

The Cold War

Backwards Planning Curriculum Units

Michael Hutchison, Writer

Dr. Aaron Willis, Project Coordinator
Kerry Gordonson, Editor
Justin Coffey, Editor
Starr Balmer, Editorial Assistant
Earl Collins, Graphic Designer

Social Studies School Service
10200 Jefferson Blvd., P.O. Box 802
Culver City, CA 90232

<http://socialstudies.com>
access@socialstudies.com

(800) 421-4246

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10200 Jefferson Blvd., P.O. Box 802
Culver City, CA 90232
United States of America

(310) 839-2436
(800) 421-4246

Fax: (800) 944-5432
Fax: (310) 839-2249

<http://socialstudies.com>
access@socialstudies.com

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How To Use This Unit

Backwards planning offers an innovative yet simple approach to meeting curriculum goals; it also provides a way to keep students engaged and focused throughout the learning process. Many teachers approach history instruction in the following manner: they identify a topic required by state and/or national standards, they find materials on that topic, they use those materials with their students, and then they administer some sort of standard test at the end of the unit. Backwards planning, rather than just starting with a required instructional topic, goes a step further by identifying exactly what students need to know by the end of the unit—the so-called “enduring understandings.” The next step involves assessment: devising ways to determine whether students have learned what they need to know. The final step involves planning the teaching/learning process so that students can acquire the knowledge needed.

This product uses backwards planning to combine a PowerPoint presentation, activities that involve authentic assessment, and traditional tests (multiple-choice and essay) into a complete curriculum unit. Although the materials have enough built-in flexibility that you can use them in a number of ways, we suggest the following procedure:

1. Start with the “essential questions” listed on slide 2 of the PowerPoint presentation (these also appear in the teacher support materials). Briefly go over them with students before getting into the topic material. These questions will help students focus their learning and note taking during the course of the unit. You can also choose to use the essential questions as essay questions at the end of the unit; one way to do this is to let students know at the outset that one of the essential questions will be on the test—they just won’t know which one.
2. Next, discuss the activities students will complete during the unit. This will also help focus their learning and note taking, and it will lead them to view the PowerPoint presentation in a different light, considering it a source of ideas for authentic-assessment projects.
3. Present the PowerPoint to the class. Most slides have an image and bullet points summarizing the slide’s topic. The Notes page for each slide contains a paragraph or two of information that you can use as a presentation script, or just as background information for your own reference. You don’t need to present the entire PowerPoint at once: it’s broken up into several sections, each of which concludes with some discussion questions that echo parts of the essential questions and also help students to get closer to the “enduring understandings.” Spend some time with the class going over and debating these questions—this will not only help students think critically about the material, but it will also allow you to incorporate different modes of instruction during a single class period, offering a better chance to engage students.
4. Have students complete one or more of the authentic-assessment activities. These activities are flexible: most can be completed either individually or in groups, and either as homework or as in-class assignments. Each activity includes a rubric; many also have graphic organizers. You can choose to have students complete the activities after you have shown them the entire PowerPoint presentation, or you can show them one section of the PowerPoint, go over the discussion questions, and then have students complete an activity.

5. End the unit with traditional assessment. The support materials include a 20-question multiple-choice quiz; you can combine this with an essay question (you can use one of the essential questions or come up with one of your own) to create a full-period test.

6. If desired, debrief with students by going over the essential questions with them again and remind them what the enduring understandings are.

We are dedicated to continually improving our products and working with teachers to develop exciting and effective tools for the classroom. We can offer advice on how to maximize the use of the product and share others' experiences. We would also be happy to work with you on ideas for customizing the presentation.

We value your feedback, so please let us know more about the ways in which you use this product to supplement your lessons; we're also eager to hear any recommendations you might have for ways in which we can expand the functionality of this product in future editions. You can e-mail us at access@socialstudies.com. We look forward to hearing from you.

Dr. Aaron Willis
Chief Education Officer
Social Studies School Service

Cold War



The era known as the “Cold War” lasted roughly from the close of World War II until the end of the 1980s. Rather than military combat, rivalry and political tension between the United States and the Soviet Union defined the period. Though at various times it appeared that the Cold War might turn “hot,” the two sides never actually fought one another; to do so would have risked nuclear war. Each side instead sought to thwart the other using political methods or propaganda. For example, in various conflicts around the world (including Korea, Vietnam, and Afghanistan) both sides backed governments that had similar political aims to themselves. In addition, each side looked to best the other in the “space race.” Though the Cold War lasted less than 50 years, it cast a shadow over the second half of the 20th century and left a legacy that can still be felt today.

Essential Questions

- What conditions and issues led to mistrust between the U.S. and USSR, thereby leading to the Cold War?
- What methods did the U.S. use to attempt to stop the spread of communism in eastern Europe?
- Why did the U.S. turn to military action to stop communist aggression in Korea and Vietnam?
- Why did Americans respond in the manner they did to perceived internal threats, such as “blacklisting” and “McCarthyism”?
- How did the Cuban Missile Crisis change the scope of the Cold War?
- How did the Nixon and Ford Administrations approach the evolving nature of the Cold War in the late 1960s and 1970s?
- What role did the Reagan and Bush Administrations play in the eventual end of the Cold War in the late 1980s?

U.S. and USSR: Allies Become Enemies

- Different economic systems
- Ideological differences
- Growing mutual suspicions

A U.S. government poster from WWII portraying the Soviets as friendly



Although the U.S. and Soviet Union had worked in common cause during World War II, several issues eventually turned the onetime allies into bitter rivals. While the United States was built on free enterprise and had a capitalist economy, the Soviets favored communism, in which the central government controlled all property and economic policy. In addition, the Soviet Union was as much a totalitarian state as the nations the Allies had fought during the war. The Soviet government officially recognized only the Communist Party and routinely silenced opposition parties. Finally, ever since the 1917 Russian Revolution the basic clash between communism and capitalism had made both nations highly suspicious of one another. These tensions only increased after the defeat of Nazi Germany: without a common enemy to hold them together, the alliance between the U.S. and USSR quickly vanished.

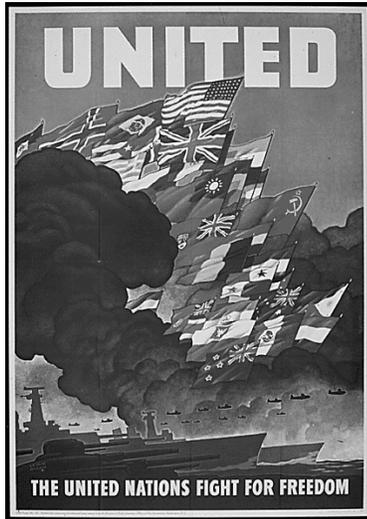
The Yalta Conference



The "Big Three": Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin meet at Yalta, February 1945

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Soviet Premier Josef Stalin conferred at the February 1945 Yalta Conference, which created the United Nations and also set the stage for Cold War. Yalta marked the final meeting of the World War II-era "Big Three." Roosevelt, already in poor health, died two months after the conference. Later that summer, Churchill's Conservative Party lost the British parliamentary elections, and Clement Attlee of the Labour Party replaced him as prime minister.

Yalta: Significant Events



A WWII-era poster celebrating the UN

- Creation of the United Nations
- Demand for Germany's unconditional surrender
- Postwar Germany split into four zones of occupation
- Stalin agreed to enter war against Japan
- Status of Poland
- Demilitarization of Germany

During the Yalta Conference, U.S., Soviet, and British delegates agreed on several significant points, including:

1. The creation of a new organization, the United Nations, to replace the ineffectual League of Nations. The first meeting of the United Nations was scheduled for April 25, 1945, in San Francisco. The UN would include a "Security Council" made up of the victorious Allied nations from World War II (the U.S., the USSR, Britain, France, and China).
2. Reaffirming the principles of the Atlantic Charter, the participants agreed on the necessity of self-determination for all peoples under Nazi domination and further called for the unconditional surrender of Germany.
3. The delegates also agreed that once Germany surrendered, the country should be partitioned into four zones of occupation: the U.S., the USSR, Britain, and France would each control one zone.
4. In a major victory for FDR, Stalin agreed that the USSR would enter the war against Japan within 90 days of the defeat of Germany. The USSR declared war on Japan on August 9, 1945—the same day the U.S. dropped the second atomic bomb on Japan, on the city of Nagasaki. The Soviet military seized some territory from Japan before the end of the war.
5. The Allies agreed to allow the USSR to keep some of the territory in eastern Poland that it had taken control of during the war. They also essentially allowed the communist Polish government set up by the Soviets to remain in place.
6. The delegates also decided that postwar Germany should be demilitarized and de-Nazified (that is, to get rid of all vestiges of the Nazi regime).

Truman Takes Over

- FDR died suddenly in April 1945
- Vice President Harry Truman sworn in
- Had served as VP for just 82 days
- Truman previously unaware of the Manhattan Project



President Harry S. Truman at his desk

In 1944, FDR won election to an unprecedented fourth term as U.S. president. However, many in FDR's inner circle were already concerned about his health and had doubts as to whether he could survive another term. Democratic Party leaders decided to nominate Harry Truman as Roosevelt's running mate. Truman, a senator from Missouri, had earned respect and renown as the head of a congressional committee that had investigated military preparedness and saved the government billions of dollars by eliminating military overspending.

During his 82 days as vice president, FDR failed to confer with him on war policy or military matters; Truman did not even know about the Manhattan Project to build the atomic bomb. Thus, when he assumed the presidency after FDR's death he had a lot of catching up to do. However, he quickly grew into the job, not only successfully presiding over the end of World War II but also seeing many of FDR's plans through to fruition, including the United Nations. In August 1945, Truman decided to authorize the use of the atomic bomb against Japan.

The Potsdam Conference



Churchill, Truman, and Stalin

- Truman, Stalin, and Churchill (later Attlee)
- Restated agreement to partition Germany
- Agreed to prosecute war criminals
- Set new boundary line for Poland
- Truman hinted at atomic bomb to Stalin

Major changes began to occur to the “Big Three” soon after the Yalta Conference. President Roosevelt died suddenly in April 1945 and was replaced by Vice President Harry Truman. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill’s Conservative Party was defeated in parliamentary elections, and he was replaced at Potsdam by Clement Attlee.

At the conference, the Allies agreed again in principle to partition both Germany and its capital city of Berlin. In addition, they agreed to establish an international tribunal to prosecute war criminals. They also moved the boundaries of Poland westward; the country now occupied territory which previously had been part of Germany. However, the USSR received some Polish territory to the east.

While at the conference, Truman received word that the “Trinity” test of the atomic bomb (conducted at Alamogordo, New Mexico) had been successful. In passing, he noted to Stalin that the United States possessed a “powerful new weapon.” Stalin acted unimpressed, most likely because Soviet spies within the U.S. had already given him full knowledge of the program to build the atomic bomb.

The Soviet Bloc



- The USSR felt that by controlling “satellite” nations, it could stop future western invasions
- Communist governments installed in much of central and eastern Europe

The USSR had suffered much more during World War II than the U.S. had, with more than 20 million killed—most of them civilians. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Soviets had to deal with a number of threats that had come from the West. To maintain their nation’s security, the Soviets felt that they needed to have friendly governments heading the nations of eastern Europe. As a result, the USSR used its power to install communist governments in several eastern European countries, including Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Poland. These became known as “satellite” or “Soviet Bloc” nations. The USSR felt that these satellite countries would provide a first line of defense against any potential future invasion of the Soviet Union.

Discussion Questions

1. What reasons existed for the distrust and suspicion between the U.S. and USSR? Why did the WWII alliance between the two nations fall apart?
2. Did FDR “give away” too many concessions to Stalin at the Yalta Conference? Explain your answer.
3. Should Truman have given Stalin any advanced knowledge about the atomic bomb during the Potsdam Conference? Why or why not?
4. Should the United States have taken military action to stop the development of the Soviet Bloc? Why or why not?

1. Both ideological and economic differences led to the distrust and suspicion between the U.S. and USSR. The Soviet Union believed in a controlled economy with collective ownership of farms and factories; all decisions about economic production were made by the state. The United States had a capitalist economy in which private ownership spurred economic growth. The ideological differences between the two nations were striking as well: The United States was a more open system in which criticism of the government was an accepted fact of life and a multi-party political system was the norm. In the Soviet Union, the Communist Party exercised total control of the government. Opposition groups were routinely persecuted or expelled. Americans had historically been suspicious of totalitarian systems and communism/socialism, so hostility and distrust based on ideological differences eventually broke apart the anti-Nazi alliance between the U.S. and USSR.
2. Hindsight would dictate to some students, based on their knowledge of the Cold War, that FDR may have allowed Stalin too much latitude in eastern Europe in order to ensure Soviet participation in the war against Japan. They may be especially critical, since the Soviets didn't enter the war until after the U.S. dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. However, other students may note that FDR did not have knowledge that the atomic bomb would be ready when he met with Stalin, and as a political pragmatist he decided to “court” Stalin in order to ensure Soviet participation in the Pacific war.
3. Some students will note that Stalin did not act interested when Truman hinted that the United States had developed the atomic bomb. With a highly sophisticated espionage network already in place, Stalin probably had collected a large amount of information about the Manhattan Project. However, Truman had only been in office for a few months by the time of the Potsdam Conference, and might not have had knowledge about Soviet espionage. He might have thought, as an ally in the war against Germany, it would be a courtesy to notify Stalin. Other historians note that Truman already had his suspicions about Stalin, and may have already been trying to ensure that Stalin appreciated U.S. power and determination.
4. It probably would have been difficult for Truman—or even FDR, for that matter—to garner popular support for continuing military action in Europe against a former ally. Some students might see the Soviet concern regarding invasion from the West, as well as their desire to ensure its future security by developing a series of “buffer states” on its western border, as reasonable. Others might feel that with an army already in place in Europe, the U.S. should have maintained a high level of strength in order to impress upon the Soviets the American desire to allow eastern European nations a measure of self-determination.

The “Iron Curtain”

- Popularized by a 1946 Churchill speech
- Metaphor for the divide between Western Europe and the Soviet Bloc
- Stalin called speech a “call to war”



Churchill and Truman on stage at Westminster College

Churchill was invited to Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, to accept an honorary degree. He used the opportunity to give an address warning of the spreading Soviet threat, noting that “From Stettin in the Baltic, to Trieste in the Adriatic, an ‘iron curtain’ has descended across the Continent.” At first, many condemned Churchill’s speech, especially since the USSR and U.S. had been allies just a few months before in the war against Germany. Stalin personally declared that the speech was a “call to war.” However, many in the U.S. government began to appreciate the seriousness of Churchill’s warning. The Berlin crisis, among other issues, would prove Churchill correct.

