ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- How did the Cold War shape postwar international relations?
- How did Cold War tensions affect American society?

IT MATTERS BECAUSE

President Truman worked to contain communism by supporting Greece, Iran, and West Germany. When Communist North Korea invaded South Korea, Truman and the United Nations sent troops to aid South Korea.

Containing Communism

GUIDING QUESTION What was the policy of containment?

Despite growing tensions with the Soviet Union, many American officials continued to believe cooperation with the Soviets was possible. In late 1945, the foreign ministers of the former Allies met first in London, then in Moscow, to discuss the future of Europe and Asia. Although both British and American officials pushed for free elections in Eastern Europe, the Soviets refused to budge.

The Long Telegram

Increasingly exasperated by the Soviets’ refusal to cooperate, officials at the U.S. State Department asked the American Embassy in Moscow to explain Soviet behavior. On February 22, 1946, diplomat George Kennan responded with what became known as the Long Telegram—a message, thousands of words long, explaining his views of the Soviets. According to Kennan, the Soviets’ view of the world came from a traditional “Russian sense of insecurity” and fear of the West, intensified by the communist ideas of Lenin and Stalin. Because Communists believed they were in a historical struggle against capitalism, Kennan argued, it was impossible to reach any permanent settlement with them.

Kennan proposed what became basic American policy throughout the Cold War: “a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.” In Kennan’s opinion, the Soviet system had major economic and political weaknesses. If the United States could keep the Soviets from expanding their power, it would only be a matter of time before their system would fall apart, beating communism without going to war. The Long Telegram
circulated widely in Truman’s administration and became the basis for the administration’s policy of containment—keeping communism within its present territory through diplomatic, economic, and military actions.

Crisis in Iran
While Truman’s administration discussed Kennan’s ideas, a series of crises erupted during the spring and summer of 1946. These crises seemed to prove that Kennan was right about the Soviets. The first crisis began in Iran.

During World War II, the United States had troops in southern Iran while Soviet troops held northern Iran to secure a supply line from the Persian Gulf. After the war, instead of withdrawing as promised, the Soviet troops remained in northern Iran. Stalin then began demanding access to Iran’s oil supplies. To increase the pressure, Soviet troops helped local Communists in northern Iran establish a separate government.

American officials saw these actions as a Soviet push into the Middle East. The secretary of state sent Stalin a strong message demanding that Soviet forces withdraw. At the same time, the battleship USS Missouri sailed into the eastern Mediterranean. The pressure seemed to work. Soviet forces withdrew, having been promised a joint Soviet-Iranian oil company, although the Iranian parliament later rejected the plan.

The Truman Doctrine
Frustrated in Iran, Stalin turned northwest to Turkey. There, the straits of the Dardanelles were a vital route from Soviet ports on the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. Russia had wanted to control this strategic route for centuries. In August 1946, Stalin demanded joint control of the Dardanelles with Turkey.

Presidential adviser Dean Acheson saw this move as part of a Soviet plan to control the Middle East. He advised Truman to make a show of force. The president ordered the new aircraft carrier Franklin D. Roosevelt to join the Missouri in protecting Turkey and the eastern Mediterranean.

Meanwhile, Britain tried to help Greece. In August 1946, Greek Communists launched a guerrilla war against the Greek government. British troops helped fight the guerrillas, but in February 1947, Britain informed the United States that it could no longer afford to help Greece due to Britain’s weakened postwar economy.

Shortly after, Truman went before Congress to ask for $400 million to fight Communist aggression in Greece and Turkey. His speech outlined a policy that became known as the Truman Doctrine. Its goal was to aid those who worked to resist being controlled by others. In the long run, it pledged the United States to fight the spread of communism worldwide.

The Marshall Plan
Meanwhile, postwar Western Europe faced grave problems. Economies were ruined, people faced starvation, and political chaos was at hand. In June 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed the European
Recovery Program, or Marshall Plan, which would give European nations American aid to rebuild their economies. Truman saw both the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine as essential for containment. Marshall offered help to all nations planning a recovery program.

Although the Marshall Plan was offered to the Soviet Union and its satellite nations, the Soviets rejected it and developed their own economic program. This action further separated Europe into competing regions. The Marshall Plan pumped billions of dollars in supplies, machinery, and food into Western Europe. The region’s recovery weakened the appeal of communism and opened new markets for trade.

In his 1949 inaugural address, Truman proposed assistance for underdeveloped countries outside the war zone. The Point Four Program aimed to provide them with “scientific advances and industrial progress” for their improvement and growth. The Department of State administered the program until its merger with other foreign aid programs in 1953.

The Berlin Airlift
Truman and his advisers believed Western Europe’s prosperity depended on Germany’s recovery. The Soviets, however, still wanted Germany to pay reparations. This dispute brought the nations to the brink of war. By early 1948, American officials had concluded that the Soviets were trying to undermine Germany’s economy. In response, the United States, Britain, and France merged their German zones and allowed the Germans to have their own government, creating the Federal Republic of Germany, which became known as West Germany. They also agreed to merge their zones in Berlin and make West Berlin part of West Germany. The Soviet zone became the German Democratic Republic, or East Germany. West Germany was mostly independent but not allowed to have a military.

The creation of West Germany convinced the Soviets they would never get the reparations they wanted. In June 1948, Soviet troops blockaded West Berlin, hoping to force the United States to reconsider its decision or abandon West Berlin. Truman sent bombers capable of carrying atomic weapons to bases in Britain. Hoping to avoid war with the Soviets, he ordered the air force to fly supplies into Berlin rather than troops.

The Berlin Airlift began in June 1948 and continued through the spring of 1949, bringing in more than two million tons of supplies to the city. Stalin finally lifted the blockade on May 12, 1949. The airlift symbolized
The Creation of NATO
The Berlin blockade convinced many Americans that the Soviets were bent	hon conquest. The public began to support a military alliance with Western
Europe. By April 1949, an agreement had been made to form the North
Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—a mutual defense alliance.

NATO initially included 12 countries: the United States, Canada,
Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Portugal, the Netherlands,
Norway, Luxembourg, and Iceland. NATO members agreed to come to the
aid of any member who was attacked. For the first time, the United States
had committed itself to maintaining peace in Europe. Six years later, NATO
allowed West Germany to rearm and join its organization. This decision
alarmed Soviet leaders. They responded by organizing a military alliance in
Eastern Europe known as the Warsaw Pact.

**Identifying Central Issues** What was the main idea behind containment?

**Developments in Asia and the Korean War**

**GUIDING QUESTION** Why was the Korean War a major turning point in the Cold War?

The Cold War eventually spread beyond Europe. Conflicts also emerged in
Asia, where events in China and Korea brought about a new attitude
toward Japan and sent American troops back into battle in Asia less than
five years after World War II had ended.

**The Chinese Revolution**
In China, Communist forces led by Mao Zedong had been struggling
against the Nationalist government led by Chiang Kai-shek since the late
1920s. During World War II, the two sides suspended their war to resist
Japanese occupation. With the end of World War II, however, civil war
broke out again. Although Mao and the Communist forces made great
gains, neither side could win nor agree to a compromise.

**GEOGRAPHY CONNECTION**
NATO was formed as an alliance to
defend against an outside attack.
In response, the Soviet Union
created its own alliance known as
the Warsaw Pact.

1. **HUMAN SYSTEMS**
   Which nations are the founding members of NATO?

2. **PLACES AND REGIONS**
   Why was West Germany not a
   part of the original group of
   NATO nations?
To prevent a communist revolution in Asia, the United States sent the Nationalist government $2 billion in aid beginning in the mid-1940s. The Nationalists, however, squandered this advantage through poor military planning and corruption. By 1949, the Communists had captured the Chinese capital of Beijing, while support for the Nationalists declined.

In August 1949, the U.S. State Department discontinued aid to the Chinese Nationalists. The defeated Nationalists then fled to the small island of Formosa (now called Taiwan). The victorious Communists established the People's Republic of China in October 1949.

China's fall to communism shocked Americans. To make matters worse, in September 1949, the Soviet Union announced that it had successfully tested its first atomic weapon. Then, early in 1950, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union signed a treaty of friendship and alliance. Many Western leaders feared that China and the Soviet Union would support communist revolutions in other nations.

The United States kept formal diplomatic relations with only the Nationalist Chinese in Taiwan. It used its veto power in the UN Security Council to keep representatives of the new Communist People's Republic of China out of the UN, allowing the Nationalists to retain their seat.

New Policies in Japan
The Chinese revolution brought about a significant change in American policy toward Japan. At the end of World War II, General Douglas MacArthur had taken charge of occupied Japan. His mission was to introduce democracy and keep Japan from threatening war again. Once the United States lost China as its chief ally in Asia, it adopted policies to encourage the rapid recovery of Japan's industrial economy. Just as the United States viewed West Germany as the key to defending all of Europe against communism, it saw Japan as the key to defending Asia.

The Korean War
At the end of World War II, American and Soviet forces entered Korea to disarm the Japanese troops stationed there. The Allies divided Korea at the 38th parallel of latitude. Soviet troops controlled the north, while American troops controlled the south.

As the Cold War began, talks to reunify Korea broke down. A Communist Korean government was organized in the north, while an American-backed government controlled the south. Both governments claimed authority over Korea, and border clashes were common. The Soviets provided military aid to the North Koreans, who quickly built an army. On June 25, 1950, North Korean troops invaded the south, driving back the poorly equipped South Korean forces.

Truman saw the Communist invasion of South Korea as a test of the containment policy and ordered American naval and air power into action. He then called on the United Nations to act. Because the Soviet Union was boycotting the Security Council over its China policy, Truman succeeded. With the pledge of UN troops, he ordered General MacArthur to send American troops from Japan to Korea.

The American and South Korean troops were driven back into a small pocket of territory near the port of Pusan. Inside the "Pusan perimeter," troops stubbornly resisted the North Koreans, buying time for MacArthur to organize reinforcements.
On September 15, 1950, MacArthur ordered a daring invasion behind enemy lines at the port of Inchon. The Inchon landing took the North Koreans by surprise. Within weeks they were in full retreat back across the 38th parallel. Truman then gave the order to pursue the North Koreans beyond the 38th parallel. MacArthur pushed the North Koreans north to the Yalu River, the border with China.

**China Enters the War** The Communist People’s Republic of China saw the advancing UN troops as a threat and warned them to halt their advance. When warnings were ignored, Chinese forces crossed the Yalu River in November. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese troops flooded across the border, driving the UN forces back across the 38th parallel.

As his troops fell back, an angry MacArthur demanded approval to expand the war against China. He asked for a blockade of Chinese ports, the use of Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist forces, and the bombing of Chinese cities with atomic weapons.

**Truman Fires MacArthur** President Truman refused MacArthur’s demands because he did not want to expand the war into China or to use the atomic bomb. MacArthur persisted, publicly criticizing the president and arguing that it was a mistake to keep the war limited. “There is no substitute for victory,” MacArthur insisted, by which he meant that if the United States was going to go to war, it should use all of its power to win. A limited war was a form of appeasement, he argued, and appeasement “begets new and bloodier war.”

Determined to maintain control of policy and show that he commanded the military, an exasperated Truman fired MacArthur for insubordination in April 1951. Later, in private conversation, Truman explained: “I was sorry to have to reach a parting of the way with the big man in Asia, but he asked for it and I had to give it to him.”

