truman administration	
Solutions offered during the Eisenhower administration	

B. On the back of this paper, explain the significance of **suburb**, **Dixiecrat**, and **Fair Deal**.

The Fair Deal

The Fair Deal was the name given to President Harry Truman's domestic program. Building on Roosevelt's New Deal, Truman believed that the federal government should guarantee economic opportunity and social stability. He struggled to achieve those ends in the face of fierce political opposition from legislators determined to reduce the role of government.

Truman's first priority in the immediate postwar period was to make the transition to a peacetime economy. Servicemen wanted to come home quickly, but once they arrived they faced competition for housing and employment. The G.I. Bill, passed before the end of the war, helped ease servicemen back into civilian life by providing benefits such as guaranteed loans for home-buying and financial aid for industrial training and university education.

More troubling was labor unrest. As war production ceased, many workers found themselves without jobs. Others wanted pay increases they felt were long overdue. In 1946, 4.6 million workers went on strike, more than ever before in American history. They challenged the

automobile, steel, and electrical industries. When they took on the railroads and soft-coal mines, Truman intervened to stop union excesses, but in so doing he alienated many workers.

While dealing with immediately pressing issues, Truman also provided a broader agenda for action. Less than a week after the war ended, he presented Congress with a 21-point program, which provided for protection against unfair employment practices, a higher minimum wage, greater unemployment compensation, and housing assistance. In the next several months, he added proposals for health insurance and atomic energy legislation. But this scattershot approach often left Truman's priorities unclear.

Republicans were quick to attack. In the 1946 congressional elections they asked, "Had enough?" and voters responded that they had. Republicans, with majorities in both houses of Congress for the first time since 1928, were determined to reverse the liberal direction of the Roosevelt years.

Truman fought with the Congress as it cut spending and reduced taxes. In

1948 he sought reelection, despite polls indicating that he had little chance. After a vigorous campaign, Truman scored one of the great upsets in American politics, defeating the Republican nominee, Thomas Dewey, governor of New York. Reviving the old New Deal coalition, Truman held on to labor, farmers, and African-American voters.

When Truman finally left office in 1953, his Fair Deal was but a mixed success. In July 1948 he banned racial discrimination in federal government hiring practices and ordered an end to segregation in the military. The minimum wage had risen, and social security programs had expanded. A housing program brought some gains but left many needs unmet. National health insurance, aid-to-education measures, reformed agricultural subsidies, and his legislative civil rights agenda never made it through Congress. The president's pursuit of the Cold War, ultimately his most important objective, made it especially difficult to develop support for social reform in the face of intense opposition.

1. What name was given to President Harry Truman's domestic program?

2. Describe the G.I. Bill.

3. How did President Harry Truman help American workers?

4. Who won the 1948 presidential election?

- a. Dwight Eisenhower
- b. Harry Truman
- c. Huey Long
- d. Thomas Dewey

5. What did President Truman do for civil rights?

CHAPTER
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Section 2

GUIDED READING *The American Dream in the Fifties*

A. As you read this section, write notes about how Americans were affected by various trends of the 1950s.

Trends	Effects
1. Business expansion: conglomerates and franchises	
2. Suburban expansion: flight from the cities	
3. Population growth: the baby boom	
4. Dramatic increase in leisure time	
5. Dramatic increase in the use of the automobile	
6. The rise of consumerism	

B. On the back of this paper, briefly explain **planned obsolescence**. Then tell how **Dr. Jonas Salk** affected American society in the 1950s.

CHAPTER
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GUIDED READING *Popular Culture*

Section 3

A. As you read this section, take notes to answer questions about innovations and trends in 1950s popular culture.

1. Television	a. What are some of the most popular shows produced?	b. What kinds of subjects did television tend to present?	c. What kinds of subjects did it tend to avoid?
2. Radio	a. How did radio change to compete with television?		b. What role did it play in popularizing African-American culture?
3. Film	How did movies change to compete with television?		
4. The beat movement	a. Who were the most famous beat writers?	b. What were the movement's chief characteristics?	
5. Rock 'n' roll	a. Who helped to popularize rock 'n' roll?	b. What were rock's chief characteristics?	

B. On the back of this paper, explain the purpose of the **Federal Communications Commission (FCC)**; then, define **beatnik**.