Containment



George F. Kennan

- First suggested by George F. Kennan in the “Long Telegram”
- Made public in a *Foreign Affairs* article
- Kennan asserted that the goal of the U.S. should be to “contain” communism within its present borders

Some in the Truman Administration and the U.S. State Department began to recognize the increasing Soviet threat. One such official was George F. Kennan, the deputy director of the U.S. embassy in Moscow. Convinced a new strategy was needed to deal with the Russians, Kennan sent a 5300-word communication that came to be known as the “Long Telegram” to Secretary of State James Byrnes, outlining the strategy of “containment.”

In Kennan’s view, the United States needed to strive to prevent the spread of communism to non-communist nations. Writing under the pseudonym “X,” Kennan announced the containment theory in a 1947 article, “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” in *Foreign Affairs* magazine. In his article, Kennan noted that “traditional Russian feelings of insecurity” led to the Kremlin’s “neurotic view of world affairs.”

Kennan’s view became the cornerstone of the Truman Doctrine, which actively opposed the spread of communism first to Greece and Turkey, and later throughout Europe. However, Kennan later became an opponent of much of U.S. foreign policy regarding its involvement in Vietnam, saying that his containment policy should have involved only economic aid to Vietnam, and not U.S. military involvement.

The Truman Doctrine

- Designed to contain communism
- Truman announced he would give economic aid to Greece and Turkey
- “Truman Doctrine” extended to anywhere aid was given to support a non-communist government

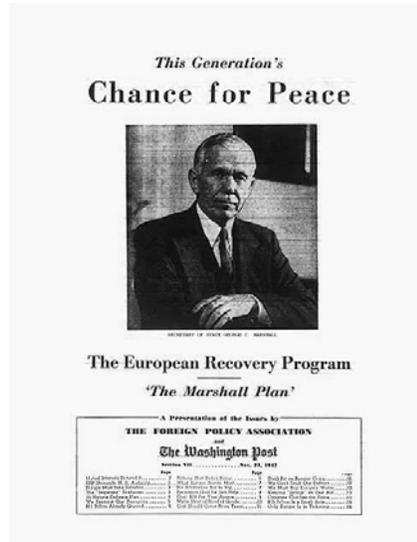


President Truman spells out the terms of the Truman Doctrine before a joint session of Congress

By March 1947, Greece and Turkey were in desperate shape economically and on the verge of approving governments that supported the Soviet Union. In order to prevent those nations from falling into the Soviet Bloc, President Truman announced to a joint session of Congress his plan to provide economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey.

Called the “Truman Doctrine,” the speech and policy signaled the beginning of the U.S. strategy of containment. No longer would America stand by and allow the USSR to increase the Soviet sphere of influence. The United States was now committed to assisting any nation needing help resisting communist aggression. Some consider the Truman Doctrine and the corresponding U.S. policy shift regarding Soviet expansion as the start of the Cold War.

The Marshall Plan



- Western Europe struggled to revive after the war
- Millions in refugee camps
- Winter of 1946 the coldest in memory
- Marshall proposes aid plan to all European nations to rebuild

Not only Greece and Turkey experienced economic distress after the war—most of western Europe was in the same situation. The infrastructures of many nations lay in ruins, and millions huddled in refugee camps while governments sought to rebuild their nation's economies. In addition, the winter of 1946–1947 was one of the coldest on record, further hampering recovery efforts. In 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed what became known as the “Marshall Plan,” which would provide aid to any European nation that needed it.

After Czechoslovakia fell to communism in 1948, the need to aid European nations in order to keep them from “going communist” became more urgent. Between 1948 and 1952, 16 European nations received more than \$13 billion in aid from the U.S. Great Britain led all nations in receiving aid, at nearly \$3 billion. While the cost was significant, the U.S. benefited greatly from the Marshall Plan because it checked the spread of communism and kept the rest of Europe free from Soviet influence.

Discussion Questions

1. Did Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech heighten or lessen Cold War tensions? Explain your answer.
2. Why do you think Kennan wrote an anonymous article describing containment in *Foreign Affairs*, rather than using his name?
3. How did the Truman Doctrine solidify the idea of "containment"?
4. How did the Marshall Plan help check the spread of communism? Explain.

1. Some students may believe that the harsh words Churchill used might have increased tensions between the former allies. Some may feel that Churchill's speech, coming only nine months after the end of World War II in Europe, exaggerated the Soviet threat. Other students may note that in light of later Soviet actions in Europe, the warnings of the former British prime minister should have been heeded sooner.
2. Kennan may have tried to be cautious because he stood in opposition to most of the accepted theories about the goals of the USSR. He might have also wanted to remain anonymous to lessen the appearance of trying to capitalize on his position in the foreign service, or perhaps because he feared damaging his career if he were wrong.
3. Truman's decision to support Greece and Turkey solidified the idea of containment because for the first time, the U.S. elected to use economic and military aid to support a nation's effort to resist communism. The success of the Truman Doctrine in Greece and Turkey informed the shape of future U.S. policy regarding dealing with the spread of communism.
4. By providing economic assistance to nations trying to recover from World War II, the Marshall Plan provided a way for western Europe to rebuild economically and maintain capitalist economies, rather than falling into communism or socialism. In addition, providing assistance to nations in western Europe made the United States highly popular in the region and helped keep those nations allied with the U.S., rather than becoming "friendly" with the Soviet Union. After the fall of Czechoslovakia, no other western European nation became communist.

The Berlin Airlift



American C-54s await orders to take off from
Tempelhof Air Base, Berlin

Origins of the Berlin Airlift

- Germany divided after WWII
- City of Berlin lay in Soviet zone
- Soviets closed all rail and highway routes into city
- Air corridors remained open



Although the Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine worked to limit the advance of communism in Europe, the USSR still looked for ways to enlarge their sphere of influence. In 1948, they sought to force the other Allied nations controlling Berlin to surrender control to Soviet forces.

The city of Berlin lay completely in the Soviet zone. The Russians closed all rail and highway routes from East Germany into Berlin and threatened to starve the city into submission. This put Truman in a difficult position: to allow the Soviets to control the city would mean disaster for the Truman Doctrine and containment. On the other hand, to use military force to open up the routes into the city might have sparked World War III.

A third option existed because the Soviets could not close down the air corridors leading from West Germany across the Soviet zone and into Berlin. The Allies could therefore use planes to supply the city with everything from coal to bread—a herculean task, but possibly the only way to keep the city in Allied hands without sparking a major military conflict with the Soviets.

“Operation Vittles”



Germans watch as an American bomber flies overhead

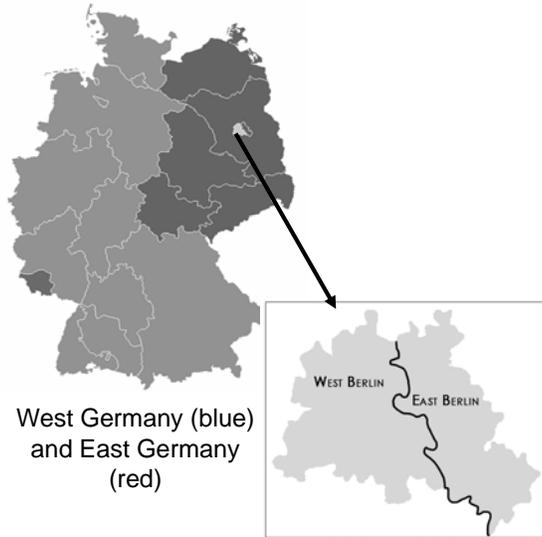
- U.S. code name for the airlift
- U.S., British forces dropped supplies into Berlin
- Many Germans called planes *Rosinenbombers* (raisin bombers)
- Germans and Americans became allies

While attempting to supply Berlin’s civilian population by airlift seemed impossible, American and British fliers managed to bring in supplies of nearly every conceivable necessity. All told, nearly 277,000 flights were made—many in three-minute intervals.

In some instances, pilots became famous for dropping candy to crowds of German children on the ground. Many children and adults gave the supply planes the nickname *Rosinenbombers* (Raisin bombers) because of the “friendly” cargo they dropped.

The Berlin Airlift eventually proved to the USSR that the plan to force Berlin into submission would not work. The Soviets eventually reopened road and rail routes into the city. In addition to providing a victory of sorts for the West, the airlift had another impact as well. Germans, who once viewed Americans with suspicion and hatred, now saw them as friends and saviors.

The Partitioning of Germany



- Western part of Germany became Federal Republic of Germany in May 1949
- Eastern part of Germany became the German Democratic Republic
- Berlin lay entirely within East Germany

By 1949, the victorious Allied powers allowed their zones of German occupation to establish themselves as new nations. The western zones (U.S., Britain, and French) formed a nation called the “Federal Republic of Germany,” more commonly known as West Germany. The Soviet zone formed its own government as well, which it called the “German Democratic Republic,” or East Germany. The eastern section of the city of Berlin, which totally remained inside the Soviet zone, became the capital of East Germany. Bonn was named the capital city of West Germany.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact

- NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- Twelve original member states in a mutual defense alliance (now 26)
- Soviets developed the Warsaw Pact in response

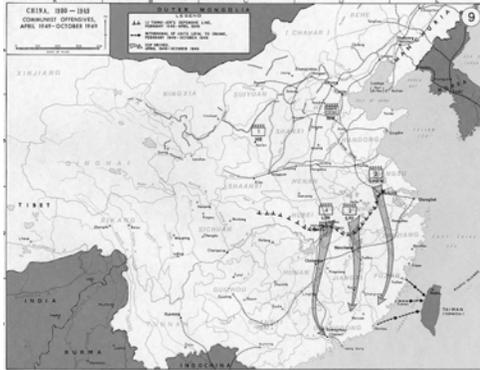


In 1948, the nations of western Europe banded together in a mutual defense treaty. However, they determined that American involvement in a European defense pact treaty was vital, and a second alliance—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—was created in 1949, with the United States as a founding member.

The premise of NATO was simple: If any NATO member state were attacked by an external entity, the others would respond with such action as they deemed necessary—including the use of military force—as if they themselves had been attacked. That meant that if the Soviet Union invaded any western European nation, the United States would consider it an attack on American soil and would retaliate.

In response to NATO, the Soviet Union and its satellite nations created a similar alliance called the Warsaw Pact. Ironically, while the NATO alliance kept Soviet forces from invading any NATO signatory nation, the Soviets did in fact invade two Warsaw Pact members—Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The Chinese Civil War



This map shows the final push by Chinese Communist forces against Chiang's Nationalist armies

- Nationalists and Communists had fought Japan together in WWII
- American aid to Nationalists and Chiang Kai-shek ineffective
- Mao Zedong's forces victorious
- Chiang's forces fled to Formosa (Taiwan)

During the World War II years, the two opposing sides in China—the Nationalists, led by Chiang Kai-shek, and the Communists, led by Mao Zedong—fought side by side against the Japanese. However, with the end of World War II and the defeat of the Japanese, the Nationalists and Communists resumed hostilities against each other.

While the U.S. supported the Nationalist cause with huge loans and economic incentives, it became obvious that economic aid alone could not save Chiang's government, which was rife with corruption. Chiang could not stop the widespread economic collapse of China, and more and more people joined Mao's side.

By January 1949, Beijing had fallen to the Communists, who began to take over more and more territory, generally with minimal resistance. By late 1949, Chiang and a few hundred thousand troops still loyal to him fled the mainland for the nearby island of Formosa (Taiwan). He set up a new government there, which most Western nations recognized as the legitimate government of China. The United States did not recognize Mao Zedong's government as the official Chinese government until the 1970s.

Discussion Questions

1. Do you think Truman was right in not using military force to reopen roads and rail routes into West Berlin? Why?
2. Why was the Berlin Airlift such a great propaganda victory for the U.S.?
3. What are some alternatives that might have kept Germany united in the late 1940s?
4. What were some benefits to U.S. membership in NATO? Drawbacks?
5. What could the U.S. have done to help ensure that China did not fall to the communists?

1. Most students may agree that Truman took the best course by not using military force to reopen routes into Berlin. Though the USSR had not yet developed the atomic bomb, a conventional war could have possibly dragged on for years and resulted in millions of civilian and military casualties. In addition, there was no guarantee that using military force would have opened the routes, let alone kept them open.
2. Many Germans had been angry and resentful of American occupiers after World War II. However, once they saw American planes bringing needed supplies to civilians in Berlin, their opinion of the occupiers changed dramatically. Also, some flyers would tie “parachutes” to candy rations and drop them for the children of Berlin. This made the German people more friendly towards American servicemen, and their countries eventually became allies.
3. Students may suggest that the U.S. and USSR might have worked within the United Nations to create some sort of agreement that would have maintained a single German government and German nation. However, the USSR may have viewed a united Germany as a strategic threat to Soviet security. The U.S. might have also proposed the creation of a coalition government which would have shared power between those supported by the Soviets and those supported by the West.
4. One major benefit of membership in NATO would be the stabilizing influence that the U.S. could bring to European politics, as well as maintaining the balance of power in the region. Knowing that the U.S. would consider an attack on any NATO member an attack on itself, the U.S. would deter the Soviets from making aggressive moves. On the other hand, based on the NATO charter, a relatively minor incident could conceivably pull the U.S. into a world war in order to fulfill its NATO commitments. If the U.S. were to refuse to use military force, the NATO alliance would likely have collapsed quickly.
5. Some students may note that one reason for the collapse of Chiang’s government was corruption. If the U.S. had a strategy to make the Chinese Nationalist government more receptive to the needs of the people, the government might have been less likely to fall. In addition, the U.S. was willing to provide some economic support to Chiang’s government but unwilling to send much in the way of military support (especially not U.S. troops). While the Truman Administration did not want to see Mao Zedong’s forces victorious, it didn’t want to commit American troops to the fight either.

The Korean War

- Korea divided after World War II
 - North Korea (communist)
 - South Korea (non-communist)
- North Korea invaded South Korea in June 1950
- UN forces supported South Korea



As World War II came to a close in the Pacific, the United States and Soviet Union agreed that Japanese soldiers occupying northern Korea would surrender to Soviet forces, and those in the south would surrender to American forces. The “line of demarcation” was set at the 38th parallel. This division continued after the war, with the Soviets administering the reestablishment of the Korean government in the north, and the U.S. in the south. However, both governments aspired to reunify Korea under a single government—and under their own control.

Stalin backed a planned invasion of South Korea by the North and provided a substantial amount of military equipment. Although U.S. forces had helped to supply South Korea, the North enjoyed military superiority.