MacArthur, who remained popular despite being fired, returned home to parades and a hero’s welcome. Many Americans criticized the president. Congress and military leaders, however, supported his decision and his Korean strategy. American policy in Asia remained committed to **limited war**—a war fought to achieve a limited objective, such as containing communism.

Truman later explained his position:

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

“The Kremlin [Soviet Union] is trying, and has been trying for a long time, to drive a wedge between us and the other nations. It wants to see us isolated. It wants to see us distrusted. It wants to see us feared and hated by our allies. Our allies agree with us in the course we are following. They do not believe we should take the initiative to widen the conflict in the Far East. If the United States were to widen the conflict, we might well have to go it alone.”

—from an address to the Civil Defense Conference, May 7, 1951

**Armistice Ends Fighting** By mid-1951, UN forces had pushed the Chinese and North Korean forces back across the 38th parallel. The war settled into a series of relatively small battles over hills and other local objectives. In July 1951, peace negotiations began at Panmunjom. As talks continued, the war became increasingly unpopular in the United States. After Dwight D. Eisenhower was elected to the presidency in 1952, the former general traveled to Korea to talk with commanders and their troops. He became determined to bring the war to an end.
In 1951 President Truman fired General Douglas MacArthur over disagreements about how to conduct the Korean War.

This cartoon suggests that General MacArthur had overstepped his authority in Korea.

1. **Making Inferences** What does the cartoon imply MacArthur was trying to do in Asia?

2. **Analyzing Primary Sources** Is this cartoon supportive of General MacArthur or critical of him? Explain.

Eisenhower quietly hinted to the Chinese that the United States might use a nuclear attack in Korea. The threat seemed to work. In July 1953, negotiators signed an armistice. The battle line between the two sides in Korea, which was very near the prewar boundary, became the border between North Korea and South Korea. A "demilitarized zone" (DMZ) separated them. American troops are still based in Korea, helping to defend South Korea's border. There has never been a peace treaty to end the war. More than 33,600 American soldiers died in action, and over 20,600 died in accidents or from disease.

**Changes in Policy** The Korean War marked a turning point in the Cold War. Until 1950, the United States had preferred to use political pressure and economic aid to contain communism. After the Korean War began, the United States embarked on a major military buildup. The war also helped expand the Cold War to Asia. Before 1950, American efforts to contain communism focused on Europe. With the Korean War, the nation became more militarily involved in Asia. By 1954, the United States had signed defense agreements with Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. The United States also formed the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954. Aid also began flowing to French forces fighting Communists in Vietnam.

**LESSON 2 REVIEW**

**Reviewing Vocabulary**
1. **Defining** What is the defining feature of limited war?

**Using Your Notes**
2. **Summarizing** Review the notes you completed during the lesson to write a paragraph summarizing the major conflicts between the Soviet Union and the United States during the early years of the Cold War.

**Answering the Guiding Questions**
3. **Explaining** What was the policy of containment?

4. **Describing** Why was the Korean War a major turning point in the Cold War?

**Writing Activity**
5. **ARGUMENT** Write a letter to the editor of a newspaper explaining why you agree or disagree with President Truman's firing of General MacArthur.
LESSON 3
The Cold War and American Society

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS
- How did the Cold War shape postwar international relations?
- How did Cold War tensions affect American society?

IT MATTERS BECAUSE
Fearing subversive activity, the government tried to root out Communists in government, Hollywood, and labor unions, while Americans learned to live with the threat of nuclear attack.

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

During the 1950s, rumors and accusations spawned fears that Communists were trying to take over the world. The Red Scare began in September 1945, when a clerk named Igor Gouzenko walked out of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, Canada, and defected. Gouzenko carried documents showing a Soviet effort to infiltrate government agencies in Canada and the United States, with the specific goal of obtaining information about the atomic bomb. The case stunned Americans. It implied that spies had infiltrated the American government. Soon the search for spies escalated into a general fear of Communist subversion, or effort to weaken a society and overthrow its government.

The Truman Loyalty Review Program
In early 1947, President Truman established a loyalty review program to screen all federal employees. Truman’s action seemed to confirm suspicions that Communists had infiltrated the government and so added to fears that communism was sweeping the nation. Between 1947 and 1951, more than six million federal employees were screened for loyalty—a term difficult to define. A person might become a suspect for reading certain books, belonging to various groups, traveling overseas, or seeing certain foreign films. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) scrutinized some 14,000 people. About 2,000 quit their jobs, many under pressure. Another 212 were fired for “questionable loyalty,” despite a lack of actual evidence.
HUAC and Anti-Communist Investigations

FBI director J. Edgar Hoover remained unsatisfied. In 1947, he went before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). Formed in 1938 to investigate subversive activities in the United States, HUAC had been a minor committee before Hoover's involvement. He urged HUAC to hold public hearings on Communist subversion to expose not just Communists but also "Communist sympathizers" and "fellow travelers." Under Hoover's leadership, the FBI sent agents to infiltrate groups suspected of subversion and wiretapped thousands of telephones.

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

Alger Hiss In 1948, Whittaker Chambers, a magazine editor and former Communist Party member, told HUAC that several government officials were also former Communists or spies. One official Chambers named was Alger Hiss, a diplomat who had served in Roosevelt's administration, attended the Yalta Conference, and helped organize the United Nations. Hiss sued Chambers for libel, but Chambers testified that, in 1937 and 1938, Hiss had given him secret State Department documents. Hiss denied being either a spy or a member of the Communist Party, and he also denied ever having known Chambers.

The committee was ready to drop the investigation until California representative Richard Nixon convinced his colleagues to continue the hearings to determine who had lied. Chambers produced copies of secret documents, along with microfilm that he had hidden in a hollow pumpkin. These "pumpkin papers," Chambers claimed, proved Hiss was lying. A jury agreed and convicted Hiss of perjury, or lying under oath.

The Rosenbergs Another spy case centered on accusations that American Communists had sold secrets about the atomic bomb to the Soviets to help them produce a bomb in 1949. In 1950, the hunt for spies led the FBI to arrest Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, a New York couple who were members of the Communist Party. The government charged them with spying for the Soviets.

The Rosenbergs denied the charges but were condemned to death for espionage. Many people believed that they were simply victims caught in the wave of anti-Communist frenzy. Appeals and pleas for clemency failed, however, and the Rosenbergs were executed in June 1953.

Project Venona In 1946, American and British cryptographers, working for a project code-named "Venona," cracked the Soviet Union's spy code, enabling them to read approximately 3,000 messages between Moscow and the United States collected during the Cold War. These messages confirmed extensive Soviet spying and ongoing efforts to steal nuclear secrets. The government did not reveal Project Venona's existence until 1995. The Venona documents provided strong evidence that the Rosenbergs were indeed guilty.

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

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

manipulate to operate or arrange manually to achieve a desired effect

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

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

Although he had led the effort to develop the atomic bomb, scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer's left-wing views and opposition to the hydrogen bomb led to his suspension of his security clearance and controversial public hearings.

> CRITICAL THINKING

Drawing Conclusions Why were people suspicious of Oppenheimer?
The Red Scare Spreads
Many state and local governments, universities, businesses, unions, churches, and private groups also began efforts to find Communists. The University of California required its faculty to take loyalty oaths and fired 157 who refused. Many Catholic groups became anti-Communist and urged members to identify Communists within the Church. The Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 required union leaders to take oaths saying that they were not Communists. Many union leaders did not object. Instead, they launched efforts to purge their own organizations, eventually expelling 11 unions that refused to remove Communist leaders.

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

## McCarthyism

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

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

In February 1950, little-known senator Joseph R. McCarthy gave a speech to a Republican women’s group in West Virginia. Halfway through his speech, McCarthy made a surprising statement when he claimed:

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

“While I cannot take the time to name all the men in the State Department who have been named as members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring, I have here in my hand a list of 205 that were known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping the policy of the State Department.”

—quoted in The Fifties, 1993

The Associated Press sent the statement nationwide. Reporters at an airport asked McCarthy to see his list. McCarthy replied that he would be happy to show it to them, but unfortunately, it was in his bag on the plane. In fact, the list never appeared. McCarthy, however, continued making charges.

McCarthy proclaimed that Communists were a danger at home and abroad. He distributed a booklet accusing Democratic Party leaders of corruption and of protecting Communists. McCarthy often targeted Secretary of State Dean Acheson, calling him incompetent and a tool of Stalin. He also accused George C. Marshall, former army chief of staff and secretary of state, of disloyalty. The prevailing anxiety about communism made many Americans willing to accept McCarthy’s claims.

## The McCarran Act

In 1950, with McCarthy and others arousing fears of Communist spies, Congress passed the Internal Security Act, also called the McCarran Act. The act made it illegal to attempt to establish a totalitarian government in the United States, and required all Communist-related organizations to publish their records and register with the United States attorney general. Communists could not have passports and, in cases of a national emergency, could be arrested and detained. Unwilling to punish people for their opinions, Truman vetoed the bill, but Congress easily overrode his veto in 1950. Later Supreme Court cases limited the act’s scope.
McCarthy's Rise and Fall
In 1953, McCarthy became chairman of the Senate subcommittee on investigations, which forced government officials to testify about alleged Communist influences. Investigations became witch-hunts—searches for disloyalty based on weak evidence and irrational fears. McCarthy’s tactic of damaging reputations with vague, unfounded charges became known as McCarthyism.

McCarthy’s sensational accusations put him in the headlines, and the press quoted him often and widely. He badgered witnesses and then refused to accept their answers. His tactics left a cloud of suspicion that he and others interpreted as guilt. People were afraid to challenge him.

In 1954, McCarthy began to look for Soviet spies in the United States Army. During weeks of televised hearings, millions of Americans watched McCarthy question and bully officers, harassing them about trivial details and accusing them of misconduct. His popular support began to fade.

Finally, to strike back at the army’s lawyer, Joseph Welch, McCarthy brought up the past of a young lawyer in Welch’s firm who had been a member of a Communist-front organization while in law school. Welch, who was fully aware of the young man’s past, exploded at McCarthy for possibly ruining the young man’s career: “Until this moment, I think I never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness. . . . You have done enough. Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?”

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

Assessing Why were people prepared to accept McCarthy’s claims?

Life During the Early Cold War
GUIDING QUESTION How did fears of nuclear war affect American society?

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

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

Analyzing
SUPREME COURT CASES

Watkins v. United States, 1957

In 1954, labor organizer John Watkins testified before HUAC. He agreed to discuss his connections with the Communist Party and to identify people who were still members, but refused to talk about those who were no longer members. Watkins received a misdemeanor conviction for refusing to answer questions “pertinent to the question under inquiry.” In 1957, he appealed his case to the Supreme Court. In a 6-to-1 decision, the Supreme Court held that the activities of HUAC during its investigations were beyond the scope of the stated aims of the committee, as well as the authority of congressional powers.

DBQ DEFENDING What argument would you make in support of John Watkins’s position?

Some Americans invested in personal bomb shelters stocked with food, believing it would allow them to survive a bomb blast.