The Culture of the 1950s

During the 1950s, many cultural commentators argued that a sense of uniformity pervaded American society. Conformity, they asserted, was numbingly common. Though men and women had been forced into new employment patterns during World War II, once the war was over, traditional roles were reaffirmed. Men expected to be the breadwinners in each family; women, even when they worked, assumed their proper place was at home. In his influential book, *The Lonely Crowd*, sociologist David Riesman called this new society "other-directed," characterized by conformity, but also by stability. Television, still very limited in the choices it gave its viewers, contributed to the homogenizing cultural trend by providing young and old with a shared experience reflecting accepted social patterns.

Yet beneath this seemingly bland surface, important segments of American society seethed with rebellion. A number of writers, collectively known as the "beat generation," went out of their way to challenge the patterns of respectability

and shock the rest of the culture. Stressing spontaneity and spirituality, they preferred intuition over reason, Eastern mysticism over Western institutionalized religion.

The literary work of the beats displayed their sense of alienation and quest for self-realization. Jack Kerouac typed his best-selling novel *On the Road* on a 75-meter roll of paper. Lacking traditional punctuation and paragraph structure, the book glorified the possibilities of the free life. Poet Allen Ginsberg gained similar notoriety for his poem "Howl," a scathing critique of modern, mechanized civilization. When police charged that it was obscene and seized the published version, Ginsberg successfully challenged the ruling in court.

Musicians and artists rebelled as well. Tennessee singer Elvis Presley was the most successful of several white performers who popularized a sensual and pulsating style of African-American music, which began to be called "rock and roll." At first, he outraged middle-class

Americans with his ducktail haircut and undulating hips. But in a few years his performances would seem relatively tame alongside the antics of later performances such as the British Rolling Stones. Similarly, it was in the 1950s that painters like Jackson Pollock discarded easels and laid out gigantic canvases on the floor, then applied paint, sand, and other materials in wild splashes of color. All of these artists and authors, whatever the medium, provided models for the wider and more deeply felt social revolution of the 1960s.

1. According to many cultural commentators, _____ was numbingly common during the 1950s.
 - a. conformity
 - b. equality
 - c. individuality
 - d. prosperity

2. Who wrote *The Lonely Crowd*?

3. Describe the "beat generation."

4. Who wrote *On the Road*?

5. Who wrote "Howl"?

6. Who was the most successful white performer to popularize rock-and-roll music?

7. Name an artist who discarded easels and laid out gigantic canvases on the floor, then applied paint, sand, and other materials in wild splashes of color.

What TV Is Doing to America (1955)

Television emerged as the most popular form of entertainment after World War II. In the process it transformed leisure time, and, some critics argued, degraded the quality of life. In 1955 U. S. News and World Report magazine assessed the impact of the television industry.

The biggest of the new forces in American life today is television. There has been nothing like it in the postwar decade, or in many decades before that—perhaps not since the invention of the printing press. Even radio, by contrast, was a placid experience.

The impact of TV on this country has been so massive that Americans are still wondering what hit them. Has the effect been good or bad? What permanent effects on the American way of life may be expected? These and other questions are considered in this survey.

Probably there are some people in the U.S. who have never seen a television program, but you would have to go into the hills to find them. Two out of three U.S. families now own their own sets, or are paying for them. In 32 million homes, TV dials are flicked on and off, from channel to channel, at least 100 million times between 8 a.m. and midnight.

Everywhere, children sit with eyes glued to screens—for three to four hours a day on the average. Their parents use up even more time mesmerized by this new marvel—or monster. They have spent 15 billion dollars to look since 1946.

Now, after nearly 10 years of TV, people are asking: "What hath TV wrought? What is this thing doing to us?"

Solid answers to this question are very hard to get. Pollsters, sociologists, doctors, teachers, the TV people themselves come up with more contradictions than conclusions whenever they start asking.

But almost everybody has an opinion and wants to air it.

What do these opinions add up to? People have strong views. Here are some widely held convictions, both against and for television:

That TV has kept people from going places and doing things, from reading, from thinking for themselves. Yet it is said also that TV has taken viewers vicariously into strange and fascinating spots and situations, brought distinguished and enchanting people into their living rooms, given them a new perspective.

That TV has interfered with schooling, kept children from learning to read and write, weakened their eyesight and softened their muscles. But there are those who hold that TV has made America's youngsters more "knowing" about life, more curious, given them a bigger vocabulary. Teaching by TV, educators say, is going to be a big thing in the future.

That TV arouses morbid emotions in children, glorifies violence, causes juvenile crime—that it starts domestic quarrels, tends to loosen morals and make people lazy and sullen. However, it keeps families together at home, provides a realm of cheap entertainment never before available, stimulates new lines of conversation.