In late June 1950, North Korean forces launched a massive attack on South Korea. The United Nations Security Council passed a U.S. resolution condemning North Korea’s actions, and ordered UN military forces to help resist North Korean troops. Just as in Europe, the U.S. government wanted to ensure that no more Asian nations fell to communism. Normally, such a resolution would have been defeated by the USSR’s “absolute veto” in the Security Council. However, the Soviet delegation was boycotting the UN because of the UN’s refusal to admit communist China as a member. UN forces (composed primarily of American troops) were deployed to stop the North Korean advance.

UN Forces Advance



U.S. Marines go over the top at
Inchon

- North Korean forces drove UN forces to Pusan
- MacArthur's daring invasion at Inchon forced North back
- UN forces pushed to Yalu River (border between North Korea and China)

In the early days of the war, outmatched UN and South Korean forces were overwhelmed by a better-supplied North Korean army. In the southeast, the North Korean People's Army boxed in UN forces, confining them within an area called the "Pusan Perimeter."

However, in a daring move, Supreme UN Commander Douglas MacArthur divided his forces and landed at Inchon, behind the North Korean lines. With their supply lines endangered and fighting occurring at their rear as well as on the front lines, the North Koreans were soon pushed back into their own territory. MacArthur and his UN troops pursued the North Koreans all the way to the Yalu River, the boundary between North Korea and the People's Republic of China.

Truman vs. MacArthur

- Truman supported “limited war” policy
- MacArthur assured Truman that China wouldn’t enter war
- China joined war in late 1950
- MacArthur critical of Truman’s policies
- Truman fired MacArthur



Truman meets with MacArthur at Wake Island, October 1950

Throughout the Korean conflict, President Truman supported a “limited war” policy designed to protect the integrity of South Korea, but otherwise maintaining the status quo. He felt that widening the war with an invasion of China would lead to the start of World War III. MacArthur, on the other hand, was certain that China would not enter the war, and assured Truman of this when the two met at Wake Island in October 1950. However, as UN forces neared the Yalu River (the border between North Korea and China), China began issuing stern warnings that if the advance continued, they would have no choice but to enter the conflict.

In late October 1950, nearly 270,000 Chinese troops crossed the border and attacked UN positions. However, they quickly retreated. UN forces continued their advance, and the Chinese opened a new front, smashing the UN advance. American-led UN forces pulled back, in the longest retreat in American history. At the Chosin Reservoir, Chinese forces surrounded nearly 30,000 American troops. While most eventually escaped, they suffered nearly 15,000 casualties.

MacArthur continued to criticize Truman’s “limited war” policy, asking for conventional and nuclear weapons to mass along the Yalu River to use against the Chinese. Truman became convinced he had to fire MacArthur, and after getting the Joint Chiefs of Staff to agree, he relieved MacArthur of command in April 1951, replacing him with General Matthew Ridgway. Truman’s popularity plummeted as a result of his recall of MacArthur, and this factored into his decision not to run for another term as president in 1952.

Stalemate



- UN and Chinese forces launched various offensives near 38th parallel
- War dragged on in a stalemate
- Stalin died; Eisenhower elected president
- Armistice signed in 1953

After the Chinese attacks pushed them away from the Yalu River, UN troops eventually regrouped around the 38th Parallel. A series of offensive attacks by both sides made clear that the war had entered into a bloody stalemate. However, factors began to push both sides toward a conclusion of hostilities. After the death of Soviet Premier Josef Stalin in 1953, North Korea no longer could rely on the Soviet Union for the same support it had in June 1950. In the 1952 U.S. presidential election, Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower promised that if he won he “would go to Korea.” Making good on that pledge, Eisenhower visited Korea in late 1952 to assess the situation. While the trip did not have much substantive effect, it did seem to help speed an armistice. Finally, in July 1953 an armistice was signed that set the boundary between North and South Korea at the 38th parallel, close to where the original boundary between the two Koreas had been. A demilitarized zone was set with North Korean troops on one side and South Korean and American troops on the other. No formal peace treaty ending the Korean War has ever been signed.

Nearly 34,000 Americans died in the Korean War. More than 8000 were designated as missing in action and were not recovered.

Discussion Questions

1. Why do you think the U.S. declined to use military forces during the Berlin crisis but chose to intervene militarily on behalf of South Korea?
2. Some historians call Korea “the forgotten war.” Is this a fair statement? Explain.
3. On an A–F grade scale, how would you rate MacArthur as commander of UN forces in Korea? Explain.
4. Do you think Truman’s policy of “limited war” in Korea was reasonable? Why?
5. Critique the armistice that ended the Korean War in 1953. Do you think the UN thought its terms were suitable? Explain.

1. Most students will probably note that during the Berlin blockade, any military involvement would have directly engaged Soviet troops. Truman’s main concern was that this would have sparked World War III. However, in the early days of the Korean War, UN troops engaged only North Korean forces, and therefore the threat of all-out conflict—and possible nuclear war—was significantly less than if U.S. forces had fought against Soviet troops in Berlin.
2. Some students may agree with the “forgotten war” statement because no side won a clear-cut victory in the Korean War, unlike in World War II. Over time, many people instead became occupied with the continuing saga of the Vietnam War, whose immediacy and length tended to overshadow the earlier, indecisive conflict. On the other hand, some students may note that the Korean conflict represented the first time that U.S. forces fought in a war in which several nations had nuclear weapons, yet none of them actually used them in battle. In that regard, the Korean War was a significant conflict and does not deserve the “forgotten war” label.
3. Since Truman fired MacArthur, most students may choose not to grade him very high. However, some students may grade MacArthur higher because of his landing at Inchon that pushed the North Koreans back across the 38th parallel.
4. Owing to the main objective of the Korean War—to keep North Korea from overrunning the South—many students would agree that Truman’s limited-war policy was successful. However, other students who may consider more recent parallels (such as the goals of President George H.W. Bush in Operation Desert Storm and the subsequent reemergence of Saddam Hussein) may suggest that Truman should have acted more aggressively to end the North Korean threat.
5. The armistice diminished the threat of a shooting war between North and South Korea, and set the boundary between the two nations approximately where it had been prior to the invasion by North Korea. Therefore, some students may believe that the armistice was fair. Other students, however, may feel that the cost in men and material did not justify the outcome—the continuing threat of a shooting war—and thus did not make for a suitable end to the conflict.

Responses to “Internal Threats”

- House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)
- Blacklisting
- McCarran Act
- Alger Hiss
- Julius and Ethel Rosenberg



Arrest photos of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg

During the 1940s and 1950s, the U.S. responded to several “internal threats” supposedly posed by communists in America.

- Created in 1937 to investigate “un-American” and subversive activities, HUAC investigated the New Deal’s Federal Writers’ Project, as well as suspected left- and right-wing extremist groups. It also investigated alleged communist infiltration of the movie industry, calling several famous writers, actors, directors, and musical performers to testify. Perhaps HUAC’s most famous chairman was Richard Nixon. By the late 1960s, HUAC was renamed the “Internal Security Committee,” and in 1975 it was abolished entirely, its function absorbed by the House Judiciary Committee.
- Blacklisting was the practice of denying suspected communists or “subversives” employment opportunities. While this occurred in several industries and professions, it was probably best known for its application in the entertainment industry—especially in the case of the “Hollywood Ten,” a group of actors, producers, writers, and others whom HUAC investigated. Many of the persons singled out for investigation were denied work in the movie industry, especially after several of them invoked their Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination. In some cases, blacklisted entertainers weren’t allowed to work for decades.
- The McCarran Act (also known as the Internal Security Act) was used to investigate persons believed to be involved in “un-American” activities. Aliens living in the U.S. who were investigated and determined to be members of “subversive groups” were denied the opportunity to become citizens. Naturalized citizens found to be members of these groups could be expatriated. Congress passed the McCarran Act over Truman’s veto. The U.S. Supreme Court eventually declared many of the provisions of the McCarran Act unconstitutional.
- Alger Hiss was a U.S. State Department employee suspected of spying for the Soviet Union and convicted on perjury charges. His conviction still remains highly controversial. Hiss had been implicated by Whittaker Chambers, a former spy turned informant. Since the statute of limitations did not allow him to be tried for espionage, he was charged with perjury. His first trial ended in a hung jury, but he was convicted at retrial. The investigation into Hiss’s activities brought Richard Nixon to the attention of the national Republican Party, helping to make him the party’s nominee for vice president in 1952.
- The Rosenbergs, found guilty of selling atomic bomb secrets to the USSR, became the first U.S. civilians to be convicted and executed on charges of espionage. Many who opposed the verdict believed that the Rosenbergs could not receive a fair trial and that the evidence against them was questionable. Others believed that the value of the information the Rosenbergs were accused of selling was small at best, and therefore that the punishment did not fit the crime.

“McCarthyism” and the “Second Red Scare”

A 1950
publication
that claimed
to identify
communists
in the media



- Period of intense anti-communist suspicion in the late 1940s and early 1950s
- Many innocent people accused of communist ties
- Solid evidence against accused never produced

The term “McCarthyism” refers not only to unfair or unwarranted accusations of being a communist or of having communist sympathies, but also to underhanded, intimidatory, or fearmongering tactics used for political gain. In the early 1950s, Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy became famous by “naming” alleged communists in the government, the military, and entertainment industry. Many considered the McCarthy investigations of the 1950s as the “Second Red Scare”; the first occurred in the 1920s when Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer cracked down on communists or anarchists, violating their civil liberties in many instances. As in the earlier Red Scare, no solid evidence existed against those accused, and no significant convictions were obtained.

Joseph McCarthy



- Republican senator from Wisconsin
- Claimed that communists had infiltrated several government agencies
- Army–McCarthy hearings led to censure by Senate
- Died in 1957

The architect of much of the “Second Red Scare” was Senator Joseph McCarthy, a Wisconsin Republican. Relatively unknown in his early years in the Senate, he made headlines in 1950 by announcing in a speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, that he personally knew of a number of State Department employees who were communists. In light of the Rosenberg case and the Soviet Union recently exploding its first atomic bomb, many Americans became extremely concerned about a perceived communist threat and believed McCarthy.

From the beginning, McCarthy’s methods were suspect. At various times, he announced he had “in his hands” the names of anywhere from 57 to 205 communists harbored by the State Department. He also asserted that the Democratic Party had been guilty of treason for the past 20 years because it had allowed communists to infiltrate the government.

More senators feared McCarthy befriended him. Many of his colleagues saw him as short-tempered, impatient, and prone to fits of rage. However, most Republicans thought his “purging” of communism would help them gain support in the 1952 election.

After McCarthy’s tactics became public in the 1954 Army–McCarthy hearings, the Senate voted to censure him. An alcoholic, McCarthy died a broken man three years later.

McCarthy and Truman

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The White House
Washington
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THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
IN A LINCOLN DAY SPEECH AT WHEELING THURSDAY NIGHT
I STATED THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT HARBORS A NEST OF
COMMUNISTS AND COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS WHO ARE HELPING TO
SHAPE OUR FOREIGN POLICY. I FURTHER STATED THAT I HAVE IN
MY POSSESSION THE NAMES OF 57 COMMUNISTS WHO ARE IN THE
STATE DEPARTMENT AT PRESENT. A STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN

Part of McCarthy's telegram to Truman after the Wheeling speech

My dear Senator:
I read your telegram of February eleventh from Reno, Nevada with a great deal of interest and this is the first time in my experience, and I was ten years in the Senate, that I ever heard of a Senator trying to discredit his own Government before the world. You know that isn't done by honest public officials. Your telegram is not only not true and an insolent approach to a situation that should have been worked out between man and man but it shows conclusively that you are not even fit to have a hand in the operation of the Government of the United States.
I am very sure that the people of Wisconsin are extremely sorry that they are represented by a person who has as little sense of responsibility as you have.
Sincerely yours,
[HST]

Truman's reply (probably never sent)

As the exchange of messages above shows, there was no love lost between McCarthy and President Harry Truman. Immediately after his Wheeling speech in which he announced he had the names of 57 communists in the State Department, he sent a telegram informing Truman. Truman wrote a telegram of his own, but it was likely never sent to the senator, according to records at the Truman Library.

Secretary of State George C. Marshall was a frequent target of McCarthy's criticism. In one speech, McCarthy blamed Marshall for the loss of China to communism and implied that Marshall was guilty of treason. In addition, McCarthy frequently charged that Truman and the Democratic Party were either "soft" on communism or even allied with communists. Truman fired back that McCarthy was the "best weapon the Kremlin had" for sabotaging American foreign policy in the Cold War. Truman also suggested that McCarthy's actions were the same as "shooting American soldiers in the back" in a "hot war."

After Truman fired General Douglas MacArthur, McCarthy announced that Truman's advisers got the president to agree to the firing only after getting him "cheerful on bourbon and Benedictine."

Murrow on McCarthy

- Noted CBS newscaster Edward R. Murrow ran an exposé on McCarthy
- McCarthy appeared on Murrow's show a few weeks later
- McCarthy did not come across well



Edward R. Murrow

Noted CBS newscaster Edward R. Murrow decided to write an exposé of McCarthy for his *See It Now* program. Although he met with substantial resistance from CBS executives, Murrow pushed ahead and did the show. In the program, Murrow played several clips of McCarthy speeches, press conferences, and committee hearings. The program's main point was that a fine line existed between investigation and persecution; in Murrow's view, McCarthy had crossed the line.

In his opening remarks, Murrow offered McCarthy an opportunity to refute the charges on an future broadcast of *See It Now*. McCarthy accepted the invitation and appeared on the show three weeks later. McCarthy, unaccustomed to debating in a television studio in front of a live audience, did not perform well.

The Army–McCarthy Hearings



McCarthy and Roy Cohn during the hearings

- Centered on McCarthy and chief counsel Roy Cohn
- Army charged both with pressing for “favorable treatment” for former staffer
- Hearings televised
- Beginning of McCarthy’s downfall

McCarthy’s downfall came during the “Army–McCarthy” hearings of 1954. The Army, a subject of McCarthy’s scrutiny in the past, alleged that McCarthy and his chief legal counsel, Roy Cohn, had tried to get preferential treatment for recent draftee G. David Schine, a personal friend of Cohn and a former McCarthy staffer. Acting as special counsel for the Army was Joseph Welch. The hearings, which lasted 36 days, were the first congressional hearings to be televised nationally.

Perhaps the most dramatic moment of the Army–McCarthy hearings occurred on June 9, 1954, when McCarthy responded to fairly aggressive questioning from Army Chief Counsel Joseph Welch. Welch had challenged McCarthy’s Chief Counsel Roy Cohn to provide the U.S. attorney general with McCarthy’s “list” of communists working in defense plants, before “the sun goes down.”