CRITICAL THINKING
Interpreting Study the facial expressions of the members of this family. What can you interpret about the likely significance of the bomb shelter for this family?
Although “duck-and-cover” might have made people feel safer, it would not have protected them from nuclear radiation. Experts have noted that for every person killed outright by a nuclear blast, four more would die later from fallout, the radiation left over after a blast. To protect themselves, some families built backyard fallout shelters.

**Popular Culture in the Cold War**
As worries about nuclear war and Communist infiltration filled the public imagination, Cold War themes soon appeared in films, plays, television, the titles of dance tunes, and popular fiction. Matt Cvetic, an FBI undercover informant who secretly infiltrated the Communist Party, captivated readers with reports in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1950. His story was later made into the movie *I Was a Communist for the FBI* (1951). Another film, *Walk East on Beacon* (1952), features the FBI’s activities in a spy case. In 1953, Arthur Miller’s thinly veiled criticism of the Communist witch-hunts, *The Crucible*, appeared on Broadway. The play remains popular today as a cautionary tale about how hysteria can lead to false accusations.

In 1953, a weekly television series, *I Led Three Lives*, about an undercover FBI counterespionage who was also a Communist Party official, debuted. Popular tunes such as “Atomic Boogie” and “Atom Bomb Baby” played on the radio. The next year, author Philip Wylie published *Tomorrow!,* a novel describing the horrific effects of nuclear war on an unprepared American city. Wylie wrote his novel to educate the public about the horrors of atomic war.

One of the most famous and enduring works of this period is John Hersey’s nonfiction book *Hiroshima*. Originally published as the August 1946 edition of *The New Yorker* magazine, the book provides six firsthand accounts of the United States dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan. Not only did it make some Americans question the use of the bomb, but *Hiroshima* also underscored the real, personal horrors of a nuclear attack.

At the same time, the country was enjoying postwar prosperity and optimism. That spirit, combined with McCarthyism, fears of Communist infiltration, and the threat of atomic attack, made the early 1950s a time of contrasts. As the 1952 election approached, Americans were looking for someone or something that would make them feel more secure.

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**LESSON 3 REVIEW**

**Reviewing Vocabulary**
1. **Evaluating** What was the significance of Truman’s loyalty review program?
2. **Identifying Cause and Effect** What was the effect of the Senate’s vote of censure against McCarthy?
3. **Summarizing** Use the notes you completed during the lesson to write a paragraph summarizing how the early years of the Cold War affected American society.
4. **Comparing and Contrasting** How did the post–World War II Red Scare compare and contrast with the one that followed World War I?
5. **Drawing Inferences** Why did many Americans believe Senator McCarthy’s accusations?
6. **Describing** How did fears of nuclear war affect American society?
7. **ARGUMENT** Consider the historical events surrounding the early Cold War era. Were HUAC and Senator McCarthy justified in investigating people who were suspected of being Communists?
LESSON 2

JFK and the Cold War

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS
- Can government fix society's problems?
- How do you think Presidents Kennedy and Johnson changed American society?

IT MATTERS BECAUSE
During the Kennedy administration, ongoing tensions with the Soviet Union led to crises over Cuba and West Berlin. To contain communism and stay ahead in technology, President Kennedy created aid programs for developing nations and expanded the space program.

Containing Communism

GUIDING QUESTION How were President Kennedy's programs to combat communism different from the programs of previous administrations?

When John F. Kennedy entered the White House in 1961, the Cold War with the Soviet Union dominated all other concerns. He used a range of programs to try to stop the spread of communism. These included a conventional weaponry program to give the nation's military more flexibility. The programs also included economic aid to Latin America and the creation of the Peace Corps to help developing nations.

A More Flexible Response
Kennedy took office at a time of growing global instability. Resentment at wealthy Western nations was on the rise in the developing world, often encouraged by the Soviet Union. Kennedy felt that Eisenhower had relied too heavily on nuclear weapons. To allow for a "flexible response" to resist Communist movements, the president pushed for a buildup of troops and conventional weapons. He also expanded the Special Forces, an elite army unit used in limited conflicts.

Despite his commitment to flexible response, Kennedy had warned against a "missile gap" during his campaign. Although no gap actually existed, the United States began a massive build-up of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) armed with nuclear warheads. At the time Kennedy took office, less than 20 ICBMs were deployed by the United States, and only 50 new Minuteman missiles were planned. The Soviet Union had less than 10 ICBMs...
ready to fire at the United States. Nonetheless, Kennedy decided to build 1000 Minutemen ICBMS. The decision continued the arms race for the remainder of the 1960s and into the 1970s. Tensions increased as the Soviets began their own mass production of missiles, and began to look for other ways to ensure they could match the firepower of the United States.

Aid to Other Countries

Kennedy wanted to renew diplomatic focus on Latin America, where governments were often in the hands of the wealthy few and many people lived in extreme poverty. In some countries, these conditions spurred the growth of left-wing movements aimed at overthrowing their governments. In his Inaugural Address, President Kennedy said, "To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge—to convert our good words into good deeds—in a new alliance for progress...

When the United States became involved in Latin America, it was usually to help existing governments stay in power and to prevent Communist movements from flourishing. Poor Latin Americans resented this intrusion, just as they resented American corporations, whose presence was seen as a kind of imperialism.

The Alliance for Progress

To improve relations between the United States and Latin America, Kennedy proposed the Alliance for Progress, a series of cooperative aid projects with Latin American governments. The Alliance was designed to create a "free and prosperous Latin America" that would be more stable and less likely to support Communist-inspired revolutions.

Over a 10-year period, the United States pledged $20 billion to help Latin American countries establish better schools, housing, health care, and fairer land distribution. The results were mixed. In some countries, the Alliance did promote real reform. In others, local rulers used the money to keep themselves in power.

The Peace Corps

Another program aimed at helping developing nations fight poverty was the Peace Corps. This program sent Americans to provide humanitarian services in developing nations. After rigorous training,
volunteers spent two years in countries that requested assistance. Among other projects, Peace Corps volunteers built roads, taught English, laid out sewage systems, and trained medical technicians.

The Cold War in Space
In 1961, Yury Gagarin (YUR-ee gub- GAHR-uhn), a Soviet astronaut, became the first person to orbit Earth. Again, as in 1957 with the launch of Sputnik, the first satellite, the Soviets had beaten the United States in the space race. Kennedy worried that Soviet successes in space might convince the world that communism was better than capitalism. Less than six weeks after the Soviet flight, the president went before Congress and declared: "I believe this Nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the Moon." Kennedy’s speech set in motion a massive effort to develop the necessary technology. In 1962, John Glenn became the first American to orbit Earth. Six years later, the United States sent three men into orbit in a capsule called Apollo. The capsule was launched using the Saturn V, the most powerful rocket ever built. The Saturn V gave both Apollo and its lunar module—which astronauts would use to land on the moon—enough velocity to reach the moon.

On July 16, 1969, a Saturn V lifted off in Florida, carrying three American astronauts: Neil Armstrong, Edwin “Buzz” Aldrin, and Michael Collins. On July 20, Armstrong and Aldrin boarded the lunar module, named Eagle, and headed down to the moon. Minutes later, Armstrong radioed NASA's flight center in Texas: “Houston ... the Eagle has landed.” Armstrong became the first human being to walk on the moon. As he set foot on the lunar surface, he announced: “That’s one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind.” The United States had demonstrated its technological superiority over the Soviet Union.

In addition, the moon landing represented a potential turning point in human history. For the first time, human beings had walked on the surface of another world. Although no one has gone any further from home in the nearly 50 years that have passed since the first moon landing, the success of the mission demonstrated that human beings might one day set out to colonize other worlds.

The space program also set in motion an enormous wave of technological innovation that continues to shape the world today. The requirement for clear communications with the astronauts led to improved transmission technology, making possible the use of satellites to transmit

In 1962, John Glenn was the first American to orbit Earth.

CRITICAL THINKING
Making Generalizations. In addition to being explorers, what other role did the U.S. astronauts play?

Neil Armstrong was the first person to walk on the moon. To reach the moon, NASA developed the giant Saturn V rocket, which lifted a three-person capsule, called Apollo, and a landing craft, called the Lunar Module, into space. Once Apollo and the Lunar Module entered orbit around the moon, the Lunar Module carried two astronauts from the Apollo capsule down to the moon's surface.
radio, phone, and television signals. It also led to the first wireless headsets. Power requirements so far from home led to advances in battery technology and solar cell technology. Navigational concerns led to improvements in computer technology, particularly involving the use of integrated circuits to build computers that could fit in the space available.

Other inventions resulting from the space program that have improved our way of life include water filters, new types of insulation, flame resistant fabrics, the CAT scanner, memory foam for beds and chairs, and new types of rubber, now used in running shoes and hiking boots. Innovations in robotics for the space program went on to benefit manufacturers around the world and helped drive down the price of goods.

In general, the moon landing boosted the confidence of Americans and enhanced the nation’s stature abroad. If the United States could put men on the moon, what could it not do? Three years later, in the wake of the success of the Apollo missions, President Nixon approved the development of a new reusable spacecraft that would later be known as the Space Shuttle.

**Reading Progress Check**

*Analyzing* Why do you think the space race was a part of President Kennedy’s programs to combat communism?

**Crises of the Cold War**

*Guiding Question* What was the most important foreign policy event of the Kennedy administration? Why was it the most important event?

President Kennedy’s efforts to combat Communist influence in other countries led to some of the most intense crises of the Cold War. At times, these crises left Americans and people in many other nations wondering whether the world would survive.

The Bay of Pigs

The first crisis occurred in Cuba, only 90 miles (145 km) from American shores. There, Fidel Castro had overthrown the corrupt Cuban dictator...
Fulgencio Batista in 1959. At once, Castro established ties with the Soviet Union, instituting drastic land reforms, and seized foreign-owned businesses, many of which were American. Cuba’s alliance with the Soviets worried many Americans. Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev was also expressing his hope to strengthen Cuba’s military.

Fearing that the Soviets would use Cuba as a base from which to spread revolution, President Eisenhower had authorized the CIA to secretly train and arm a group of Cuban exiles, known as La Brigada, to invade the island. His goal was to set off a popular uprising against Castro. When Kennedy became president, his advisers approved the plan. Kennedy agreed to the operation with some changes. On April 17, 1961, about 1,400 armed Cuban exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs on the south coast of Cuba. The invasion was a disaster. La Brigada’s boats ran aground on coral reefs. Then Kennedy canceled their air support to keep the United States’s involvement a secret. The expected popular uprising never happened. Within two days, Castro’s forces killed or captured almost all the members of La Brigada.

The Bay of Pigs was a dark moment for the Kennedy administration. The incident exposed an American plot to overthrow a neighbor’s government. The disastrous outcome made the United States look weak and disorganized.

The Berlin Wall Goes Up
In June 1961, Kennedy faced another foreign policy challenge when he met with Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev in Vienna, Austria. To stop Germans from leaving Communist East Germany for West Berlin, Khrushchev demanded that the Western powers recognize East Germany and withdraw from Berlin. Berlin was a city lying completely within East Germany. Kennedy refused and reaffirmed the West’s commitment to West Berlin.

Khrushchev retaliated by building a wall through Berlin, blocking movement between the Soviet sector and the rest of the city. Guards along the wall shot at people who tried to cross from East Berlin to West Berlin. The Berlin Wall stood as a symbol of Cold War divisions.