That TV is giving the U.S. an almost primitive language, made up of grunts, whistles, standardized wisecracks and clichés—that it is turning the average American into a stereotype. Yet it is breaking down regional barriers and prejudices, ironing out accents, giving people in one part of the country a better understanding of people in other parts. That TV is milking politics "a rich man's game," turning statesmanship into a circus, handing demagogues a new weapon. But it is giving Americans their first good look at the inside of their Government, letting them judge the people they elect by sight as well as by sound and fury.

That TV has distorted and debased Salesmanship, haunting people with singing "commercials" and slogans. However, because or in spite of TV, people are buying more and more things they never before thought they needed or wanted.

These are just some of the comments that people keep on making about TV. The experts say that it probably will be another generation before there is a firm basis of knowledge about television's impact on America.

Today's TV child, the boy or girl who was born with a TV set in his home, is too young to analyze his feelings. Older people, despite their frequent vehemence about TV, are still far from sure whether they have all Aladdin's lamp or hold a bear by the tail.

Goliath with tubes. One thing you can be sure about. TV, a giant at 10, continues to grow like nobody's business. Here are some figures and comparisons: The 15 billion dollars that the U.S. people have invested in TV sets and repairs since the war is 15 per cent more than the country spent for new school and college buildings. About a billion more has gone into TV stations and equipment.

TV-viewing time is going up, not down, latest surveys show. This explodes the theory that people would taper off on television "once they got used to it."

"Pull" of popular TV programs is believed to be very effective. Pollsters report that three times as many people will leave a meal to answer questions at the door as will get up to abandon "Dragnet."

The number of families holding out against TV is declining to a small fraction. There still are 16 million families without sets, but most of these families either can't pay for sets or else live out of range of TV signals.

On an average evening, twice as many set owners will be watching TV as are engaged in any other form of entertainment or leisure activity, such as movie-going, card playing, or reading. Seven out of 10 American children watch TV between 6 and 8 o'clock most evenings.

Analysts are intrigued by the evidence that adults, not children, are the real television fans. The newest trend in viewing habits is a rise in the number of housewives who watch TV in the morning. One out of five with a set now watches a morning show with regularity.

What is it? Why do people want TV? A \$67.50-per-week shoe repairman in San Francisco, puts it about as plainly as anyone can. "TV," he says, "is the only amusement I can afford." That was the reason he gave for paying four weeks' wages for his set.

The cobbler's comment explains TV's basic lure. It is free entertainment except for the cost of set, and repairs and electricity. It becomes so absorbing that a broken set is a family catastrophe. People will pay to have the set fixed before they will pay the milk bill, if necessary.

What does TV do to people? What do people do with TV? The researchers are digging into these questions all the time. In general, they come to theories, rather than conclusions. There are three main theories:

THEORY "A": This is widely held by people whose professions bring them into close contact with juveniles—judges, district attorneys, police officers, ministers. It assumes that TV is bound to be affecting the American mind and character because it soaks up one to five hours a day or more that used to be spent in outdoor play, in games requiring reasoning and imagination, or in reading, talking, radio listening, or movie-going.

Even the more passive of these pursuits, the theory runs, required more exercise of brain than does TV watching. Then, too, many TV programs, the theorists say, are violent or in questionable taste.

Net effect, according to these people, is a wasting away or steady decline in certain basic skills among American youngsters. Children lose the ability to read, forfeit their physical dexterity, strength and initiative.

Some see a definite connection between TV and juvenile delinquency. The Kefauver Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee has just explored this aspect. It stated:

Members of the subcommittee share the concern of a large segment of the thinking public for the implications of the impact of this medium [television]. . . upon the ethical and cultural standards of the youth of America. It has been unable to gather proof of a direct casual relationship between the viewing of acts of crime and violence and the actual performance of criminal deeds. It has not, however, found irrefutable evidence that young people may not be negatively influenced in their present-day behavior by the saturated exposure they now receive to pictures and drama based on an underlying theme of lawlessness and crime which depict human violence.

THEORY "B": Mainly held by sociologists, communications economists, pollsters. This is that television is changing the American mind and character, although nobody knows for sure just how. The evidence is too fragmentary. The analysts are disturbed by some aspects of TV's effect on viewers. Some think TV is conditioning Americans to be "other directed," that is, getting the ideas from someone else. The early American, by contrast, is supposed to have been "inner directed," a man who thought things out for himself on the basis of his own reasoning.

A fancy name for this suspected effect of TV is "narcotic disfunction." This means that more and more men come home in the evening, drop into a chair in front of the TV set after supper and slip into a dream world of unreality.