McCarthy questioned Welch about an employee of Welch’s own law office, Fred Fisher, who had belonged to a supposed communist front organization. Since the attorney general’s office was still investigating whether the organization was indeed a communist group, McCarthy’s attack violated a pre-hearing agreement. At that point, Welch confronted McCarthy, stating, “Until this moment, Senator, I think I never gauged your cruelty or recklessness.” When McCarthy continued his attack on Fisher, Welch cut him off with what became the hearings’ iconic line, “Let us not assassinate this lad further, Senator. You’ve done enough. Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?”

At the end of the hearings, the committee concluded that McCarthy had not personally unduly pressured the Army to give Schine preferential treatment, but that Cohn had engaged in some “unduly persistent or aggressive efforts” on behalf of Schine. However, having watched the hearings the American people saw firsthand McCarthy’s reckless and dishonest behavior. Within weeks, McCarthy’s approval rating plummeted. By the end of 1954, the Senate had voted to censure McCarthy, effectively ruining his career in national politics.

Censure of McCarthy

- McCarthy's popularity plummeted after hearings
- Senator Margaret Chase Smith spoke out against McCarthy
- Senate voted to censure McCarthy in December 1954



Senator Margaret Chase Smith

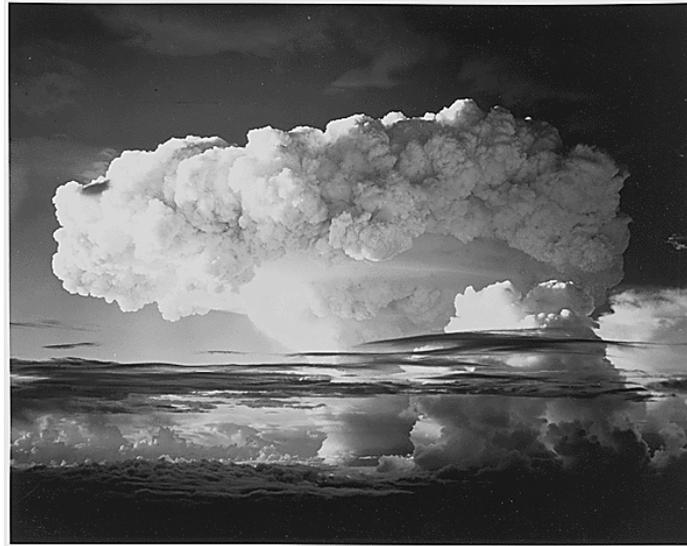
Millions of Americans saw McCarthy's true colors on national television. The sight of him bullying and threatening witnesses angered many, and within months his approval rating plummeted.

While many Republican senators were still fearful to speak out against McCarthy, some saw the danger as more than a partisan issue. Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, in her famous "Declaration of Conscience" wrote:

"As a United States Senator, I am not proud of the way in which the Senate has been made a publicity platform for irresponsible sensationalism. I am not proud of the reckless abandon in which unproved charges have been hurled from this side of the aisle. I am not proud of the obviously staged, undignified countercharges that have been attempted in retaliation from the other side of the aisle... As an American, I condemn a Republican 'fascist' just as much as I condemn a Democrat 'communist.' I condemn a Democrat 'fascist' just as much as I condemn a Republican 'communist.' They are equally dangerous to you and me and to our country. As an American, I want to see our nation recapture the strength and unity it once had when we fought the enemy instead of ourselves."

In December 1954, the Senate voted 65–22 to formally censure McCarthy for "improper conduct that tended to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute." Although McCarthy retained his Senate seat, his importance as a national figure disintegrated. In 1957, McCarthy died of complications from alcoholism.

The Hydrogen Bomb



The *Mike* test on November 1, 1952, was the first successful explosion of a hydrogen bomb. *Mike* generated a force of more than 10 million tons of TNT—700 times the force of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in August 1945. As with the atomic bomb, America enjoyed a short-lived monopoly. The Soviet Union tested a prototype “boosted fusion” weapon in 1953, and a full-fledged thermonuclear weapon in 1955.

Dulles and Brinksmanship

- Policy established by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles
- Policy included threat of using all U.S. military force, including nuclear weapons
- Both U.S. and USSR expanded their air power
- Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)



Eisenhower (left) confers with Secretary of State Dulles

The election of 1952 brought Dwight D. Eisenhower to the White House. He appointed John Foster Dulles as his Secretary of State. Dulles, a fierce anti-communist, developed a policy of “brinksmanship” in dealing with the Soviet Union. Rather than giving in to Soviet policies, the United States would meet them head-on and prevent the spread of communism by any means necessary, including the use of thermonuclear weapons. Since adequate airpower was needed to deliver the bombs, the U.S. decided to reduce spending on army and navy units and increase funding for aircraft and later, for missiles.

Dulles’s policy also included moving toward “Mutually Assured Destruction,” popularly and aptly known as MAD. In this policy, the United States was required to build up thermonuclear stockpiles to convince the Soviets that they could—and would—use all of them. The Soviets did likewise, with this result: both sides knew that an all-out conflict between the U.S. and USSR would lead to the total obliteration of both nations.

The rising tensions naturally resulting from this policy convinced many Americans that thermonuclear war was inevitable, and they began to plan ways to survive World War III.

Creation of the CIA



- Office of Strategic Services gathered intelligence during World War II
- OSS disbanded after the war
- Truman realized importance of centralized intelligence system
- Central Intelligence Agency and National Security Council created in 1947

Even prior to America's entry into World War II, it became evident that the U.S. should have a centralized system for feeding its military strategic information. In 1942, FDR approved the creation of the Office of Strategic Services to collect information for the Joint Chiefs of Staff. After the war, the OSS was disbanded, with some of its data collection and analytical functions transferring to the Department of State.

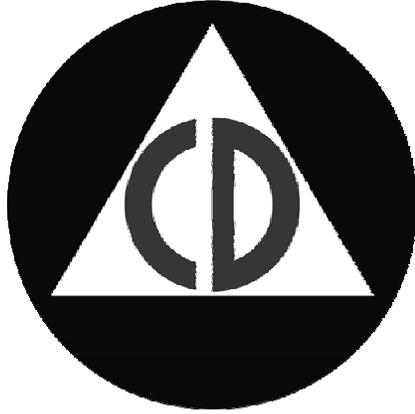
However, President Truman recognized the need for continued collection of strategic information and created the Central Intelligence Group in 1946 (reestablished the next year as the Central Intelligence Agency). The 1947 National Security Act charged the CIA with coordinating the nation's intelligence activities and correlating, evaluating, and disseminating intelligence pertaining to national security, as well as other duties as directed by the National Security Council. In later revisions of the act, the CIA received more and more latitude with its finances, including not being required to report an annual budget. Instead, various congressional committees and subcommittees provide oversight over the CIA.

Discussion Questions

1. Why do you think the U.S. was so concerned about the possibility of internal communist threats?
2. Do you think a political figure today could wield the kind of influence that McCarthy did in the 1950s? Why or why not?
3. Why do you think that Murrow felt it necessary to take on McCarthy? What risks did he assume by his broadcast?
4. Do you think that brinksmanship was too dangerous a policy to follow in relations with the Soviet Union? Why or why not?

1. Most students will note that publicity regarding the Rosenberg and Hiss cases, as well as the Soviets' successful test of the atomic bomb, heightened American fears of communist infiltration and/or attack. Therefore, anything showing even the slightest hint of possible communist infiltration was considered a threat—including people in academia, entertainment, or government service.
2. Some students may look at various political figures of the late 20th and early 21st centuries and see similarities between those people's views and popularity, and McCarthy's. Others may note that with the advent of 24-hour news channels, blogs, and Internet access, finding out information that can undercut a McCarthy-like demagogue is easier.
3. Murrow probably felt that McCarthy had gone too far in his campaign against alleged communists in government service. As a nationally known journalist, he had much greater access than the average American did to footage, records, and firsthand accounts of McCarthy's tactics. Murrow felt that McCarthy had overstepped the bounds of good judgment and judicial fairness (both points that Murrow made in the *See It Now* broadcast). Murrow's risks were substantial: McCarthy wielded great influence, and could probably have accused Murrow or CBS of having communist sympathies. In addition, the Federal Communications Commission had the responsibility for issuing licenses to networks and television stations, and McCarthy might have pressured the FCC to withdraw CBS's license. Also, many commercial sponsors might have refused to provide funding for a program that criticized McCarthy.
4. Some students may view brinksmanship as an "all or nothing" policy that provided few options other than giving in, or all-out war. In that regard, the Soviet Union may have easily felt trapped or backed into a corner, making a forceful response more likely. Other students may feel that the U.S. had to show the Soviets it was a determined adversary with a resolve as great as theirs. For example, John F. Kennedy's response to Soviet missiles in Cuba, while restrained, told the Soviets that the U.S. stood prepared to remove the missiles by any means necessary.

United States Civil Defense



The U.S. Civil Defense emblem

- Origins of Civil Defense go back to 1916
- Post–World War II CD focused on dealing with threat of nuclear war
- CD encouraged building fallout shelters and storing supplies to survive a nuclear attack

The Civil Defense system originated during the World War I period. While there was no real threat of attack on U.S. targets then, the possibility did exist that the enemy might try to sabotage to American factories and military installations. The bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941 made Americans fearful of possible attack by the Germans and Japanese, and Civil Defense workers enforced blackouts all over the country and watched the skies for enemy aircraft.

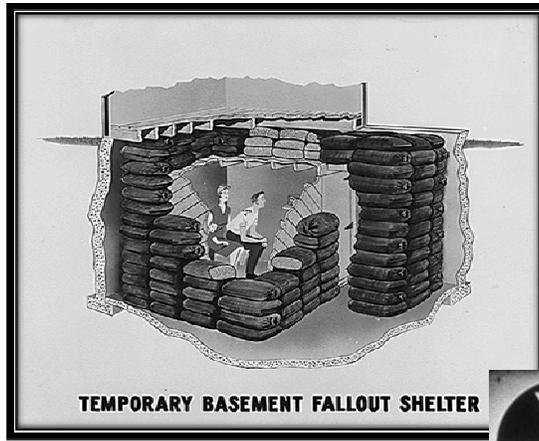
After the Soviet Union successfully tested its first atomic bomb in the late 1940s, Civil Defense shifted its focus to preparation for what federal authorities believed was an inevitable nuclear attack. Children were taught to “duck and cover” in drills at school, while office workers were trained to find the nearest fallout shelter. Civil Defense distributed plans to homeowners for building their own backyard shelters, which thousands did.

Civil Defense Posters



Note to teacher: Take a few minutes to discuss these posters with the class. Do students think people at the time would have found such posters reassuring, or would they have further inflamed Cold War fears?

Fallout Shelters



Cutaway view of CD-designed shelter



- CD provided plans for backyard shelters
- Of questionable effectiveness
- Made public believe a nuclear war was survivable

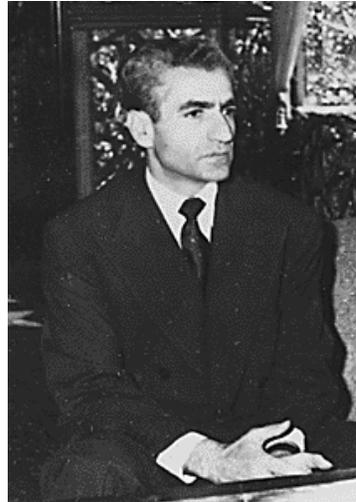
As the perceived threat of nuclear war became more widespread, more and more Americans thought it necessary to stockpile for an eventual nuclear attack. Some considered building fallout shelters a necessary aspect of life. In a fallout shelter, some sort of wall (mainly thick concrete) was needed to withstand the initial force of a nuclear explosion, as well as to provide a barrier to nuclear fallout. Civil Defense provided instructions and guidelines for not only building the shelter, but also for stocking it with supplies needed for an extended stay while dangerous radioactivity levels subsided.

As it turned out, the shelters weren't necessary. It's questionable whether they would have provided adequate protection in case of a nuclear war. First, people would have to find the time to actually get into the shelter; even if they could, the reinforced concrete might not have withstood the force of an atomic blast or had adequate insulation to keep the occupants safe from the heat of the fireball.

While fallout shelters were never really a necessity, they did serve an important psychological purpose for Americans in the Cold War era: The *idea* of fallout shelters made people think that surviving a nuclear war was a definite possibility. Therefore, the policies of brinkmanship and mutually assured destruction became more acceptable to the average American.

CIA Coup: Iran

- Mossadegh nationalized Iranian oil fields in 1953
- U.S. feared that Iran would ally with USSR
- CIA staged coup by anti-Mossadegh supporters
- Mossadegh government overthrown; Shah of Iran returned to power



The Shah of Iran

In 1953, U.S. and British interests in Iran were threatened by political changes in that country. Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh nationalized Iran's oil fields, putting them directly under state control, rather than let U.S. and British oil companies run them. In protest, Britain refused to buy Iranian oil, severely weakening the Iranian economy. Fearful that the Iranian government might turn to the Soviet Union for assistance, the CIA gave millions of dollars to anti-Mossadegh supporters in hopes that he would be overthrown and that the Shah of Iran, recently forced to flee the country, would be allowed to return and resume his rule.

The CIA's plan worked: the Shah returned to power and turned over control of the oil fields to the Western oil companies. However, nearly three decades later in 1979, the plan came back to haunt the U.S. when radical clerics overthrew the government and deposed the Shah. Suffering from cancer, the Shah came to the U.S. for treatment. Islamic radicals then seized hostages at the U.S. embassy in Tehran, demanding the return of the Shah. The hostages were not released for over a year, and even today, the Iranian government is considered a threat to U.S. policy in the Middle East.

CIA Coup: Guatemala



Guatemalan President
Jacobo Arbenz

- CIA suspected communist control of government under President Arbenz
- Arbenz also “antagonized” United Fruit Company
- CIA-sponsored coup (Operation PBSUCCESS) overthrew Arbenz government
- PBSUCCESS became the model for attempted coups in Cuba and Chile

In 1954, the CIA sought to overthrow another “communist-dominated” government, this time in Central America: the government of Guatemalan President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. Concerned over the possibility of a communist beachhead in the Western Hemisphere—as well as land-reform initiatives instituted by Arbenz that antagonized the U.S.-controlled United Fruit Company—the CIA undertook covert actions (code named Operation PBSUCCESS) against the Arbenz government, recruiting and training an opposition force led by Guatemalan exile Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas. The Guatemalan army refused to defend Arbenz, and he was forced to resign the presidency and flee the country.