The Cuban Missile Crisis
During the summer of 1962, American intelligence learned that Soviet technicians and equipment had arrived in Cuba and that military construction was in progress. On October 22, Kennedy announced that the Soviet Union had placed long-range nuclear missiles in Cuba. This location made them a clear threat to the United States.

Kennedy ordered a naval quarantine to stop the delivery of more missiles, and demanded the existing missile sites be dismantled. He warned that if attacked, the United States would respond fully against the Soviet Union. Still, work on the missile sites continued. Nuclear warfare seemed more possible than ever.

Then, after a flurry of secret negotiations, the Soviet Union offered to remove the missiles if the United States promised not to invade Cuba. The United States also agreed to remove its missiles from Turkey near the Soviet border.

In reality, neither Kennedy nor Khrushchev wanted nuclear war. “Only lunatics or suicides, who themselves want to perish and to destroy the whole world before they die, could do this,” wrote Khrushchev. “We . . . want to live and do not at all want to destroy your country.” On October 28, the leaders reached an agreement. The world could breathe again.
The Cuban missile crisis forced the United States and the Soviet Union to consider the consequences of nuclear war. In August 1963, the two countries agreed to a treaty that banned testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. In the long run, however, the missile crisis had consequences. Soviet leadership saw Khrushchev as having agreed to a humiliating retreat, and he fell from power in 1964. The crisis also exposed the Soviets' military inferiority and prompted a dramatic Soviet arms buildup, which the United States matched.

Death of a President
Soon after the Senate ratified the test ban treaty, John F. Kennedy's presidency ended shockingly and tragically. On November 22, 1963, Kennedy and his wife traveled to Texas. As the presidential motorcade rode slowly through the crowded streets of Dallas, gunfire rang out. Someone had shot the president twice. Government officials sped Kennedy to a nearby hospital, where he was pronounced dead moments later.

Lee Harvey Oswald, the man accused of killing Kennedy, appeared to be a confused and embittered Marxist who had spent time in the Soviet Union. He himself was shot to death while in police custody two days after Kennedy's assassination. The bizarre situation led some to speculate that the second gunman, local nightclub owner Jack Ruby, killed Oswald to protect others involved in the crime. In 1964, a national commission headed by Chief Justice Warren concluded that Oswald was the lone assassin. The report of the Warren Commission left some questions unanswered. Theories about a conspiracy to kill the president have persisted, though none has gained wide acceptance.

In the wake of the assassination, the United States and much of the world went into mourning. Kennedy was president for little more than 1,000 days. Yet he made a profound impression on most Americans. Kennedy's successor, Vice President Lyndon Baines Johnson, set out to promote many of the programs that Kennedy left unfinished.

LESSON 2 REVIEW

**Reviewing Vocabulary**
1. **Explaining** How was Kennedy's "flexible response" different from Eisenhower's strategy for containing communism?
2. **Summarizing** Why was the space race so important to the United States?
3. **Making Generalizations** Use the notes you completed during the lesson to describe which areas the Kennedy administration succeeded in, and which areas posed setbacks to the president's drive to win the Cold War.

**Answering the Guiding Questions**
4. **Analyzing** How were President Kennedy's programs to combat communism different from the programs of previous administrations?
5. **Synthesizing** What was the most important foreign policy event of the Kennedy administration? Why was it the most important event?

**Writing Activity**
6. **INFORMATIVE/EXPLANATORY** Write two to three descriptive paragraphs explaining how President Kennedy's programs affected the world and the American people, both in his leadership and in his death.
LESSON 1

The Movement Begins

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS
- Why do you think the civil rights movement made gains in postwar America?
- What motivates a society to make changes?

IT MATTERS BECAUSE
After World War II, African Americans and other civil rights supporters challenged segregation in the United States. Their efforts were strongly opposed by Southern segregationists. Eventually, the federal government began to take a firmer stand for civil rights.

The Origins of the Movement

GUIDING QUESTION  What techniques did the civil rights movement use to challenge segregation?

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks left her job as a seamstress in Montgomery, Alabama, and boarded a bus to go home. In 1955, buses in Montgomery reserved seats in the front for whites and seats in the rear for African Americans. Seats in the middle were available to African Americans only if there were few whites on the bus. Parks took a seat just behind the white section, and soon all of the seats on the bus were filled. When the driver noticed a white man standing, he told Parks and three other African Americans in her row to get up so the white man could sit down. When Parks did not move, the driver called the police.

News of Parks’s arrest reached the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which asked Parks whether her case could be used to challenge segregation. Parks replied, "If you think it will mean something to Montgomery and do some good, I’ll be happy to go along with it."

Parks’s decision would spark a new era in the civil rights movement. The struggle would not be easy. In 1896, the Supreme Court had declared segregation to be constitutional in Plessy v. Ferguson, which established the “separate but equal” doctrine. Laws that segregated African Americans were permitted as long as equal facilities were provided. The facilities provided for African Americans, however, were usually of poorer quality than those provided for whites. Areas without laws requiring segregation often had de facto segregation—segregation by custom and tradition.
Court Challenges Begin
The civil rights movement had been building for a long time. Since 1909, the NAACP had supported court cases aimed at overturning segregation. Over the years, the NAACP had achieved some victories. In 1935, for example, the Supreme Court ruled in *Norris v. Alabama* that exclusion of African Americans from juries violated their rights to equal protection under the law.

New Political Power
African Americans also enjoyed increased political power. Northern politicians increasingly sought their votes and listened to their concerns. During the 1950s, many African Americans benefited from New Deal programs and began supporting the Democratic Party. This gave the party new strength in the North. The northern wing of the party was now able to counter Southern Democrats, who often supported segregation.

The Push for Desegregation
During World War II, African American leaders began to use their political power to help end discrimination in wartime factories. They also increased opportunities for African Americans in the military.

In 1942, James Farmer and George Houser founded the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in Chicago. CORE began using sit-ins, a form of protest first popularized by union workers in the 1930s, to desegregate restaurants that refused to serve African Americans. Using the sit-in strategy, African Americans demanded an end to segregation.

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**ANALYZING SUPREME COURT CASES**

**BROWN v. BOARD OF EDUCATION (1954)**

**Background of the Case**
One of the most important Supreme Court cases in American history began in 1952, when the Supreme Court agreed to hear the NAACP’s case *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, and three other cases. They dealt with the question of whether the principle “separate but equal,” established in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, was constitutional with regard to public schools.

**How the Court Ruled**
In a unanimous decision in 1954, the Court ruled in favor of Linda Brown and the other plaintiffs. In doing so, it overruled *Plessy v. Ferguson*. It rejected the idea that equivalent but separate schools for African American and white students were constitutional. The Court held that racial segregation in public schools violated the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause. Chief Justice Earl Warren summed up the Court's decision, declaring: "[I]n the field of public education, the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." The Court’s rejection of “separate but equal” was a major victory for the civil rights movement. It led to the overturning of laws requiring segregation in other public places.

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"separate but equal" a doctrine established by the 1896 Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson* that permitted laws segregating African Americans as long as equal facilities were provided.

**facility** something that is built, installed, or established to serve a particular purpose.

**de facto segregation** segregation by custom and tradition.

The children involved in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case are shown in this 1953 photograph. They are, from front to back, Vicki Henderson, Donald Henderson, Linda Brown (of the case title), James Emanuel, Nancy Todd, and Katherine Carper. Together, their cases led to the Supreme Court decision that public schools could not be segregated on the basis of race.

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*DBQ Analyzing Historical Documents*

1. **Explaining** Why did the Supreme Court find in favor of Linda Brown?
2. **Examining** Why was the ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* so important?
members of CORE went to segregated restaurants. They sat down and refused to leave. The sit-ins were intended to shame managers into integrating their restaurants. CORE successfully integrated many public facilities in Northern cities, including Chicago, Detroit, Denver, and Syracuse.

**Brown v. Board of Education**

After World War II, the NAACP continued to challenge segregation in the courts. From 1939 to 1961, the NAACP’s chief counsel and director of its Legal Defense and Educational Fund was African American attorney Thurgood Marshall. After the war, Marshall focused his efforts on ending segregation in public schools.

In 1954, the Supreme Court decided to combine several cases and issue a general ruling on segregation in schools. One of the cases involved a young African American girl named Linda Brown, who was denied admission to her neighborhood school in Topeka, Kansas, because of her race. She was told to attend an all-black school across town. With the help of the NAACP, her parents sued the Topeka school board. On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional.

**Southern Resistance**

The *Brown* decision marked a dramatic reversal of the precedent established in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case in 1896. *Brown v. Board of Education* applied only to public schools, but the ruling threatened the entire system of segregation. Although it convinced many African Americans that the time had come to challenge segregation, it also angered many white Southerners. Some became even more determined to defend segregation, regardless of what the Supreme Court ruled.

Although some school districts in the Upper South integrated their schools, anger and opposition was a far more common reaction. Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia called on Southerners to adopt “massive resistance” against the ruling. Across the South, hundreds of thousands of white Americans joined citizens’ councils to pressure their local governments and school boards into defying the Supreme Court. Many states adopted pupil assignment laws, which established elaborate requirements other than race that schools could use to prevent African Americans from attending white schools.

The Supreme Court inadvertently encouraged white resistance when it followed up its decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* a year later. The Court ordered school districts to proceed “with all deliberate speed” to end school segregation. The wording was vague enough that many districts were able to keep their schools segregated for many more years.

Massive resistance also appeared in Congress. In 1956, a group of 101 Southern members of Congress signed the “Southern Manifesto.” It denounced the Supreme Court’s ruling as “a clear abuse of judicial power” and pledged to use “all lawful means” to reverse the decision. Not until 1969 did the Supreme Court order all school systems to desegregate “at once” and operate integrated schools “now and hereafter.”

### Reading Progress Check

**Examine** What two types of segregation were practiced in the South?
The Civil Rights Movement Begins

GUIDING QUESTION  Why was the Montgomery bus boycott successful?

In the midst of the uproar over the Brown v. Board of Education case, Rosa Parks made her decision to challenge segregation of public transportation. Jo Ann Robinson, head of a local group called the Women's Political Council, called on African Americans to boycott Montgomery's buses on the day Rosa Parks appeared in court. The boycott marked the start of a new era of the civil rights movement among African Americans.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

The Montgomery bus boycott had a successful outcome. Several African American leaders formed the Montgomery Improvement Association to run the boycott and to negotiate with city leaders. They elected a 26-year-old pastor named Martin Luther King, Jr., to lead them.

Dr. King encouraged the people to continue their protest, but cautioned that the protest had to be peaceful:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"Now let us say that we are not advocating violence . . . . The only weapon that we have in our hands this evening is the weapon of protest . . . . If we were incarcerated behind the iron curtains of a communistic nation—we couldn't do this. If we were trapped in the dungeon of a totalitarian regime—we couldn't do this. But the great glory of American democracy is the right to protest for right."

—Quoted in Power the Waters: America in the King Years, 1989

King had earned a Ph.D. in theology from Boston University. He believed that the only moral way to end segregation and racism was through nonviolent passive resistance. African Americans, he urged, must say to racists, "[W]e will soon wear you down by our capacity to suffer. And in winning our freedom we will so appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process."