However, the same researchers confess that TV can have a broadening influence, bringing to the masses a taste of the arts and sciences, a peek into government that they couldn't get any other way.

THEORY "C": This is what the TV people themselves like to think. It is that television is rapidly becoming "one more service" to the U.S. public, another medium such as newspapers, magazines, radio. Some people watch TV a lot, others very little. Most people want a set around, but some don't lean on it.

The TV people minimize the idea that TV is dominating American life. It is almost as if they were afraid their own baby is getting too big. What they usually say is that the people who allow their lives to be controlled by television were similarly dominated by radio and the movies—and that they are only a small minority.

The TV habit. What do the theorists base their theories on? What have they found out about the place of the TV set in American life?

Many studies have been made of the "TV habit." Latest of these indicates that TV viewing reaches a peak just after a set enters a home, then falls off rather sharply. Next, viewing begins to rise again in the average home, building up, evidently, toward a new peak that is not yet measured.

The A. C. Nielsen Company, a market research organization that attaches mechanical recorders to sets in private homes, finds this: During the 12 months ended in April, 1955, average use per day of TV sets was 4 hours and 50 minutes. That was up 4 per cent over the year before. . . .

Other studies indicate that women watch TV more than men do. Children, contrary to general impression, watch TV less than adults in the average home. Persons low in income, education or job status as a rule spend more time in front of TV sets than those with more money and education.

What's on TV. What do people get on TV? What do they want? Three out of every four TV programs are entertainment shows. . . . In a typical week of the peak TV season, in January of last year, crime, comedy, variety and Western shows accounted for 42.7 per cent of all TV program time on New York City screens. News accounted for 6.1 per cent of TV time—about the same share of time as was taken by quiz, stunt and contest shows. Other informational types of TV shows, such as interviews, weather reports, travelogues, children's instructional programs and cooking classes, got 16.2 per cent of the time.

Rating figures tend to show that people are getting just about what they want, in the opinion of the broadcasting industry. According to the "popularity" ratings of top shows, comedy and drama and straight entertainment are outpolling everything else.

What about information? The popularity cards seem to indicate the reaction is a stifled yawn. In a two-week period last June, when two comedy programs, the "George Gobel Show" and "I Love Lucy," were at the top of the list, each reaching more than 13 million homes, the top-ranking informational programs were way down the line. The "March of Medicine," for example, was No. 62, reaching 6.57 million homes; "Meet the Press" was No. 150, getting to 1.14 million families.

Studies also have been made of how long various programs hold their audiences. Love and adventure performances, it develops, will keep about 85 per cent of the audience to the end. By contrast, the most gripping historical sketches hold only 65 per cent, and many hold less than one third of their starting viewers. Informational programs, again, rank near the bottom in "holding power."

Television critics, who write about TV programs in newspapers and magazines, are frequently harsh in their remarks about violence, sadism, bad taste on the screen. However, Dallas W. Smythe, a professor of communications economics at the University of Illinois, analyzed New York City programs for 1955 and concludes that programs which critics liked best seldom drew the biggest audiences.

The public is fickle. Top rating is hard to hold. The viewers tire rapidly of a particular show unless the producers manage to come up with fresh material, new appeals.

[Copyright September 2, 1955, pp. 36-39. *U.S. News and World Report.*]

Discussion Questions – Read the article above and answer the following questions in as much analysis and detail as possible.

1. In 1955, how many homes had televisions? Find the estimated number of televisions per household in the US today.

2. Summarize the supposedly negative and positive effects of watching television in a graphic organizer like the one below.

Positive	Negative
•	•

3. Which concerns about television strike you as being equally relevant today?

4. After viewing **Theory "A", "B" and "C"**, which are you most likely to agree with? Develop your own theory in at least 6 sentences.

CHAPTER
27

GUIDED READING *The Other America*

Section 4

A. As you read about problems faced by the “other” America of the 1950s, note the causes of those problems, the solutions that were offered, and the effects of those solutions. (Notice that two answers have been provided for you.)

Problem: Decaying Cities		
1. Causes:	Solution offered: <i>Urban renewal</i>	2. Effects of solution:
Problem: Discrimination Against Mexican Americans		
Causes: <i>Prejudice against Hispanics; hard feelings toward braceros who stayed to work in the U.S. after World War II; illegal aliens escaping poor conditions in Mexico</i>	3. Solutions offered:	4. Effects of solutions:
Problem: Economic Hardship for Native Americans		
5. Causes:	6. Solutions offered:	7. Effects of solution:

B. On the back of this paper, explain the terms **bracero** and **termination policy**.