Fresh from ousting the Arbenz government (as well as restoring the Shah to power in Iran), the CIA used PBSUCCESS as a model for the attempted overthrow of the Castro regime in Cuba (in the Bay of Pigs invasion), as well as the successful coup against the Allende government in Chile.

“Open Skies” Proposal



Eisenhower

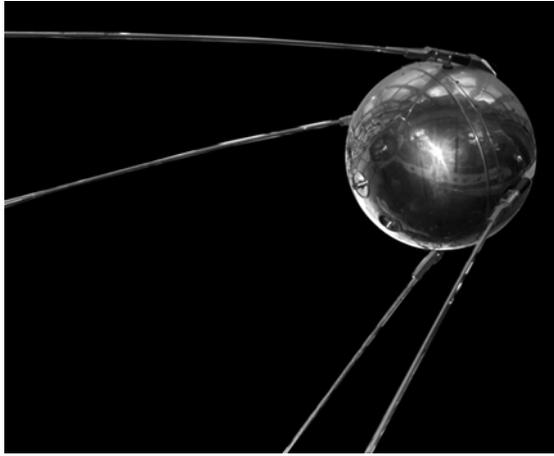
- Proposed by Eisenhower at 1955 Geneva summit
- Would allow U.S. flights over Soviet territory—and vice versa—to guard against surprise nuclear attack
- Popular response was favorable
- Soviets rejected the idea



Bulganin

Eisenhower traveled to Geneva, Switzerland, in 1955 to participate in the first U.S.–Soviet summit conference since Potsdam. Meeting with Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin, the president put forth his “open skies” proposal. According to Eisenhower’s plan, each nation would allow the other to conduct flights over the other’s territory to inspect nuclear weapons installations and ensure that neither side was planning a surprise nuclear attack. While the Soviet Union rejected the proposal, popular response around the world was favorable.

Sputnik I



A replica of *Sputnik I*

- First man-made satellite
- Launched by the USSR in 1957
- Orbited the earth every 96 minutes
- Major blow to U.S. prestige
- U.S. launched first satellite in 1958

In 1957, the Soviet Union humiliated the American scientific and technological community by launching *Sputnik I*, the world's first man-made satellite. Named for a Russian word meaning "traveling companion" or "satellite," *Sputnik* orbited the earth every 96 minutes at a speed of 18,000 miles per hour. Some could see with the naked eye the booster rocket trailing behind it in the night sky. So that it could be tracked, *Sputnik* emitted a radio signal audible to people with ham radio equipment—a constant reminder of Soviet achievement.

American prestige suffered badly as a result of the Soviet technological triumph, but the launch had far greater implications: if the Soviets had a rocket that could launch a satellite into earth orbit, experts thought, then they would surely have one with enough power to lob nuclear warheads around in the world.

The satellite's orbit decayed approximately three months after launch, and it burned up as it reentered the earth's atmosphere. Within a few weeks, the USSR launched *Sputnik II*, the first satellite with a live passenger—a dog named Laika. The United States did not launch a satellite of its own for another three months, *Explorer I*. While *Explorer I* stopped transmitting after a few months, it remained in orbit for nearly 12 years, finally burning up on reentry in 1970.

The U-2 Incident

- U-2 used for high-altitude photographic surveillance
- U.S. began secret flights over Soviet territory
- Francis Gary Powers shot down on May 1, 1960
- Increased tensions between U.S. and USSR



NASA photo of a U-2 aircraft

After the rejection of President Eisenhower's "open skies" proposal, the CIA began a series of reconnaissance flights over Soviet territory. A sophisticated spy plane designated the U-2 could fly at high altitudes without detection and take detailed photographs of events on the ground.

Although the U-2 supposedly could not be detected in flight, the USSR had knowledge of the flyovers for some time. On May 1, 1960, the secret U-2 program became public knowledge when the USSR shot down a U-2 over Soviet airspace. The CIA believed that a U-2's pilot would not survive being shot down, and was surprised when the Soviets not only recovered parts of the plane, but also produced the pilot, Francis Gary Powers, who was very much alive. Eisenhower, who had planned to meet soon with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, first denied that the aircraft was a spy plane, but admitted in the face of Soviet evidence that it had indeed been on a reconnaissance mission. However, Eisenhower refused to apologize to Khrushchev, who then called off the summit and withdrew an invitation for Eisenhower to visit the USSR. The incident only increased tensions between the U.S. and USSR.

Discussion Questions

1. What purposes did Civil Defense serve during the Cold War era? Do you think it was successful? Why or why not?
2. Why did the Soviet launch of *Sputnik* strike such a great blow to American prestige?
3. Do you believe that CIA policies in Iran and Guatemala were justified? Why or why not?
4. Critique Eisenhower's handling of the U-2 incident. Do you believe he should have been more up front in explaining why the plane was in Soviet airspace? Explain.

1. One purpose of Civil Defense was to provide information to the American public about dealing with the effects of nuclear war, which in the 1950s and 1960s seemed quite likely. However, the recommendations that Civil Defense gave would probably not have helped very many people survive a nuclear explosion. Along these lines, Civil Defense served an entirely different purpose, leading many to falsely believe that a nuclear war was indeed survivable. In addition, it would likely have been far more difficult for the government to maintain an expensive arms race if the American people realized that a nuclear war would not be survivable, much less winnable.
2. The launch of *Sputnik* hurt American prestige in a number of ways. First, the simple fact that the Soviet Union had beaten the U.S. to a technological achievement shocked a great many who had thought of American technology and manufacturing expertise as second to none. Second, many Americans had believed that Soviet rockets had less power and reach than American ones; if the Soviets had the ability to launch a satellite into orbit, their boosters had to be more powerful than previously believed, and the threat of nuclear attack seemingly became more imminent.
3. Based on their knowledge of later CIA operations such as the Bay of Pigs, most students will likely feel that the CIA overstepped its bounds in both Iran and Guatemala. While some may see the importance of maintaining friendly relations with these countries' governments, they probably won't agree that the "ends justify the means" to the point of allowing any sort of activity such as overthrowing a government or assassinating a national leader.
4. Eisenhower was in a difficult spot with the U-2 incident: He had not favored continuing the flights, but he still needed to keep gathering intelligence on the USSR. Once the Soviets shot the U-2 down, he had to come up with a cover story, such as that the U-2 was a weather plane that had veered off course. However, when the Soviets announced they had both the plane wreckage and the pilot, Eisenhower had to acknowledge the flights; however, he did not apologize for spying on the Soviets. This affront to Khrushchev derailed the upcoming U.S.–USSR summit. A question then remains as to whether the summit would have led to improved relations between the superpowers. Some students might believe that the possibility of a productive summit should have outweighed covering up the U-2 incident.

Flexible Response

- Kennedy Administration policy
- Allowed for more options for dealing with Soviet threats
- U.S. would respond with similar force, not just with nuclear weapons



Kennedy takes the oath of office, January 1961

With the election of President John F. Kennedy in 1960, some government officials began to push for a needed revision to the policy of brinkmanship. Advancements in weapons technology since the development of Eisenhower and Dulles's "mutually assured destruction" policy helped lead the Kennedy Administration to develop what it called "flexible response," which allowed the U.S. military several options for dealing with Soviet threats, rather than the single, all-or-nothing policy of nuclear retaliation.

This new policy directed that the U.S. response to a non-nuclear Soviet strike would be to reply in kind—that is, to stop Soviet aggression via conventional weapons. If the Soviets were to use limited nuclear weapons against the U.S. (or any NATO signatory country), then the U.S. would respond with similar force. Only as a last resort would the U.S. respond with an all-out nuclear attack.

Bay of Pigs Invasion

- Unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Castro regime in Cuba
- Failed due to poor planning and lack of support of Cuban people
- Foreign policy defeat for Kennedy Administration



The Kennedy Administration suffered a serious foreign policy setback in April 1961, with the failure of an operation that has become known as the “Bay of Pigs” invasion. Kennedy had inherited from the Eisenhower Administration a CIA plan to overthrow Cuban dictator Fidel Castro. It called for 1200 Cuban exiles, trained in Guatemala by the CIA and armed with U.S. weapons, to return to their homeland to foment a rebellion among the Cuban people and topple Castro.

Assured by his military advisers and the CIA of the plan’s success, Kennedy gave his approval. The operation turned out to be a disaster: Castro’s forces easily defeated the exiles, killing some and capturing nearly all of them. The invasion did not stir the Cuban people to join in overthrowing Castro. Kennedy, who had originally promised adequate air support for the invasion, decided against sending in U.S. planes. As American involvement in the failed invasion became evident, U.S. prestige suffered. While Kennedy publicly took responsibility for the failure, privately he blamed the military and especially the CIA for giving him faulty information. He soon relieved CIA head Allen Dulles of his duties, vowing never to simply accept the advice of the military and CIA without outside verification and serious deliberation.

Berlin Crisis



The Berlin Wall

- Attempt to stop mass migration from East to West Berlin
- Construction began in August 1961
- East German forces ordered to shoot defectors
- Nearly 5000 successful escapes; nearly 200 killed

Another crisis the Kennedy Administration faced involved the building of a wall around West Berlin, which since World War II had lain completely within East German territory. The Soviet Union and the East German government, concerned about the drain of manpower from East Germany by those seeking asylum in West Berlin, erected the wall in August 1961. Construction took place entirely within East German territory, in order to avoid encroaching upon West Berlin. At first, a barbed-wire fence served as the barrier; it was later enlarged to a concrete wall. Many families found themselves divided by the wall, and many East Berliners who worked in the western sector suddenly found themselves without jobs. In some instances, the East German government bricked up windows when buildings themselves made up sections of the barrier; elsewhere, they tore up roads in order to make them impassible to escaping East Berliners. Almost immediately, America increased its military presence in West Berlin as a show of force and resolve.

Over the years, many East Germans made various attempts to scale the wall and gain freedom in West Berlin. In the first successful escape, a sports car plowed through the original barbed-wire fence. Some even tried tunneling under the wall. In another instance, a few East Germans flew over it in a hot-air balloon. About 5000 East Germans successfully crossed into West Berlin; some estimates count nearly 200 East Germans killed by border guards.

Kennedy at the Berlin Wall

- 1963 speech by JFK at the Berlin Wall
- Famous quote: “*Ich bin ein Berliner*”
- Kennedy’s speech set tone of defiance against Soviet oppression in Berlin

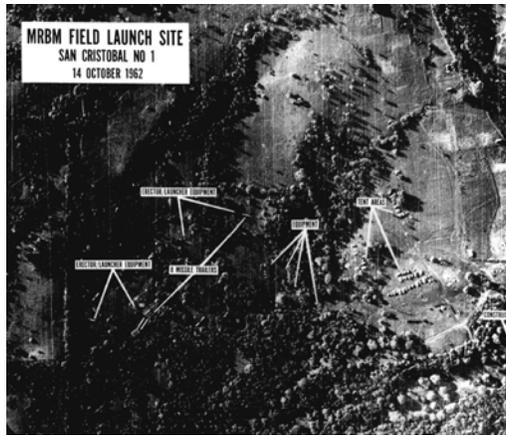


JFK speaks at the Berlin Wall

Nearly two years after the erection of the Berlin Wall, President Kennedy traveled to West Berlin for a state visit. In one of the most memorable speeches of his presidency, Kennedy expressed in no uncertain terms America’s solidarity with those living in the divided city. Though the speech is remembered today as a milestone in the Cold War—especially by Berliners—some felt Kennedy went too far and criticized him for essentially acknowledging that East Berlin fell under the Soviet sphere of influence, as opposed to its “official” status as a city jointly occupied by the Allied powers of World War II.

Containing several memorable quotes, the speech’s most famous line was added at the last minute by the president himself: “Two thousand years ago the proudest boast was ‘*Civis Romanus sum*’ [I am a Roman citizen]. Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is ‘*Ich bin ein Berliner*’ [I am a Berliner]. ...All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and therefore as a free man, I take pride in the words, ‘*Ich bin ein Berliner.*’”

The Cuban Missile Crisis



Arrows indicate suspected Soviet missile installations

- Soviet missiles discovered in Cuba by U.S. reconnaissance flights
- Deemed an unacceptable threat to U.S. security
- JFK convened EXCOMM to develop plan for dealing with missiles

Cold War tensions reached their highest point in October 1962 when U.S. reconnaissance flights uncovered offensive nuclear missiles deployed in Cuba. Missiles positioned so close to the U.S. would significantly decrease the warning time that authorities would have in case of a Soviet attack. The Kennedy Administration immediately convened a meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Security Council (“EXCOMM”) to develop a strategy to neutralize this threat. EXCOMM included 14 upper-level administration officials, as well as the president’s brother, U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

After reviewing the initial photographs, EXCOMM came up with three possible solutions: One was to allow the missiles to remain in Cuba and do nothing; Kennedy immediately rejected this approach. (In Kennedy’s view, if he did nothing, he would be impeached.) Another scenario proposed closely targeted airstrikes to take out the missiles, followed by an invasion of Cuba. A third involved a blockade of Cuba to stop further shipments of missiles, with a possible diplomatic solution to remove the missiles already installed.

Early in the crisis, most of JFK’s advisers supported the airstrike option, followed by an invasion. However, Kennedy had concerns that a military solution had serious pitfalls: Would airstrikes destroy all of the missiles? If some remained, would the Soviets order them fired on U.S. targets? Would the Soviets take action elsewhere in response, such as West Berlin? While the military planned a possible airstrike, EXCOMM looked for an alternative solution.

As EXCOMM deliberated, its members decided that U.S. knowledge of the missiles had to be kept completely secret until the committee could implement an agreed-upon strategy. To accomplish this, Kennedy had to maintain as much of his regular schedule as possible to avoid any suspicion of a crisis, including trips to various states to help Democratic candidates in the upcoming off-year Congressional elections.

Why Missiles in Cuba?



Map showing the range of targets reachable by Soviet missiles in Cuba

- Bay of Pigs invasion
- Attempts by U.S. to remove Castro
- Placement of U.S. missiles in Turkey
- USSR lagged behind U.S. in number of missiles

Even though they knew installing missiles in Cuba would be seen as a provocative act, the USSR elected to go ahead and place medium- and long-range nuclear there for several reasons:

- As retaliation for the Bay of Pigs. In April 1961, the Kennedy Administration had supported this invasion of Cuba. While U.S. forces weren't directly involved, the CIA funded and trained the army of exiles deployed in the invasion. Furthermore, the CIA continued its program of orchestrating an overthrow of the Castro regime, formulating plans under the name "Operation Mongoose" to assassinate Castro in hopes of replacing his communist government with one more amenable to the U.S.