King's powerful words stirred African Americans in Montgomery to continue their boycott for over a year. In November 1956, the Supreme Court declared Alabama's laws requiring segregation on buses unconstitutional. After the Court's ruling, the Montgomery boycott was ended. Many other cities in the South, however, successfully resisted integrating their public transportation systems for years.

African American Churches

Martin Luther King, Jr., was not the only local minister involved in the bus boycott. Many of the other leaders were African American ministers. African American churches served as forums for protests and planning meetings, and mobilized volunteers.

The Montgomery bus boycott had demonstrated that nonviolent protest could be successful. Dr. King, Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth of Birmingham, Alabama, and other African American ministers and civil rights activists established the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957. The SCLC set out to eliminate segregation and to encourage African Americans to register to vote. Dr. King served as the SCLC's first president. The organization challenged segregation at voting booths and in public transportation, housing, and accommodations.

READING PROGRESS CHECK

Drawing Conclusions  How did the bus boycott create a mass movement for change?
Eisenhower Responds

GUIDING QUESTION: How did President Eisenhower respond to the civil rights movement?

President Eisenhower sympathized with the civil rights movement, yet he feared the possible effect of a court ruling overturning segregation. Following the precedent set by President Truman, he ordered navy shipyards and veterans’ hospitals to desegregate. At the same time, Eisenhower disagreed with using protests and court rulings. He believed segregation and racism would end gradually, as values changed. With the nation in the midst of the Cold War, he worried that challenging white Southerners might divide the nation. Publicly, he refused to endorse the Brown v. Board of Education decision, remarking, “I don’t believe you can change the hearts of men with laws or decisions.” Regardless, Eisenhower knew he had to uphold the authority of the federal government. As a result, he became the first president since Reconstruction to send troops into the South to protect the rights of African Americans.

Crisis in Little Rock

In September 1957, the school board in Little Rock, Arkansas, was under a federal court order requiring that nine African American students be admitted to Central High. The governor of Arkansas, Orval Faubus, was determined to win reelection. He began to campaign as a defender of white supremacy. He ordered troops from the Arkansas National Guard to prevent the nine students from entering the school. As the National Guard troops surrounded the school, an angry white mob gathered to intimidate students.

Faubus had used the armed forces of a state to oppose the federal government—the first such challenge to the Constitution since the Civil War. Eisenhower knew that he could not allow Faubus to defy the federal government. After a conference between Eisenhower and Faubus proved fruitless, the district court ordered the governor to remove the troops. Instead of ending the crisis, however, Faubus simply left the school to the mob. After the African American students entered the building, angry whites beat at least two African American reporters and broke many windows.

The violence finally convinced President Eisenhower that he had to act. Federal authority had to be upheld. He immediately ordered the U.S. Army to send troops to Little Rock and federalized the Arkansas National Guard. By nightfall, more than 1,000 soldiers of the 101st Airborne Division had arrived. By 5:00 a.m., the troops had encircled the school, bayonets ready. A few hours later, the nine African American students arrived in an army station wagon and walked into the high school. Federal authority had been upheld, but the troops had to stay in Little Rock for the rest of the school year.

New Civil Rights Legislation

In the same year that the Little Rock crisis began, Congress passed the first civil rights law since Reconstruction. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was intended to protect the right of African Americans to vote. Eisenhower believed firmly in the right to vote, and he viewed it as his responsibility to protect voting rights. He also knew that if he sent a civil rights bill to Congress, conservative Southern Democrats would try to block the
LEGEND REVIEW

Reviewing Vocabulary
1. Explaining Why was the struggle for civil rights more difficult because of the "separate but equal" doctrine established in the Plessy v. Ferguson case?

Using Your Notes
2. Explaining Use the notes you completed during the lesson to write a paragraph explaining the different tactics used during civil rights protests and why they were successful.

Answering the Guiding Questions
3. Interpreting What techniques did the civil rights movement use to challenge segregation?

4. Analyzing Why was the Montgomery bus boycott successful?

5. Summarizing How did President Eisenhower respond to the civil rights movement?

Writing Activity
6. ARGUMENT Assume the role of an African American soldier returning from World War II. Write a letter to the editor of a newspaper describing your expectations of civil rights and why you should have those rights.

The Civil Rights Movement 685
LESSON 1
Going to War in Vietnam

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS
• How does military conflict divide people within cultures?
• Should citizens support the government during wartime?

IT MATTERS BECAUSE
In the late 1940s and early 1950s, most Americans knew little about Indochina, France's colony in Southeast Asia. During the Cold War, however, American officials became concerned that the region might fall to communism.

American Involvement in Vietnam
GUIDING QUESTION Why did the United States provide military aid to the French in Indochina?

In 1940, Japan invaded Vietnam, becoming one of a series of foreign nations to rule the Asian country. The Chinese had controlled the region for hundreds of years. Then, from the late 1800s until World War II, the French ruled Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia — a region then known as French Indochina.

The Growth of Vietnamese Nationalism
By the early 1900s, nationalism had become a powerful force in Vietnam. Several political parties pushed for independence or for reform of French colonial rule. Among the leaders of the nationalist movement was Nguyen That Thanh — better known by his assumed name, Ho Chi Minh. After years in Europe, China, and the Soviet Union, he returned to Southeast Asia. There, he helped found the Indochinese Communist Party in 1930 and worked for independence.

Ho Chi Minh's activities forced him to flee Indochina and spend several years in exile in the Soviet Union and China. In 1941, he returned to Vietnam. By then, Japan had seized control of the country. Ho Chi Minh organized a nationalist group called the Vietminh, which united Communists and non-Communists in the effort to expel the Japanese. Soon afterward, the United States began sending aid to the Vietminh.

America Aids the French
When Japan surrendered to the Allies in 1945, it gave up control of Indochina. Ho Chi Minh quickly declared Vietnam's independence. France had no intention of losing its former colony, however. French troops returned to Vietnam in 1946 and drove the Vietminh into hiding.
The Vietminh fought back against the French-dominated regime and slowly gained control of large areas of the country. As the fighting escalated, France appealed to the United States for help. The request put American officials in a difficult position. The United States opposed colonialism. It had pressured the Dutch to give up their empire in Indonesia and supported the British decision to give India independence in 1947. American officials, however, did not want Vietnam to be Communist.

China's fall to communism and the outbreak of the Korean War helped convince President Truman to aid France. President Eisenhower continued Truman's policy and defended his decision with what became known as the domino theory—the idea that if Vietnam fell to communism, the rest of Southeast Asia would follow, like a line of dominoes falling over.

**Defeat at Dien Bien Phu**

Despite aid from the United States, the French continued to struggle against the Vietminh, who used hit-and-run and ambush tactics. These are the tactics of guerrillas, irregular troops who blend into the civilian population and are difficult for regular armies to fight. Rising casualties and a lack of victories made the war unpopular with the French public.

The turning point came in the mountain town of Dien Bien Phu. By seizing the town, the French planned to cut the Vietminh's supply lines and force them into open battle. Soon afterward, a huge Vietminh force surrounded Dien Bien Phu and began bombarding the town. On May 7, 1954, the French forces fell to the Vietminh. The defeat convinced the French to make peace and withdraw from Indochina.
Geneva Accords
Negotiations to end the conflict were held in Geneva, Switzerland. The resulting Geneva Accords provided for a temporary division of Vietnam along the 17th parallel. Ho Chi Minh and the Vietminh controlled North Vietnam, and a pro-Western regime led by the fiercely anti-Communist Ngo Dinh Diem (ehn-GOH DIHN deh-EHM) held the South. French troops soon left, and the United States became the principal protector of the new government in South Vietnam.

The accords called for elections to be held in 1956 to reunite the country under a single government. Diem refused to permit the elections, however, fearing Ho Chi Minh would win. Eisenhower approved of Diem’s actions and increased American aid to South Vietnam.

**Analyzing** Why did the United States protect South Vietnam?

**American Involvement Deepens**

**GUIDING QUESTION** How did American involvement in Vietnam change during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations?

After Ngo Dinh Diem refused to hold national elections, Ho Chi Minh and the Communists began an armed struggle to reunify the nation. They organized a new guerrilla army of South Vietnamese Communists, which became known as the Vietcong. Eisenhower sent hundreds of military advisers to train South Vietnam’s army, but the Vietcong continued to grow more powerful because many Vietnamese opposed Diem’s government. By 1961, the Vietcong had established control over much of the countryside.

**Kennedy Takes Over**

When President Kennedy took office in 1961, he continued to support South Vietnam, believing the country was vital in the battle against communism. From 1961 to late 1963, the number of U.S. military personnel in South Vietnam jumped from about 2,000 to around 15,000. Yet they failed to shore up the floundering Diem regime. For example, the South Vietnamese created special fortified villages known as strategic hamlets. They then moved villagers to these hamlets, despite the peasants’ resentment at being uprooted from their villages. The program proved to be extremely unpopular.

**The Overthrow of Diem**

American officials blamed Diem. He made himself even more unpopular by discriminating against Buddhism, one of the country’s most widely practiced religions. In the spring of 1963, he banned the traditional religious flags for the Buddha’s birthday. When Buddhists protested in the streets, Diem’s police killed nine people. In response, a Buddhist monk poured gasoline over his robes and set himself on fire, the first of several to do so. Images of their self-destruction horrified Americans as they watched the footage on television news reports.

In August 1963, U.S. ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge arrived in Vietnam. He learned that several Vietnamese generals were plotting to overthrow the unpopular Diem. When Lodge expressed U.S. sympathy for their cause, the generals launched a military coup, seizing power on November 1, 1963. They executed Diem soon after. Despite his unpopularity, Diem had been a respected nationalist. After his death, South Vietnam’s government weakened.

**Johnson and Vietnam**

Just three weeks after Diem’s death, Kennedy was assassinated. The presidency—and the growing problem of Vietnam—now belonged to President Lyndon B. Johnson. Although he approached Vietnam
cautiously at first, Johnson wanted to keep the country from falling to the Communists. Additionally, some had blamed Democrats when China became a Communist country in 1949. Should the Democrats “lose” Vietnam, Johnson feared, it might “shatter my Presidency, kill my administration, and damage our democracy.”

On August 2, 1964, Johnson announced that North Vietnamese torpedo boats had fired on two U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. Two days later, he reported another attack. Insisting that these were unprovoked, he ordered American aircraft to attack North Vietnamese ships and naval facilities.

Johnson then asked Congress for the authority to defend American forces and allies in Southeast Asia. Congress readily agreed, and on August 7, 1964, it passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. This authorized the president to “take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.” Soon after, the Vietcong began to attack bases where American advisers were stationed in South Vietnam. After one particularly damaging attack, Johnson sent American aircraft to bomb North Vietnam.

### ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

**Should America Fight in Vietnam?**

As the war in Vietnam dragged on, Americans became increasingly divided over the nation’s role in the conflict. In January 1966, George W. Ball delivered an address to indicate “how we got [into Vietnam] and why we must stay.” George F. Kennan, a former ambassador to the Soviet Union, argued that American involvement in Vietnam was “something we would not choose deliberately if the choice were ours to make all over again today.”

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**YES**

“[T]he conflict in Viet-Nam is a product of the great shifts and changes triggered by the Second World War. . . [T]he Soviet Union under Stalin exploited the confusion to push out the perimeter of its power and influence in an effort to extend the outer limits of Communist domination by force or the threat of force. . . . The bloody encounters in [Vietnam] . . . are thus in a real sense battles and skirmishes in a continuing war to prevent one Communist power after another from violating internationally recognized boundary lines fixing the outer limits of Communist dominion. . . .