- Early in 1961, the U.S. had placed its own nuclear missiles in Turkey. The Soviets felt that if the U.S. had committed nuclear missiles to bases in Europe surrounding the USSR, they had the right to take equivalent measures.

- While Kennedy had been elected on a platform that included closing the "missile gap" with the Soviets, the U.S. actually enjoyed a significant advantage in the number of medium- and long-range ballistic missiles. The Soviets likely felt that this situation threatened their security, and that they had to respond in order to offset U.S. nuclear superiority.

Feeling Out the Soviets

- JFK met with Foreign Minister Gromyko
- Gromyko asserted that all Soviet aid to Cuba was defensive in nature
- Kennedy did not acknowledge missiles
- Gromyko probably did not know about missiles



Kennedy meets with Gromyko
(third from left, on the couch)

On the third day of the crisis, President Kennedy met with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko for a meeting scheduled prior to the discovery of the missiles. During the meeting, Kennedy asked Gromyko about the aid the USSR was sending to Cuba. Gromyko replied that the aid provided was defensive in nature, and not a threat to the security of the U.S. Even though JFK was aware of offensive missiles in Cuba, he did not inform Gromyko; EXCOMM was still debating what action to take, necessitating absolute secrecy of the extent of U.S. knowledge. Regardless of the evidence the U.S. held, Gromyko's superiors had likely kept him uninformed about the existence of offensive missiles, so he might have actually told Kennedy what he believed to be the truth about Soviet aid to Cuba.

Decision to Quarantine Cuba



EXCOMM meeting

- EXCOMM continued debating policy while JFK left for campaign trip
- Agreement made to suggest quarantine to JFK
- Kennedy feigned illness, returning to Washington to confer with EXCOMM

In order not to tip his hand, Kennedy maintained as much of a normal schedule as possible, including a campaign swing through the Midwest and West for Democratic candidates. JFK received word from Robert Kennedy that EXCOMM had reached a consensus for the blockade (or EXCOMM called it, a “quarantine”), and that he should return to Washington as soon as possible. So as not to arouse suspicion, Kennedy asked his personal physician to announce that the president had a cold. Kennedy himself helped along the illusion by leaving for the airport in a hat and coat; he generally disliked wearing a hat, and for him to be photographed in public wearing one was highly unusual.

Upon his return to Washington, White House officials noted that Kennedy’s “fever” had broken. By the end of that weekend, Kennedy had asked for television time, ready to apprise the American people of the crisis and to announce U.S. policy.

The Blockade Begins

- Kennedy went on TV to announce his decision
- Blockade took effect next morning
- Most Soviet ships approaching Cuba stopped; some turned back



Kennedy signs the document authorizing the blockade

After a careful but sometimes heated discussion with EXCOMM members, Kennedy decided to “quarantine,” or blockade, Cuba. He asked for airtime on all three networks to describe the situation and his response to it to the American people. The State Department notified the Soviets of the content of the speech just prior to the broadcast.

Although the blockade technically constituted an act of war, Kennedy saw it as the only rational course for stopping further Soviet shipments of missiles to Cuba. U.S. naval vessels set up in an arc surrounding Cuba, and had instructions to stop any Soviet ship heading toward the island. Any such ship was to be boarded and searched; if it contained missile parts or cargo that could be used to supply the missile bases, it was to be turned back or seized. If the ship had no offensive weaponry as cargo, the U.S. would allow the ship to continue on to Cuba.

The world watched as Soviet ships approached Cuba, concerned about what steps the U.S. would take if the Soviets tried to run the blockade line. Ultimately, most of the Soviet ships bound for Cuba either stopped in the water before the blockade line or turned back towards home.

Showdown at the UN



Ambassador Adlai Stevenson shows evidence of Soviet missiles in Cuba to the UN Security Council

- U.S. began to apply diplomatic pressure
- Ambassador Stevenson argued with his Soviet counterpart
- Stevenson presented photographic evidence to UN Security Council

With the quarantine showing its effectiveness in preventing more missile components from reaching Cuba, the United States now focused on removing the missiles already in place. The Organization of American States (a diplomatic collection of all North and South American countries) unanimously called for the Soviet Union to remove the missiles. In the United Nations Security Council, UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson argued with Soviet Ambassador Zorin over the existence of the missiles. While Zorin repeatedly denied Soviet missile installations in Cuba, Stevenson pressed Zorin for a “simple answer.” Tensions ran high. Here is an excerpt from a transcript of the exchange:

Stevenson: “Do you, Ambassador Zorin, deny that the USSR has placed, and is placing, medium- and intermediate-range missiles and sites in Cuba? Yes or no—don't wait for the translation—yes or no?”

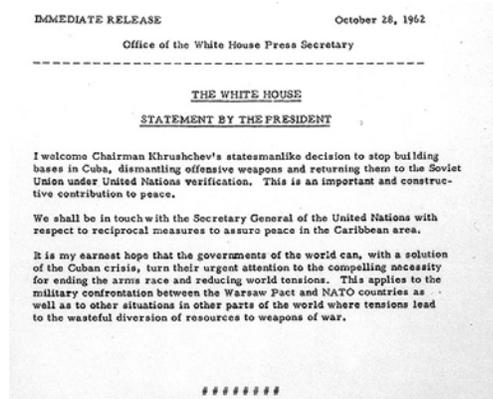
Zorin: “I am not in an American courtroom, sir... You will have your answer in due course.”

Stevenson: “I am prepared to wait for an answer until hell freezes over, if that is your decision. I am also prepared to present the evidence in this room.”

Stevenson then showed the Security Council several U-2 photographs that documented the existence of the missiles. Within a week, Soviet Premier Khrushchev announced terms for ending the crisis.

The Crisis Ends

- Khrushchev sent letter to JFK setting terms for removing missiles
- Second letter much harsher
- JFK answered first letter and ignored second
- Secret deal made to remove U.S. missiles from Turkey
- The “hotline”



JFK's statement at the end of the crisis

As the crisis deepened, it appeared increasingly likely that only military action would bring a resolution. With the pressure mounting, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev looked for a way out. In a long, rambling telegram, Khrushchev offered to remove the missiles on the condition that the U.S. promise not to invade Cuba, nor assist others in such an undertaking. As EXCOMM reviewed the conditions of the first letter, a second telegram arrived that included harsher terms. In the second letter, Khrushchev—probably under intense pressure from hardliners in the Kremlin—again offered to remove the missiles, but only if the U.S. removed its own missiles in Turkey that threatened the USSR. Although the missiles in Turkey had already been slated for removal, this stipulation still left Kennedy with a tremendous problem: to give in to Soviet pressure would send a message that U.S. was willing to trade away its allies for its own security. Kennedy could not allow this.

However, with his brother Robert acting as intermediary, Kennedy worked out a deal with the Soviets: If the USSR removed the missiles—under close UN supervision—the United States would promise not to invade Cuba. Secretly, the U.S. also guaranteed to remove its missiles from Turkey within a few months. The Soviets agreed. Publicly, Kennedy held to the terms of the first letter, and the Soviets removed the missiles. The most serious crisis of the Cold War had ended.

In June 1963, the U.S. and USSR also agreed to establish a “hotline” (also known as the “red telephone”) that would allow direct, immediate communication between the White House and the Kremlin. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, it had taken hours for each side to receive messages from the other. This could have had disastrous consequences if one side had decided to change their mind at the last minute. The “hotline” was intended to prevent the Cold War powers from mistakenly “going over the brink.”

Limited Test Ban Treaty



President Kennedy signs the Limited Test Ban Treaty

- Negotiations between U.S., UK, and USSR began in June 1963
- Allowed only underground nuclear testing
- JFK signed treaty in October
- Treaty signaled start of improved relations between the superpowers

The Cuban Missile Crisis convinced President Kennedy that the U.S. needed to take steps to curb the continued threat of nuclear weapons. In June 1963, Kennedy announced preliminary negotiations were set to begin between the U.S., UK, and USSR on a limited test ban treaty. The treaty stipulated a ban on nuclear testing in the atmosphere, underwater, and in outer space; underground testing, however, would still be allowed. By making the necessary tests of new or enhanced nuclear weapons much more difficult, the arms race would be presumably slow. The treaty had the added benefit of reducing the amount of radioactive fallout dispersed in the atmosphere by tests.

The treaty was concluded and ratified in October 1963, with most of the world's nations as signatories. Many point to the treaty as the beginning of improved relations between the U.S. and USSR.

Discussion Questions

1. In your view, which was the more successful policy: brinksmanship or flexible response? Explain.
2. If you were president in August 1961, what action would you have taken to stop the construction of the Berlin Wall? Explain.
3. Why did Kennedy decide not to take military action to remove the missiles from Cuba? Do you think this was the best decision? Why or why not?
4. Do you think the resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis decreased tensions between the U.S. and USSR? Why or why not?

1. Some students may feel that brinksmanship provided a more effective way to handle problems with the Soviets because it showed them that the U.S. “meant business” in dealing with issues between the two nations. Such a policy might have kept the Soviets from taking aggressive action. However, other students may believe that flexible response was better suited to dealing with the Soviets, since it would give the president and the military more options and would also provide a way for the U.S. to use conventional weapons in a conflict without the all-or-nothing response required by brinksmanship.
2. Since students have the luxury of hindsight in proposing how to deal with the Berlin Wall, they might be likely to simply use military pressure to stop the Soviet Union from building it. However, since the wall existed entirely in East German territory, for the U.S. to stop its construction through military force would have meant invading East Germany; this would have set up a confrontation with Soviet troops that would have likely sparked World War III.
3. At the start of the crisis, Kennedy and his advisers leaned toward some sort of military response (probably airstrikes) to remove the missiles. However, Kennedy’s view quickly changed when the Joint Chiefs of Staff admitted that they couldn’t guarantee that airstrikes could take out all the missiles. With the possibility of some remaining operational (and therefore deployable), Kennedy decided on a middle track that included a blockade of Cuba and diplomatic pressure. (Documents released after the fall of the Soviet Union indicate that Soviet personnel manning the missiles had been given the go-ahead to fire if attacked.)
4. The nuclear “near miss” of the Cuban Missile Crisis undoubtedly rattled both nations. While the Cold War did not end with the crisis, both sides recognized the need for better and faster communications between the superpowers, as well as some sort of agreement to limiting nuclear testing and proliferation. The creation of the “hotline” between the White House and the Kremlin, as well as the 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty were the first steps in decreasing the threat of nuclear war.

The Vietnam War: Prelude

- “Domino theory”
- French surrendered control of Vietnam in 1953
- Vietnam partitioned into North, led by Ho Chi Minh, and South, headed by Ngo Dinh Diem
- Unification elections set for 1956 cancelled by South Vietnam and supported by the U.S.



At the end of World War II, France regained control of Indochina and soon found itself in a war against the Vietminh, a nationalist movement dedicated to gaining Vietnamese independence. The U.S. had concerns about the communist leanings of the Vietminh’s leader, Ho Chi Minh, and decided to support the French.

President Eisenhower announced in a 1954 press conference what he called the “domino theory,” in which he compared countries on the brink of communism to a row of dominoes, each ready to fall on the next. Seeing Vietnam as the first domino in the row, the U.S. gave massive amounts of aid to the French in their fight to hold Indochina. However, the French lost the fight, surrendering their base at Dien Bien Phu to the Vietminh after a humiliating defeat. Soon after, a multinational Geneva Convention divided Indochina along the 17th parallel, creating the two nations of North Vietnam and South Vietnam. Ho’s forces controlled the north from the capital of Hanoi, while anti-communist nationalists controlled the south. Unification elections were set for 1956.

However, fearful of Ho’s growing popularity, South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem refused to participate in the upcoming elections. For similar reasons, the United States also supported canceling the elections.

Vietnam: Early U.S. Involvement



Eisenhower and Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem

- Vietcong began attacks against Diem government
- Eisenhower took little action against Vietcong
- Kennedy followed same policy, but sent more money and military “advisers”
- Diem government overthrown in November 1963; Diem assassinated in coup

By 1957, the Vietcong—an anti-communist opposition group in South Vietnam—began to commit acts of terrorism against the South Vietnamese government. President Diem’s government had already exhibited widespread corruption and a lack of leadership (including no distribution of land to the peasantry). In addition, Diem, a Catholic, refused to grant religious freedom to the majority-Buddhist population.

Although Ho Chi Minh had given support to the Vietcong, Eisenhower decided to pursue a decidedly low-key policy toward South Vietnam. When John F. Kennedy took office in January 1961, he continued to follow Eisenhower’s policies. However, in order to allay fears by some that he was soft on communism, Kennedy elected to increase financial assistance to Diem and also sent military advisers to help train the South Vietnamese army. By the time of Kennedy’s assassination in November 1963, 16,000 U.S. advisers were operating in South Vietnam.

To reduce the Vietcong threat, Diem developed a policy that relocated many Vietnamese from their ancestral hamlets, which Diem’s forces then burned to keep the Vietcong from establishing bases of operation. In addition, he increased attacks on Buddhists. Finally, in November 1963, the U.S. supported a military coup that toppled the Diem regime. However, news of Diem’s assassination in the coup shocked President Kennedy. Three weeks later, Kennedy himself was assassinated, and President Lyndon Johnson inherited the situation in Vietnam.

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

- LBJ also concerned about appearing soft on communism
- Gulf of Tonkin “incident” led to escalation of U.S. involvement
- Johnson pushed through resolution for protecting U.S. forces and interests



At first, new President Lyndon B. Johnson decided to follow Kennedy’s Vietnam policy. Like Kennedy, LBJ was determined not to appear soft on communism. Facing reelection in 1964, Johnson looked for a reason to increase U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

In August, Johnson found the excuse he was looking for when North Vietnamese patrol boats allegedly attacked U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. The crew of one destroyer, however, later reported that it had not seen any enemy ships nor heard any enemy gunfire. As a result of this incident, Johnson asked Congress for broad powers to protect U.S. forces and interests in Vietnam. The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution gave Johnson the authority he sought. (Recently declassified documents have revealed that not only had U.S. ships instigated the initial confrontation, but that the second attack—the impetus for Johnson’s resolution—never occurred at all.)

In early 1965, Johnson escalated American involvement further after a Vietcong attack killed eight U.S. soldiers. He ordered the sustained bombing of North Vietnam, under the code name “Operation Rolling Thunder.” By June 1965, more than 50,000 U.S. troops were on the ground in South Vietnam.

Protest Movements



Protestors demonstrate against the war in Vietnam

- Rise of the “New Left”
- SDS and FSM formed
- Protest movement grew on college campuses
- “Hawks” vs. “doves”

As the situation in Vietnam continued to escalate, more and more young Americans—the very group being drafted to fight—became disenchanted and began to actively demonstrate against the war. Taking inspiration from the effectiveness of protest in advancing the civil rights movement, a “New Left” movement developed that demanded sweeping social and political changes, including a withdrawal from Vietnam. Two New Left organizations which became popular in the mid-1960s included the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Free Speech Movement (FSM). Both groups believed that large corporations and the federal government exerted too much control over American society, and called for greater individual freedom.

Throughout the 1960s, the protest movement grew primarily on college campuses. In many instances, students burned their draft cards as a symbol of resistance to the war. Some young men soon to be called up in the draft fled to Canada in order to avoid military service.

Soon the nation divided into two camps: the “hawks,” who supported the war and felt that the U.S. should use its military might to achieve victory, no matter what the cost, and the “doves,” who opposed the war and called for U.S. withdrawal as soon as possible.

While the protest movement galvanized the nation, it lost momentum in the early 1970s after National Guardsmen shot and killed four Kent State University students demonstrating against the expansion of the war into Laos and Cambodia.

The Tet Offensive

- Major North Vietnamese/Vietcong offensive in 1968
- Timed to coincide with lunar New Year celebration
- Attacks unsuccessful militarily, but highly successful as propaganda



U.S. soldiers in the city of Hue during the Tet offensive

The North Vietnamese Army and Vietcong planned a major offensive against targets in South Vietnam, timed to coincide with the 1968 lunar new year (a major holiday known in Vietnamese as “Tet”). Attacks were scheduled all throughout South Vietnam, in violation of an agreed-upon truce.

While the attacks themselves proved militarily inconsequential, they had great psychological impact. For example, news footage showed American soldiers and embassy personnel fighting Vietcong infiltrators on U.S. embassy property. American media released graphic images of the fighting, including a Pulitzer Prize–winning photo of a Saigon police official summarily executing a suspected Vietcong insurgent.

Many Americans, shocked by the images and reports from Vietnam, began to oppose the war more vocally. Even CBS News anchorman Walter Cronkite, considered by many the “most trusted man in America,” reported to a national audience his view that the best America could hope for in Vietnam was a stalemate. Upon hearing this news, LBJ supposedly remarked, “If I’ve lost Cronkite, I’ve lost Middle America.”

“Vietnamization” and Withdrawal



The Paris peace talks

- Nixon’s Vietnamization policy entailed removing U.S. troops as South Vietnamese began to fight
- 1973 Paris Accords ended direct U.S. military involvement
- North Vietnam took Saigon in 1975 and reunified Vietnam under a communist government

In 1968, Johnson decided not to run for another term. Richard Nixon, who had promised he had a “secret plan” to end the war, won the presidential election. However, little evidence of this plan came to light during his first term. Nixon did put forward a policy he called “Vietnamization,” in which U.S. troops were to return home as the South Vietnamese took up the fight against the north. By the time of Nixon’s reelection in 1972, American troop strength in Vietnam had shrunk to about 25,000, from more than 500,000 when Nixon took office.

During the early 1970s, the South Vietnamese, North Vietnamese, and U.S. began peace talks in Paris, which frequently stalled over minor issues such as the shape of the table to be used for meetings. By 1972, Nixon had begun intensive bombing of North Vietnam in an attempt to jumpstart the talks. American representatives (including Henry Kissinger) later negotiated a peace accord that ended direct American involvement.

Soon, however, North Vietnamese forces began a new offensive. Sure that American forces would not return to fight, North Vietnam attacked positions throughout South Vietnam. The South Vietnamese capital of Saigon fell in 1975, and North Vietnam quickly completed the unification of the country. Saigon was renamed “Ho Chi Minh City” in honor of the North’s original leader as the whole country became communist.

Realpolitik

- A German word meaning “political realism”
- Promoted by Henry Kissinger
- U.S. should conduct foreign policy based on practicality, not ideology
- Change in philosophy from communist containment



Henry Kissinger

Nixon’s National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger developed a strategy of *realpolitik* to deal with the evolving threats of the Cold War. Whereas earlier administrations worked primarily on containing communist expansion, Kissinger suggested an entirely different approach. In his view, the U.S. should conduct foreign policy based on the practicality of individual situations—on what is, not what should be; that is, a nation’s power and usefulness should matter most to the U.S., not that nation’s philosophy or ideals. For instance, Nixon made an important state visit to China despite the longstanding U.S. government policies of containment and taking a publicly anti-communist stance.

Nixon viewed *realpolitik* as a practical, workable doctrine for guiding foreign policy, and he and Kissinger soon began to develop a corresponding policy of “*détente*,” which was geared to reduce tensions between the U.S. and Soviet Union.

Détente



President and Mrs. Nixon at the Great Wall of China, 1972

- “Thawing” of Cold War tensions during Nixon Administration
- Included visits by Nixon to China and USSR
- Several arms limitation treaties ratified during period
- Ford continued détente into his presidency

Realpolitik led Nixon and Kissinger to acknowledge the necessity of negotiating with communist nations; consequently, the U.S. began to pursue a policy designed to “thaw” Cold War tensions. This policy, called “détente,” helped to further limit the threat of dangerous military involvement in international confrontations.

Perhaps the best-known examples of détente during the Nixon years came with his highly publicized trips to the People’s Republic of China and the Soviet Union. These trips helped to solidify Nixon’s reputation as a head of state open to solving issues through negotiation. They made him appear more like a world leader and also improved his bid for reelection in 1972. In 1974, however, Nixon resigned the presidency before he could be impeached over the Watergate scandal. Nixon’s vice president Gerald Ford became president and continued with détente.

Détente also influenced various arms limitation treaties signed by the U.S. and USSR in the 1970s, including the Strategic Arms Limitations Treaties (SALT I and SALT II). SALT I abridged the production of anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems, whereas SALT II (negotiated in 1979 by President Jimmy Carter) was designed to further reduce the number of nuclear weapons. However, within a few months of SALT II’s conclusion, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. In response, Congress never ratified the treaty. The U.S. and USSR, however, both continued to follow the terms of the agreement.

Many believe the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan led to the end of détente: a cooling of relations between the U.S. and Soviet Union occurred as a result..

Discussion Questions

1. What made the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty an important step towards détente?
2. Why do you think it was important for JFK and LBJ to appear tough on communism? What impact did this have on the conduct of the Vietnam War?
3. Why do you think such a powerful protest movement arose against the Vietnam War?
4. How effective was the policy of détente in dealing with Cold War tensions in the 1970s? Explain.

1. The Limited Test Ban Treaty helped set the stage for the policy of détente because, for the first time, the world's nuclear powers agreed to slow their development of nuclear weapons via constraints on testing. Coming from the previous policy of mutually assured destruction and of making up for a "missile gap" between the U.S. and USSR, having the superpowers limit the production of the very things that made them superpowers demonstrated a certain trust and sensibility that détente later helped to improve throughout the Cold War.
2. Students may note that in the American mind, the USSR represented a great existential threat to the U.S., and not just because of its arsenal of nuclear weapons. Soviet-style communism seemed diametrically opposed to the "American way of life" brought about by a capitalist economy. Therefore, appearing "soft" on communism sent a message to the American public that the president wasn't strong enough to deal with communist expansion, which certainly meant defeat in the next election. In order to appear tough on communism, the president needed to take specific measures against communist nations. The escalation of U.S. involvement in Vietnam from Eisenhower to Nixon grew out of this need, which Johnson's reaction to the Gulf of Tonkin incident—deploying many more troops and bombing North Vietnam—probably best illustrates.
3. Students may mention that young people who didn't see the point in continuing the war (or in having begun it in the first place) were being drafted to fight and die for a cause they did not support. News of the war in the U.S. media showed horrific violence and suffering, and many Americans wanted neither themselves or their government involved in it. Meanwhile, gains made in the civil rights movement through protest galvanized college students (and later, Americans in general) to protest against what they saw as the injustice of Vietnam.
4. Some students may note that détente had an extremely positive effect on Cold War policy because it helped lead to the conclusion of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, as well as the negotiation of several arms limitation agreements. In addition, Presidents Nixon and Ford met more frequently face to face with their Soviet counterparts. However, the decade closed with the collapse of détente as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan led to a cooling of U.S.–Soviet relations.

The “Evil Empire”

- From a speech delivered by Reagan in 1983
- Described the supposed moral divide between U.S. and USSR
- Called the Cold War a struggle of “right and wrong and good and evil”



President Reagan gives his famous “evil empire” speech

In 1981, Ronald Reagan succeeded Jimmy Carter as U.S. president. A devoted “Cold Warrior,” Reagan sought to increase America’s military might and to work to undermine Soviet influence in Europe and elsewhere. In a 1983 speech delivered to the National Association of Evangelicals, Reagan first used the phrase “evil empire” to describe the Soviet Union. In the speech, Reagan urged Americans to avoid “the temptation of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.” Reagan also called the Soviet Union “totalitarian.”

Reaction to Reagan’s speech was swift. Many conservatives praised the speech, while others believed that Reagan had needlessly inflamed tensions between the superpowers. Others saw Reagan’s remarks as hypocritical, because in their view the United States had been guilty of acts of aggression and disrespect of human rights as well.

After Mikhail Gorbachev became Soviet premier, Reagan claimed he no longer saw the USSR as an “evil empire,” noting that the period he had described was a “different era.”

Strategic Defense Initiative



An artist's rendition of how the SDI system would function

- Proposed by Reagan in 1983
- Nicknamed “Star Wars”
- Would provide a “space shield” against nuclear attack
- Shift away from mutually assured destruction
- System never fully deployed

Another shift in Cold War policy during the Reagan Administration concerned the president’s proposal to develop what he called the “Strategic Defense Initiative” (SDI). This plan (nicknamed “Star Wars” for the images of space battles it conjured) aimed to create a system of ground-based and orbiting defense devices designed to destroy incoming missiles launched from the Soviet Union or another country.

Reagan’s proposal marked a major departure from prior Cold War policies. In the past, presidents had relied on a policy of mutually assured destruction (MAD) to ensure a balance of nuclear weaponry. According to MAD, each side would resist launching weapons against the other for fear of massive retaliation and total obliteration. In the SDI system, instead of launching missiles against the country that fired first, the U.S. would destroy incoming missiles in midair, eliminating the threat to American targets. That way, the U.S. could effectively retaliate while keeping its own infrastructure intact.

The U.S. never fully implemented SDI. However, many look at the proposal as the beginning of the end of the Cold War, because Reagan used it to call an end to nuclear proliferation.

Glasnost and Perestroika

- Policies initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev
- *Glasnost*: “openness” in addressing political issues
- *Perestroika*: “restructuring” of the Soviet economy



Gorbachev and Reagan meet informally at Camp David

By the late 1980s, significant changes were taking place in the Soviet Union. After a succession of hard-line Soviet leaders, Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985. Almost immediately, he began a series of sweeping changes that ultimately led to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Foremost among Gorbachev’s policies were *glasnost* and *perestroika*. The former means “openness,” in the sense of allowing free and honest discussion within the USSR of political issues and problems—including criticizing government officials. It also gave the Soviet media and international outlets much wider latitude in gathering and reporting information. *Perestroika* referred to the restructuring of the Soviet economy: the government decentralized economic controls and encouraged businesses in the Soviet Union to become self-supporting.

The Communist Party leadership had traditionally forbidden and punished actions in line with these policies. By instituting them, Gorbachev hoped to bring the Soviet Union on a par with more economically advanced countries such as Germany, the United States, and Japan.

Iran-Contra Affair



Oliver North's arrest photo

- Dealt with sales of weapons to Iran to gain release of hostages held in Lebanon
- Money from the sales of weapons went to Nicaraguan *Contras*
- Oliver North and John Poindexter convicted on charges of obstructing justice; both later overturned

While Reagan made inroads in dealing with the Soviets, his administration was rocked by scandal as well. In 1985, several staff members of Reagan's National Security Council were investigated for deals involving illegal sales of weapons to Iran in return for releasing hostages held in Lebanon by pro-Iranian groups. Robert McFarlane, head of the National Security Council, had approved the sale of the weapons. These exchanges violated U.S. policy regarding dealing with terrorists as well as with providing military aid to Iran.

Members of the Reagan Administration then channeled funds raised from the arms sales to the *Contras*—militants who violently opposed the Sandinista government in Nicaragua—even though a 1984 law had prohibited support for the *Contras*. Parties involved in this aspect of the scheme included NSC staff member Col. Oliver North and Deputy National Security Adviser John M. Poindexter. Both Poindexter and North were eventually convicted of obstruction of justice and related offenses. However, the judge overturned the convictions of both men on grounds that information they'd supplied to Congress under a limited grant of immunity was indirectly used against them (in violation of the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination). The investigation went no further.

Fall of the Berlin Wall

- East German tourists fled to Austria through Hungary and Czechoslovakia
- Public demonstrations began in East Germany
- East Germany allowed passage to West Germany, including West Berlin



Dismantling the Berlin Wall, 1989

By the late 1980s, the policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* were bringing profound changes throughout the Soviet Bloc. Communist governments began to end restrictions against travel, and began to allow economic competition.

These changes affected East Germany and East Berlin as well. In late summer 1989, Hungary ended its border restrictions, and thousands of East German tourists managed to cross the Hungarian border into Austria. Later, as Czechoslovakia loosened its own policies, East Germans could escape through that nation as well. Fueled by the spirit of *glasnost*, East Germans began to openly demonstrate for free passage to West Germany. The East German government decided to ease its travel restrictions in late 1989. However, communication errors prevented the government from specifying how the new rules would apply, so thousands of East Germans, hearing initial announcements on live television, flooded the checkpoints for immediate passage to West Berlin. The throngs overwhelmed the checkpoint guards, who opened the gates when they could not get adequate instructions from authorities.

More checkpoints continued to open along the old borders, and by mid-1990, East Germany was accepting West German currency and honoring West German laws; by October, Germany completed its reunification. For weeks, souvenir hunters came to break off pieces (or even sections) of the Berlin Wall until German authorities demolished the rest.

End of the Cold War



Bush and Gorbachev give a joint presentation at a summit in Helsinki, Finland in 1990

- Soviet economy stagnated; defense spending cut
- Bush and Gorbachev announced end to Cold War in 1989
- Communist Party lost political power in USSR
- USSR dissolved in December 1990

By late 1989, the Soviet Union was suffering from a severe lack of economic growth due to a decline in world oil prices and found itself unable to continue its dominance of eastern Europe. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and East Germany changed their government systems or loosened restrictions on both travel and criticism of the government.