In the long run our hopes for the people of South Viet-Nam reflect our hopes for people everywhere. What we seek is a world living in peace and freedom.”

— from a speech delivered January 30, 1966

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**NO**

“Vietnam is not a region of major military-industrial importance. . . . If a situation in which South Vietnam is controlled exclusively by the Vietcong . . . would not present, in my opinion, dangers great enough to justify our direct military intervention.

And to attempt to crush North Vietnamese strength to a point where Hanoi could no longer give any support for Vietcong political activity in the South would . . . have the effect of bringing in Chinese forces at some point. . . .

Our motives are widely misinterpreted; and the spectacle of Americans inflicting grievous injury on the lives of a poor and helpless people . . . produces reactions among millions of people throughout the world profoundly detrimental to the image we would like them to hold of this country.”

—from testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, February 10, 1966

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**DBQ Analyzing Historical Documents**

1. **Identifying Central Ideas**  Why does Ball believe that the United States is justified in fighting in Vietnam?

2. **Comparing and Contrasting**  What is the fundamental difference between the views of Ball and Kennan?
Both the American public and Johnson’s advisers generally supported these actions. Some officials disagreed, however. Undersecretary of State George Ball initially supported involvement in Vietnam, but later turned against it. He warned that if the United States got too involved, it would be difficult to get out. “Once on the tiger’s back,” he warned, “we cannot be sure of picking the place to dismount.”

Other advisers, such as National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy, believed that success in Vietnam was important to protect American interests and maintain stability in Southeast Asia. In a memo to the president, he argued:

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

“...The stakes in Vietnam are extremely high. The American investment is very large, and American responsibility is a fact of life which is palpable in the atmosphere of Asia, and even elsewhere. The international prestige of the US and a substantial part of our influence are directly at risk in Vietnam.”

--- quoted in *The Best and the Brightest*, 1972

In March 1965, Johnson again expanded American involvement by ordering a sustained bombing campaign against North Vietnam. That same month, he sent the first U.S. combat troops into Vietnam.

**A Bloody Stalemate**

**GUIDING QUESTION** What military tactics were used by the Vietcong, and how did American troops respond?

By the end of 1965, more than 180,000 U.S. combat troops were fighting in Vietnam. That number doubled in 1966. The U.S. military entered Vietnam with great confidence. “America seemed omnipotent then,” wrote one of the first marines to arrive, Philip Caputo, in his prologue to *A Rumor of War*. “[W]e saw ourselves as the champions of ‘a cause that was destined to triumph.’”

Lacking the firepower of the American forces, the Vietcong used ambushes, booby traps, and other guerrilla tactics. These techniques could be greatly destructive. Ronald J. Glasser, an American army doctor, described the devastating effects of one booby trap:

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

“Three quarters of the way through the tangle, a trooper brushed against a two-inch vine, and a grenade slung at chest high went off, shattering the right side of his head and body. ... Nearby troopers took hold of the unconscious soldier and, half carrying, half dragging him, pulled him the rest of the way through the tangle.”

--- quoted in *Vietnam, A History*, 1997

The Vietcong also frustrated American troops by blending in with the general population and then quickly vanishing. “It was a sheer physical impossibility to keep the enemy from slipping away whenever he wished,” explained one American general.

“**Search and Destroy**”

To counter these tactics, American troops tried to find enemy troops, bomb their positions, destroy their
supply lines, and force them out into the open for combat. American planes dropped napalm, a jelied gasoline that explodes on contact. They also used Agent Orange, a chemical that strips leaves from trees and shrubs, turning farmland and forest into wasteland.

American military leaders underestimated the Vietcong’s strength. They also misjudged the enemy’s stamina and the support they had among the South Vietnamese. American generals believed that bombing and killing large numbers of Vietcong would destroy their morale and lead them to surrender. The guerrillas, however, had no intention of surrendering, and they were willing to accept huge losses to achieve their goals.

The Ho Chi Minh Trail
In the Vietcong’s war effort, North Vietnamese support was a major factor. Although the Vietcong included many South Vietnamese, North Vietnam provided arms, advisors, and leadership. As Vietcong casualties mounted, North Vietnam began sending North Vietnamese Army units to fight. North Vietnam sent arms and supplies south by way of a network of jungle paths known as the Ho Chi Minh Trail. The trail wound through Cambodia and Laos, bypassing the border between North Vietnam and South Vietnam.

North Vietnam itself received weapons and other support from the Soviet Union and China. Johnson feared that directly attacking North Vietnam would bring China into the war, as had happened in Korea. Yet Johnson’s limits made winning the war very difficult. Instead of conquering territory, American troops had to fight a war of attrition—defeating enemy forces by wearing them down. This strategy led troops to conduct grizzly body counts after battles to determine how many enemy soldiers had been killed. The American military began measuring “progress” in the war by the number of enemy dead.

Bombing from American planes killed many thousands of Vietnamese. American soldiers were also dying in increasing numbers. The notion of a quick and decisive victory grew increasingly remote. As a result, many citizens back home began to question the nation’s involvement in the war.

**Critical Thinking**
**Drawing Conclusions.** How might the use of chemical weapons have encouraged the South Vietnamese populace to support the Vietcong?

*napalm* a jelied gasoline used for bombs

*Agent Orange* a chemical defoliant used to clear Vietnamese jungles during the Vietnam War

**Reading Progress Check**

**Explaining** What two chemical weapons did the United States use in Vietnam?

**LESSON 1 REVIEW**

**Reviewing Vocabulary**
1. **Explaining** What are guerrilla tactics?
2. **Defining** What was the “domino theory”?
3. **Summarizing** Use the notes you completed during the lesson to summarize the reasons the United States aided France in Vietnam.

**Answering the Guiding Questions**
4. **Evaluating** Why did the United States provide military aid to the French in Indochina?
5. **Describing** How did U.S. involvement in Vietnam change during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations?
6. **Analyzing** What military tactics were used by the Vietcong, and how did U.S. troops respond?

**Writing Activity**
7. **Argument** Take on the role of a member of Congress in 1964. Write a statement supporting or opposing the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.
LESSON 2
Vietnam Divides the Nation

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS
• How does military conflict divide people within cultures?
• Should citizens support the government during wartime?

READING HELPDESK
Academic Vocabulary
• media
• disproportionate

Content Vocabulary
• credibility gap
• dove
• teach-in
• hawk

TAKING NOTES
Key Ideas and Details
Organizing Fill in a graphic organizer similar to the one below, listing reasons for opposition to the Vietnam War.

Reasons for Opposition to Vietnam War

IT MATTERS BECAUSE
As casualties mounted in Vietnam, many Americans began to protest the war. The conflict over the war, increasing violence, and the apparent lack of progress in Vietnam led President Johnson to decide not to run again.

The Antiwar Movement Emerges
GUIDING QUESTION Why did Americans disagree about the Vietnam War?

When the first U.S. combat troops arrived in Vietnam in the spring of 1965, about 66 percent of Americans approved of U.S. policy in Vietnam. As the war dragged on, however, public support began to wane. Media accounts seemed to contradict government reports. For example, the American commander in South Vietnam, General William Westmoreland, reported that the “enemy’s hopes are bankrupt” and “the end begins to come into view.” Yet millions of people saw images of American casualties on television in their living rooms each day as Vietnam became the first “television war.” For many people, a credibility gap had developed—they had a hard time believing what the Johnson administration said about the war.

Congress, which in the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution had granted Johnson a great deal of power to conduct the war, began to seek greater involvement. Beginning in February 1966, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held “educational” hearings on Vietnam. They called in policy makers and critics to discuss the administration’s military strategy.

Teach-ins Begin
In March 1965, a group of faculty members and students at the University of Michigan joined together in a teach-in. They discussed the issues surrounding the war and reaffirmed their reasons for opposing it. In May 1965, 122 colleges held a “National Teach-In” by radio for more than 100,000 antiwar demonstrators.

People opposed the war for different reasons. Some saw the conflict as a civil war in which the United States should not
interfere. Others saw South Vietnam as a corrupt dictatorship and believed defending it was immoral.

Anger at the Draft
Thousands of demonstrators held protests against the war. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) organized a march on Washington, D.C., that drew more than 20,000 people. A rally at the Lincoln Memorial drew tens of thousands of protesters as well.

Many protesters focused on what they saw as an unfair draft system. Until 1969, college students could often defer military service until after graduation. Young people from working-class families unable to afford college were more likely to be drafted. Draftees were most likely to be assigned to combat units, and they commonly made up more than half of the casualties. Most who served in Vietnam, however, enlisted voluntarily.

Nevertheless, a disproportionate number of working-class and minority youths went to war. Between 1961 and 1966, African Americans constituted about 10 percent of military personnel. Because African Americans were more likely to be assigned to combat units, however, they accounted for almost 20 percent of combat-related deaths. This skewed death rate angered African American leaders. In April 1967, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., publicly condemned the conflict: "I speak for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home, and death and corruption in Vietnam... The great initiative in this war is ours. The initiative to stop it must be ours." In response, military officials tried to reduce African American casualties. By war's end, African Americans made up about 12 percent of America's dead.

As the war escalated, an increased draft call put many college students at risk of being drafted. An estimated 500,000 draftees refused to go. Some burned their draft cards, did not show up for induction, or fled the country. From 1965 to 1968, officials prosecuted over 3,000 Americans who refused to serve. In 1969, a lottery system was instituted, so only those with low numbers were subject to the draft. Many draftees argued that if they were old enough to fight, they were old enough to vote. In 1971, the Twenty-sixth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified, giving all citizens age 18 and older the right to vote in all state and federal elections.

Hawks and Doves
In the face of growing opposition to the war, President Johnson remained determined to continue fighting, recognizing the effort as resistance to communism. He assailed his critics in Congress as "selfish men who want to

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**CHARTS/GRAPHS**

**OPPOSITION TO THE VIETNAM WAR**

As the Vietnam War progressed, opposition to the conflict generally increased.

1. **Analyzing** During which two years was opposition to the war lowest? What event occurred around that time?

2. **Predicting Consequences** In what year did opposition to the war peak? What consequence might you expect this to have?

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*The Vietnam War 715*
media a means of expression or communication, especially in reference to the agencies of mass communication—newspapers, radio, television, and the Internet

credibility gap lack of trust or believability

teach-in an extended meeting or class held to discuss a social or political issue

disproportionate being out of proportion, lacking in proper relation

dove a person in favor of the United States withdrawing from the Vietnam War

hawk someone who believed the United States should continue its military efforts in Vietnam

advance their own interests” and was dismissive of the college protesters. Johnson was not alone in his views. In time, the nation seemed to be divided into two camps. Doves wanted the United States to leave Vietnam. Hawks, however, wanted the nation to stay and fight. Some saw communism as a threat and challenged the patriotism of the doves. As the two groups debated, the war appeared to take a dramatic turn for the worse.

READING PROGRESS CHECK

Explaining What was the effect of the Vietnam War being a “television war”?

1968: The Pivotal Year

GUIDING QUESTION Why was 1968 considered the most turbulent year of the 1960s?

The most turbulent year of the chaotic 1960s was 1968. The year saw a shocking political announcement, two traumatic assassinations, and a political convention held amid strident antiwar demonstrations. First, however, the United States endured a surprise attack in Vietnam.

The Tet Offensive

On January 30, 1968, during Tet, the Vietnamese New Year, the Vietcong and North Vietnamese launched a massive surprise attack. In what was called the Tet Offensive, guerrilla fighters attacked most American airbases in South Vietnam and most of the South’s major cities. Vietcong even blasted their way into the American embassy in Saigon.

After about a month of fighting, U.S. and South Vietnamese soldiers repelled the enemy troops, inflicting heavy losses on them. But less tangible damage had been done. The American people were shocked that an enemy supposedly on the verge of defeat could launch such a large-scale attack. The media openly criticized the war. “The American people should be getting ready to accept, if they haven’t already, the prospect that the whole Vietnam effort may be doomed,” declared the Wall Street Journal. Television newscaster Walter Cronkite said that it seemed “more certain than ever that the bloody experience in Vietnam is to end in a stalemate.”

Johnson Leaves the Race

Both Johnson and the war had become increasingly unpopular. With the presidential election of 1968 on the horizon, some Democratic politicians made surprising moves. In November 1967, Eugene McCarthy—a little-known liberal senator from Minnesota—declared that he would challenge Johnson for the Democratic presidential nomination. At first, his candidacy was mostly dismissed, but he attracted support from those who opposed the war. In March 1968, McCarthy made a strong showing in the New Hampshire primary, winning more than 40 percent of the vote. Realizing that Johnson was vulnerable, Senator Robert Kennedy, who also opposed the war, quickly entered the race for the Democratic nomination.

With both the country and his own party deeply divided, Johnson appeared on television on March 31, 1968. He announced, “I have concluded that I should not permit the presidency to become involved in the partisan divisions that are developing in this political year. Accordingly, I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as your President.”
A Season of Violence
More shocking events followed Johnson's announcement. On April 4, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated in Memphis by James Earl Ray. On June 5, Robert Kennedy, who appeared likely to win the Democratic nomination, was gunned down by Sirhan Sirhan, an Arab nationalist.

The violence that seemed to plague the country in 1968 culminated with a chaotic and well-publicized clash between antiwar protesters and police at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Thousands of young activists surrounded the convention center to protest the war. Despite these protests, the delegates selected Vice President Hubert Humphrey as the Democratic nominee. Meanwhile, in a park not far from the convention hall, protesters and police began fighting. Demonstrators taunted police with the chant, "The whole world is watching!" as the officers tried to force them to disperse. Violence between protesters and police aired on national television.

Nixon Wins the Presidency
At a much more sedate convention, Republicans selected former vice president and 1960 presidential hopeful Richard Nixon as their candidate. A third candidate, Governor George Wallace of Alabama, decided to run in 1968 as an independent. An outspoken segregationist, Wallace sought to attract Americans who felt threatened by the civil rights movement and urban social unrest.

Public opinion polls gave Nixon a wide lead over Humphrey and Wallace. Nixon's campaign promise to unify the nation and restore law and order appealed to Americans who feared their country was spinning out of control. He claimed to represent a silent majority of Americans who sought to maintain law and order but had been overshadowed in recent years by social and political turmoil. He promised that he had a "secret plan" to bring "peace with honor" in Vietnam.

Humphrey's campaign faced significant challenges, but by October 1968, his increasingly antiwar stance and strong campaigning helped turn his numbers around. A week before the election, President Johnson announced that the bombing of North Vietnam had halted and that a cease-fire would follow. These boosts came too late for Humphrey, however. Nixon defeated him by more than 100 electoral votes, although he only won the popular vote by a slim margin of 43 percent to 42 percent.

Reading Progress Check
1. Evaluating Why was the Tet Offensive a turning point in the Vietnam War?

Lesson 2 Review
Reviewing Vocabulary
1. Defining What was the credibility gap?
2. Contrast How did doves and hawks differ?

Using Your Notes
3. Summarizing Use the notes you completed during the lesson to write a paragraph that summarizes the reasons why many people opposed the Vietnam War.

Answering the Guiding Questions
4. Identifying Why did Americans disagree about the Vietnam War?
5. Describing Why was 1968 considered the most turbulent year of the 1960s?

Writing Activity
6. ARGUMENT Suppose that you were living in 1968. Write an article for a student newspaper in which you present opposing views of the Vietnam War.
LESSON 3
The War Winds Down

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS
- How does military conflict divide people within cultures?
- Should citizens support the government during wartime?

IT MATTERS BECAUSE
Shortly after taking office, President Nixon moved to end the nation’s involvement in Vietnam. The final years of the conflict yielded more bloodshed and turmoil, as well as growing cynicism.

Nixon Moves to End the War
GUIDING QUESTION  What policies did Nixon employ to end the war?

As a step toward ending the war, Nixon appointed Henry Kissinger as special assistant for national security affairs. Kissinger embarked upon a policy called linkage, or improving relations with the Soviet Union and China, to try to persuade them to reduce their aid to North Vietnam. In August 1969, Kissinger also entered into secret negotiations with North Vietnam’s representative, Le Duc Tho.

Meanwhile, Nixon began Vietnamization. This process involved the gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops while the South Vietnamese assumed more of the fighting. He announced the withdrawal of 25,000 soldiers on June 8, 1969. At the same time, however, Nixon increased air strikes against North Vietnam and began secretly bombing Vietcong sanctuaries in neighboring Cambodia.

Turmoil at Home Continues
In late 1969, Americans learned that in the spring of 1968 an American platoon under the command of Lieutenant William Calley had massacred unarmed South Vietnamese civilians in the hamlet of My Lai. Most of the victims were old men, women, and children. Calley eventually went to prison for his role in the killings. Jan Barry, a founder of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, viewed My Lai as a symbol of the dilemma his generation faced in the conflict.

PRIMARY SOURCE
“...To kill on military orders and be a criminal, or to refuse to kill and be a criminal is the moral agony of America’s Vietnam war generation. It is what has forced upward of sixty thousand young Americans, draft resisters and deserters, to Canada, and created one hundred thousand military deserters a year....”

In April 1970, Nixon announced that American troops had invaded Cambodia to destroy Vietcong bases there. Many believed this invasion expanded the war, which set off many protests. On May 4, Ohio National Guard soldiers armed with tear gas and rifles fired on demonstrators at Kent State University, killing four students. Days later, police killed two student demonstrators at Jackson State College in Mississippi.

An angry Congress began to work to end the president's control of the war. In December 1970, it repealed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which had given the president nearly complete power in directing the conflict.

The following year, a former employee of the Department of Defense, Daniel Ellsberg, leaked what became known as the Pentagon Papers to the New York Times. The documents contained details about decisions to expand the war, and confirmed what many Americans had long believed: the government had not been honest with them.

**The United States Pulls Out**

Americans were increasingly ready for the war to end as the presidential election of 1972 approached. Nixon faced Democratic challenger George McGovern, an outspoken critic of the war. Less than a month before the election, however, Kissinger emerged from his secret talks with Le Duc Tho to announce that “peace is at hand.” Nixon soundly defeated McGovern.

Soon, Kissinger’s peace negotiations broke down over disagreements about the presence of North Vietnamese troops in the South. In December 1972, to force North Vietnam to resume negotiations, the Nixon administration began the most destructive air raids of the war. In what became known as the “Christmas bombings,” American B-52s dropped thousands of tons of bombs on North Vietnamese targets for 11 straight days. Then negotiations resumed. On January 27, 1973, the warring sides signed an agreement “ending the war and restoring the peace in Vietnam.” The United States promised to withdraw its troops, and both sides agreed to exchange prisoners of war. After almost eight years of war, the nation ended its direct involvement in Vietnam.

**The Domino Effect**

Peace did not last. In January 1975, Cambodia fell under the control of the Communist group the Khmer Rouge. In March 1975, the North Vietnamese army invaded South Vietnam. Nixon had resigned in August 1974 following Watergate, a scandal that broke as the war was winding down. When the new president, Gerald Ford, asked for funds to aid the South Vietnamese, Congress refused. On April 30, the North Vietnamese captured Saigon, South Vietnam's capital. They then renamed the city Ho Chi Minh City. Laos, another country in the region, was also greatly affected by the Vietnam War. Though Laos was run by a neutral coalition government during most of the war, the constant effects of bombings on the parts of the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos destabilized that neutrality. Communists took over in Laos after the fall of Saigon. Thus, the domino effect played out as predicted.

**CRITICAL THINKING**

*Determining Cause and Effect*

How did the invasion of Cambodia lead to the shootings at Kent State University?

*linkage* policy of improving relations with the Soviet Union and China in hopes of persuading them to cut back their aid to North Vietnam

*Vietnamization* the process of making South Vietnam assume more of the war effort by slowly withdrawing American troops from Vietnam

*generation* a group of individuals who were born and who live during the same period of time

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*Sequencing* How did the “Christmas bombings” help to put an end to U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War?
The Legacy of Vietnam

GUIDING QUESTION How was the political and cultural aftermath of the Vietnam War different from previous international conflicts?

“The lessons of the past in Vietnam,” President Ford declared in 1975, “have already been learned—learned by Presidents, learned by Congress, learned by the American people—and we should have our focus on the future.” Vietnam had a profound effect on America.

The War’s Human Toll

America paid a heavy price for its involvement in Vietnam, far more than the estimated $173 billion in direct costs. Approximately 58,000 young Americans died, and some 300,000 were injured. An estimated 1 million North Vietnamese and South Vietnamese soldiers died, as did millions more civilians. Back home, some soldiers had trouble readjusting. Army Specialist Doug Johnson recalled:

PRIMARY SOURCE

“It took a while for me to recognize that I did suffer some psychological problems in trying to deal with my experience in Vietnam... One evening... I went to see a movie on post. I don’t recall... what it was about, but I remember there was a sad part, and that I started crying uncontrollably. It hadn’t dawned on me before this episode that I had... succeeded in burying my emotions.”

—quoted in Touched by the Dragon, 1998

Because many people considered the war a defeat and wanted to put it behind them, the veterans’ sacrifices often went unrecognized. They received relatively few welcome-home parades and celebrations.

ANALYZING SUPREME COURT CASES

NEW YORK TIMES v. UNITED STATES, 1971

Background to the Case

In 1971, Daniel Ellsberg leaked classified documents, known as the Pentagon Papers, to the New York Times and the Washington Post. When the newspapers attempted to publish these documents, the Nixon administration argued that publication would threaten national security. The case centered on the First Amendment guarantee of a free press.

How the Court Ruled

In a 6-to-3 per curiam opinion—per curiam meaning that the decision was issued by the whole Court and not specific justices—the Court found that the Nixon administration had failed to prove that publication of the Pentagon Papers would imperil the nation in any way. The New York Times and the Washington Post could publish the Pentagon Papers.

1. Drawing Conclusions Why do you think Daniel Ellsberg leaked the Pentagon Papers to the press?

2. Defending Do you think the government can ever justify media censorship, even based on national security concerns?
The war remained unresolved for the American families whose relatives and friends were classified as prisoners of war (POWs) or missing in action (MIA). Despite many official investigations, these families were not convinced that the government had told the truth about POW/MIA policies.

Vietnam remained on the nation’s mind nearly a decade later. In 1982 the nation dedicated the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., a large black granite wall inscribed with the names of those killed and missing in action in the war.

The War’s Impact on the Nation
The war also left a mark on national politics. In 1973, Congress passed the War Powers Act as a way to reestablish some limits on executive power. The act required the president to inform Congress of any commitment of troops abroad within 48 hours, and to withdraw them in 60 to 90 days, unless Congress explicitly approved the troop commitment. No president has recognized this limitation, however, and the courts have tended to avoid the issue.

Nonetheless, every president since the law’s passage has asked Congress to authorize the use of military force before committing ground troops to combat. In general, the war shook the nation’s confidence and made some begin to question American foreign policies.

On the domestic front, the Vietnam War increased Americans’ cynicism about their government. Together with Watergate, Vietnam made many Americans feel that the nation’s leaders had misled them.

READING PROGRESS CHECK
Assessing How did the American public treat returning Vietnam veterans?

LESSON 3 REVIEW

Reviewing Vocabulary
1. Defining What was Vietnamization?
2. Explaining What was the goal of the linkage policy?

Using Your Notes
3. Assessing Use the notes you completed during the lesson to write a short essay assessing the effectiveness of the various strategies Nixon pursued in Vietnam.

Answering the Guiding Questions
4. Identifying What policies did Nixon employ to end the war?
5. Contrasting How was the political and cultural aftermath of the Vietnam War different from previous international conflicts?

Writing Activity
6. NARRATIVE Suppose you are a college student in 1970. Write a journal entry expressing your thoughts and feelings about the events at Kent State University and Jackson State College.
Ronald Reagan (1911–2004)

During his two terms as president, Reagan used the charm and communication skills he learned as a Hollywood actor to gain a great deal of popularity with voters. Reagan’s legacy as president includes his negotiations with Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet Union that contributed to the end of the Cold War. Reagan’s popularity and his administration’s policies have served as a basis for much of today’s Republican Party philosophy.

CRITICAL THINKING

Drawing Conclusions How might Reagan’s legacy have been different had communism not fallen in the Soviet Union shortly after his tenure as president?

**Confirmation** the formal approval of an executive act by a legislature

**Visible** what can be seen


READING PROGRESS CHECK

**Expressing** What factors led to the reelection of President Reagan?

Reagan Oversees a Military Buildup

GUIDING QUESTION Why did Reagan build up the military?

Reagan also adopted a new foreign policy that rejected both containment and détente. He called the Soviet Union “an evil empire.” In his view, the United States should try to defeat evil, not contain or negotiate with it.

“Peace Through Strength”

In Reagan’s opinion, the only option in dealing with the Soviet Union was “peace through strength,” a phrase he used during his campaign. Reagan launched a $1.5 trillion military buildup meant to bankrupt and destroy the Soviet Union if it tried to keep up. The United States also tried to stop nations from supporting terrorism. After Libya backed a terrorist bombing in Berlin, the United States launched an air attack on Libya on April 14, 1986.

Reagan’s military buildup created new jobs in defense industries. Supply-side economists had predicted that, despite the spending, lower taxes and cuts in government programs would generate enough revenue growth to balance the budget. Although tax revenues rose, Reagan could not cut popular programs significantly. The annual budget deficit went from $80 billion to more than $200 billion.

The Reagan Doctrine

Reagan believed that the United States should support guerrilla groups who were fighting to overthrow Communist or pro-Soviet governments. This policy became known as the Reagan Doctrine.

Aid to Afghan Rebels Perhaps the most visible example of the Reagan Doctrine was in Afghanistan. In 1979, Soviet troops had invaded Afghanistan. Reagan sent hundreds of millions of dollars in covert military aid to Afghan guerrillas who were fighting the Soviets. As casualties mounted, the war strained the Soviet economy, and in 1988 the Soviets decided to withdraw.

Nicaragua and Grenada Reagan was also concerned about Soviet influence in Nicaragua. Rebels known as the Sandinistas had overthrown a pro-American dictator in Nicaragua in 1979, set up a socialist government, and accepted Cuban and Soviet aid. The Reagan administration responded by secretly arming an anti-Sandinista guerrilla force known as the contras. When Congress learned of this policy, it banned further aid to the contras. In Grenada, radical Marxists overthrew the left-wing government in 1983. Reagan sent in troops, who quickly defeated the Grenadian and Cuban soldiers, and a new anti-Communist government was put in place.

The Iran-Contra Scandal Despite the congressional ban, individuals in Reagan’s administration illegally continued to support the Nicaraguan rebels. They also secretly sold weapons to Iran, considered an enemy and sponsor of terrorism, in exchange for the release of American hostages in the Middle East.
Profits from the weapons sales were then sent to the contras. News of these operations broke in November 1986. U.S. Marine colonel Oliver North and senior National Security Council members and CIA officials admitted before Congress to covering up their actions. President Reagan had approved the sale of arms to Iran, but the congressional investigation concluded that he had had no direct knowledge about the diversion of the money to the contras.

Arms Control
As part of the military buildup, Reagan decided to place missiles in Western Europe to counter Soviet missiles. When protest erupted worldwide, he offered to cancel the new missiles if the Soviets removed their missiles from Eastern Europe. He also proposed Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) to cut the number of missiles on both sides in half. The Soviets refused.

“Star Wars” Reagan disagreed with the military strategy known as nuclear deterrence, sometimes called “mutual assured destruction.” He knew that if nuclear war did begin, there would be no way to defend the United States. In March 1983, he proposed the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), nicknamed “Star Wars,” to develop weapons that could intercept incoming missiles.

A New Soviet Leader In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Union and agreed to resume arms-control talks. Gorbachev believed that the Soviet Union could not afford another arms race with the United States. Reagan and Gorbachev met in a series of summits. The first ended in a stalemate, as Gorbachev promised to cut back nuclear forces if Reagan gave up SDI, but Reagan refused. Reagan then challenged Gorbachev to make reforms. In West Berlin, Reagan stood at the Brandenburg Gate of the Berlin Wall—the symbol of divided Europe—and declared: “General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe . . . tear down this wall!”

Relations Improve In December 1987, the two leaders signed the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. With an arms control deal in place, Gorbachev pushed ahead with economic and political reforms, which eventually led to the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the United States, the economy was booming, the military was strong, and relations with the Soviet Union rapidly improving as Ronald Reagan’s second term came to an end.

READING PROGRESS CHECK
Explaining Why did President Reagan not favor a policy of détente?

LESSON 2 REVIEW

Reviewing Vocabulary
1. Making Connections Why did supply-side economics appeal to conservatives?
2. Determining Cause and Effect Why did the budget deficit rise during the Reagan presidency?
3. Explaining Use your notes to write a paragraph explaining the theory of supply-side economics.
4. Making Connections How did Reagan’s early personal experiences influence his political beliefs?
5. Hypothesizing If you were president, how would you fight stagflation?
6. Summarizing Why did Reagan build up the military?

Writing Activity
7. ARGUMENT Do you think that the benefits of supply-side economics outweighed the costs? Write a short essay in which you present your opinion about the question. Be sure to defend your opinion with facts and information from the lesson.
LESSON 4
The End of the Cold War

ESSENTIAL QUESTION
- How do you think the resurgence of conservative ideas has changed society?

IT MATTERS BECAUSE
In the late 1980s, the United States faced a series of international crises. The Cold War came to an end in Europe, but events in the Middle East soon led the United States into its first major war since Vietnam.

The Soviet Union Collapses
GUIDING QUESTION  How did Gorbachev’s attempts to revive the Soviet Union’s economy lead to a revolution?

When Ronald Reagan left office, many Americans wanted his domestic policies to be continued. In 1988, Republicans nominated George H. W. Bush, who reassured Americans that he would do just that:

PRIMARY SOURCE
“My opponent won’t rule out raising taxes. But I will. And the Congress will push me to raise taxes and I’ll say ‘no.’ And they’ll push, and I’ll say ‘no,’ and they’ll push again, and I’ll say to them: ‘Read my lips: no new taxes.’”

—from his acceptance address at the Republican National Convention, August 18, 1988

The Democrats hoped to regain the White House in 1988 by promising to help minorities as well as working-class and poor Americans. Civil rights leader Jesse Jackson tried to create a “rainbow coalition” of those groups, and although unsuccessful, he became the first African American to make a serious run for the presidential nomination. The Democrats nominated Michael Dukakis, who was the governor of Massachusetts, but with Reagan’s endorsement and a strong economy, Bush easily won the general election. Though voters had focused on domestic issues during the election campaign, President Bush had to focus on foreign policy soon after taking office.

Revolution in Eastern Europe
As president, Bush continued Reagan’s policy of cooperation with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. By the late 1980s, the Soviet economy was suffering from years of inefficient central planning and huge
expenditures on the arms race. To save the economy, Gorbachev instituted perestroika, or "restructuring," which allowed some private enterprise and profit making.

Gorbachev also established glasnost, or "openness," to allow more freedom of religion and speech. Glasnost spread to Eastern Europe, and in 1989 revolutions replaced Communist rulers with democratic governments in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. At midnight on November 9, 1989, guards at the Berlin Wall opened the gates. Soon, bulldozers began leveling the symbol of Communist repression. East Germany and West Germany soon reunited.

The End of the Soviet Union
As Eastern Europe abandoned communism, Gorbachev faced mounting criticism at home. In August 1991, a group of Communist Party officials and army officers tried to stage a coup. They arrested Gorbachev and sent troops into Moscow. In Moscow, Russian president Boris Yeltsin defied the coup leaders from his offices in the Russian Parliament. President Bush telephoned Yeltsin to express U.S. support. The coup soon collapsed and Gorbachev returned to Moscow. All 15 Soviet republics declared their independence from the Soviet Union. In late December 1991, Gorbachev announced the end of the Soviet Union. Most of the former Soviet republics joined in a federation called the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Although member states remained independent, they formed a common economic zone in 1993.

READING PROGRESS CHECK
Explaining Why do you think glasnost spread to Eastern Europe?

A New World Order
GUIDING QUESTION How did the end of the Cold War lead to more global U.S. military conflicts?

After the Cold War, President Bush noted that a "new world order" was emerging. As he told Congress in a speech, "We stand today at a unique and extraordinary moment. . . . Out of these troubled times . . . a new world order . . . can emerge: a new era—freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the quest for peace." The new world order introduced new military challenges around the globe. For example, U.S. troops led Operation Restore Hope, providing humanitarian assistance and famine relief to refugees in Somalia. Western aid had supported that country during the 1980s due to its strategic location near Middle Eastern oil fields, but with the end of the Cold War, its importance—and U.S. aid—had waned.

Tiananmen Square
Despite the collapse of communism elsewhere, China’s Communist leaders were determined to stay in power. China’s government had relaxed controls on the economy, but continued to repress political speech. In April and May 1989, Chinese students and workers held pro-democracy demonstrations at Tiananmen Square in Beijing, China’s capital. In early June, government tanks and soldiers crushed the protests. Many people were killed. Hundreds of pro-democracy activists were arrested and later sentenced to death. Shocked, the United States and several European countries halted arms sales and reduced diplomatic contacts with China. The World Bank suspended loans. Bush resisted harsher sanctions. He thought that trade and diplomacy would change China’s behavior.