The stagnating economy also forced the USSR to greatly reduce military spending, partly necessitating its withdrawal from Afghanistan, which it had occupied since 1979. By 1989, Gorbachev and President George Bush jointly announced that the Cold War had “officially” ended.

While Gorbachev tried to hold the Soviet Union together via reforms, the difficulty of keeping the various republics of the Soviet Union united had become all too obvious. By February 1990, the Communist Party had lost most of its political clout, and in December of that year the USSR officially ceased to exist. A loose confederation of 11 former Soviet republics, the Commonwealth of Independent States, assumed many of the USSR’s economic, security, and foreign policy functions.

Discussion Questions

1. What impact do you think Reagan's "evil empire" speech had on U.S.-Soviet relations? Would you have recommended he give the speech? Explain.
2. Why was Reagan's vision for SDI considered a major shift in Cold War policy?
3. What did Gorbachev hope to achieve in instituting the policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*?
4. What made the fall of the Berlin Wall such a significant event of the Cold War era?

1. Some students may note that the "evil empire" speech heightened tensions between the two countries because it plainly described the Soviets not only as in economic and political opposition to the U.S., but also as morally inferior (not to mention aggressive and totalitarian). Some might have also taken offense at the perceived hypocrisy of the U.S., which has had its own history of morally questionable actions and steamrolling weaker nations. Other students may believe that Reagan's speech merely demonstrated American resolve in resisting continued Soviet aggression.
2. The Reagan Administration's concept for the Strategic Defense Initiative marked a shift from the doctrine of mutually assured destruction, which had kept tensions high and the superpowers at a nuclear stalemate, to a position in which the U.S. might retaliate against a Soviet strike without itself being obliterated.
3. Upon taking office, Gorbachev attempted various reforms to invigorate a sluggish Soviet economy. *Perestroika* dealt directly with the restructuring of the economy, while *glasnost* loosened the social and political constraints that had presumably helped to stifle economic growth. It was Gorbachev's hope that these policies would eventually put the USSR on a par economically with Western powers.
4. The Berlin Wall was probably the best-known emblem of the Cold War, not only because of the circumstances in which East Germany erected it and the enormous risks taken by those who sought freedom on the other side, but because of the metaphorical divide it represented between western Europe and the Soviet Bloc. Playing off of this symbolism, Presidents Kennedy and Reagan both made momentous speeches in the wall's shadow. Seeing it crumble carried great meaning both for Berliners and for those who lived through the Cold War, since it marked the end of an era.

Cold War



Essential Questions

- What conditions and issues led to mistrust between the U.S. and USSR, thereby leading to the Cold War?
- What methods did the U.S. use to attempt to stop the spread of communism in eastern Europe?
- Why did the U.S. turn to military action to stop communist aggression in Korea and Vietnam?
- Why did Americans respond in the manner they did to perceived internal threats, such as “blacklisting” and “McCarthyism”?
- How did the Cuban Missile Crisis change the scope of the Cold War?
- How did the Nixon and Ford Administrations approach the evolving nature of the Cold War in the late 1960s and 1970s?
- What role did the Reagan and Bush Administrations play in the eventual end of the Cold War in the late 1980s?

U.S. and USSR: Allies Become Enemies

- Different economic systems
- Ideological differences
- Growing mutual suspicions



A U.S. government poster from WWII portraying the Soviets as friendly

The Yalta Conference



The "Big Three": Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin meet at Yalta, February 1945

Yalta: Significant Events



A WWII-era poster celebrating the UN

- Creation of the United Nations
- Demand for Germany's unconditional surrender
- Postwar Germany split into four zones of occupation
- Stalin agreed to enter war against Japan
- Status of Poland
- Demilitarization of Germany

Truman Takes Over

- FDR died suddenly in April 1945
- Vice President Harry Truman sworn in
- Had served as VP for just 82 days
- Truman previously unaware of the Manhattan Project



President Harry S. Truman at his desk

The Potsdam Conference



Churchill, Truman, and Stalin

- Truman, Stalin, and Churchill (later Attlee)
- Restated agreement to partition Germany
- Agreed to prosecute war criminals
- Set new boundary line for Poland
- Truman hinted at atomic bomb to Stalin

The Soviet Bloc



- The USSR felt that by controlling “satellite” nations, it could stop future western invasions
- Communist governments installed in much of central and eastern Europe

Discussion Questions

1. What reasons existed for the distrust and suspicion between the U.S. and USSR? Why did the WWII alliance between the two nations fall apart?
2. Did FDR “give away” too many concessions to Stalin at the Yalta Conference? Explain your answer.
3. Should Truman have given Stalin any advanced knowledge about the atomic bomb during the Potsdam Conference? Why or why not?
4. Should the United States have taken military action to stop the development of the Soviet Bloc? Why or why not?

The "Iron Curtain"

- Popularized by a 1946 Churchill speech
- Metaphor for the divide between Western Europe and the Soviet Bloc
- Stalin called speech a "call to war"



Churchill and Truman on stage at Westminster College

Containment



George F. Kennan

- First suggested by George F. Kennan in the "Long Telegram"
- Made public in a *Foreign Affairs* article
- Kennan asserted that the goal of the U.S. should be to "contain" communism within its present borders

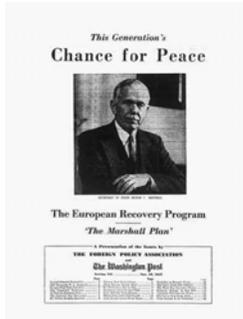
The Truman Doctrine

- Designed to contain communism
- Truman announced he would give economic aid to Greece and Turkey
- "Truman Doctrine" extended to anywhere aid was given to support a non-communist government



President Truman spells out the terms of the Truman Doctrine before a joint session of Congress

The Marshall Plan



- Western Europe struggled to revive after the war
- Millions in refugee camps
- Winter of 1946 the coldest in memory
- Marshall proposes aid plan to all European nations to rebuild

Discussion Questions

1. Did Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech heighten or lessen Cold War tensions? Explain your answer.
2. Why do you think Kennan wrote an anonymous article describing containment in *Foreign Affairs*, rather than using his name?
3. How did the Truman Doctrine solidify the idea of "containment"?
4. How did the Marshall Plan help check the spread of communism? Explain.

The Berlin Airlift



American C-54s await orders to take off from Tempelhof Air Base, Berlin

Origins of the Berlin Airlift

- Germany divided after WWII
- City of Berlin lay in Soviet zone
- Soviets closed all rail and highway routes into city
- Air corridors remained open



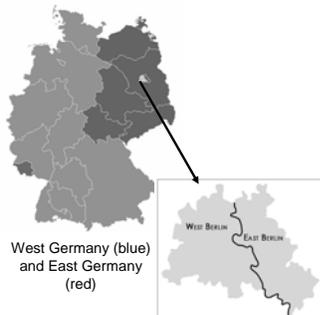
“Operation Vittles”



Germans watch as an American bomber flies overhead

- U.S. code name for the airlift
- U.S., British forces dropped supplies into Berlin
- Many Germans called planes *Rosinenbombers* (raisin bombers)
- Germans and Americans became allies

The Partitioning of Germany



West Germany (blue) and East Germany (red)

- Western part of Germany became Federal Republic of Germany in May 1949
- Eastern part of Germany became the German Democratic Republic
- Berlin lay entirely within East Germany

NATO and the Warsaw Pact

- NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- Twelve original member states in a mutual defense alliance (now 26)
- Soviets developed the Warsaw Pact in response



The Chinese Civil War



This map shows the final push by Chinese Communist forces against Chiang's Nationalist armies

- Nationalists and Communists had fought Japan together in WWII
- American aid to Nationalists and Chiang Kai-shek ineffective
- Mao Zedong's forces victorious
- Chiang's forces fled to Formosa (Taiwan)

Discussion Questions

1. Do you think Truman was right in not using military force to reopen roads and rail routes into West Berlin? Why?
2. Why was the Berlin Airlift such a great propaganda victory for the U.S.?
3. What are some alternatives that might have kept Germany united in the late 1940s?
4. What were some benefits to U.S. membership in NATO? Drawbacks?
5. What could the U.S. have done to help ensure that China did not fall to the communists?

The Korean War

- Korea divided after World War II
 - North Korea (communist)
 - South Korea (non-communist)
- North Korea invaded South Korea in June 1950
- UN forces supported South Korea



UN Forces Advance



U.S. Marines go over the top at Inchon

- North Korean forces drove UN forces to Pusan
- MacArthur's daring invasion at Inchon forced North back
- UN forces pushed to Yalu River (border between North Korea and China)

Truman vs. MacArthur

- Truman supported "limited war" policy
- MacArthur assured Truman that China wouldn't enter war
- China joined war in late 1950
- MacArthur critical of Truman's policies
- Truman fired MacArthur



Truman meets with MacArthur at Wake Island, October 1950

Stalemate



- UN and Chinese forces launched various offensives near 38th parallel
- War dragged on in a stalemate
- Stalin died; Eisenhower elected president
- Armistice signed in 1953

Discussion Questions

1. Why do you think the U.S. declined to use military forces during the Berlin crisis but chose to intervene militarily on behalf of South Korea?
2. Some historians call Korea “the forgotten war.” Is this a fair statement? Explain.
3. On an A–F grade scale, how would you rate MacArthur as commander of UN forces in Korea? Explain.
4. Do you think Truman’s policy of “limited war” in Korea was reasonable? Why?
5. Critique the armistice that ended the Korean War in 1953. Do you think the UN thought its terms were suitable? Explain.

Responses to “Internal Threats”

- House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)
- Blacklisting
- McCarran Act
- Alger Hiss
- Julius and Ethel Rosenberg



Arrest photos of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg

“McCarthyism” and the “Second Red Scare”

A 1950 publication that claimed to identify communists in the media



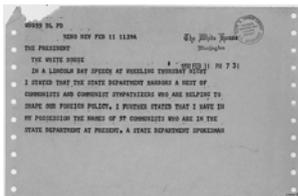
- Period of intense anti-communist suspicion in the late 1940s and early 1950s
- Many innocent people accused of communist ties
- Solid evidence against accused never produced

Joseph McCarthy

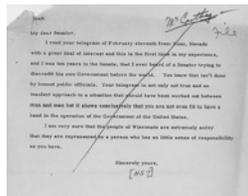


- Republican senator from Wisconsin
- Claimed that communists had infiltrated several government agencies
- Army–McCarthy hearings led to censure by Senate
- Died in 1957

McCarthy and Truman



Part of McCarthy's telegram to Truman after the Wheeling speech



Truman's reply (probably never sent)

Murrow on McCarthy

- Noted CBS newscaster Edward R. Murrow ran an exposé on McCarthy
- McCarthy appeared on Murrow's show a few weeks later
- McCarthy did not come across well



Edward R. Murrow

The Army-McCarthy Hearings



McCarthy and Roy Cohn during the hearings

- Centered on McCarthy and chief counsel Roy Cohn
- Army charged both with pressing for "favorable treatment" for former staffer
- Hearings televised
- Beginning of McCarthy's downfall

Censure of McCarthy

- McCarthy's popularity plummeted after hearings
- Senator Margaret Chase Smith spoke out against McCarthy
- Senate voted to censure McCarthy in December 1954



Senator Margaret Chase Smith

The Hydrogen Bomb



Dulles and Brinkmanship

- Policy established by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles
- Policy included threat of using all U.S. military force, including nuclear weapons
- Both U.S. and USSR expanded their air power
- Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)



Eisenhower (left) confers with Secretary of State Dulles

Creation of the CIA



- Office of Strategic Services gathered intelligence during World War II
- OSS disbanded after the war
- Truman realized importance of centralized intelligence system
- Central Intelligence Agency and National Security Council created in 1947

Discussion Questions

1. Why do you think the U.S. was so concerned about the possibility of internal communist threats?
2. Do you think a political figure today could wield the kind of influence that McCarthy did in the 1950s? Why or why not?
3. Why do you think that Murrow felt it necessary to take on McCarthy? What risks did he assume by his broadcast?
4. Do you think that brinkmanship was too dangerous a policy to follow in relations with the Soviet Union? Why or why not?

United States Civil Defense



The U.S. Civil Defense emblem

- Origins of Civil Defense go back to 1916
- Post-World War II CD focused on dealing with threat of nuclear war
- CD encouraged building fallout shelters and storing supplies to survive a nuclear attack

Civil Defense Posters



Fallout Shelters



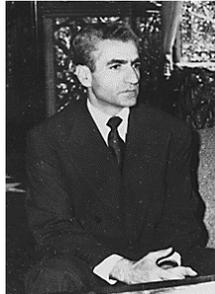
Cutaway view of CD-designed shelter



- CD provided plans for backyard shelters
- Of questionable effectiveness
- Made public believe a nuclear war was survivable

CIA Coup: Iran

- Mossadegh nationalized Iranian oil fields in 1953
- U.S. feared that Iran would ally with USSR
- CIA staged coup by anti-Mossadegh supporters
- Mossadegh government overthrown; Shah of Iran returned to power



The Shah of Iran

CIA Coup: Guatemala



Guatemalan President Jacobo Arbenz

- CIA suspected communist control of government under President Arbenz
- Arbenz also “antagonized” United Fruit Company
- CIA-sponsored coup (Operation PBSUCCESS) overthrew Arbenz government
- PBSUCCESS became the model for attempted coups in Cuba and Chile

“Open Skies” Proposal



Eisenhower

- Proposed by Eisenhower at 1955 Geneva summit
- Would allow U.S. flights over Soviet territory—and vice versa—to guard against surprise nuclear attack
- Popular response was favorable
- Soviets rejected the idea



Bulganin

The Eisenhower Doctrine

- Suez Crisis raised Soviet popularity in Middle East
- To counter this, Eisenhower issued a warning to the Soviets
- Doctrine stated that the U.S. would help any country threatened by a communist nation

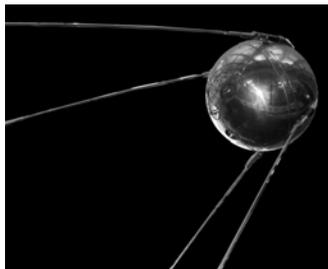


Egyptian President Nasser



The Suez Canal

Sputnik I



A replica of *Sputnik I*

- First man-made satellite
- Launched by the USSR in 1957
- Orbited the earth every 96 minutes
- Major blow to U.S. prestige
- U.S. launched first satellite in 1958

The U-2 Incident

- U-2 used for high-altitude photographic surveillance
- U.S. began secret flights over Soviet territory
- Francis Gary Powers shot down on May 1, 1960
- Increased tensions between U.S. and USSR



NASA photo of a U-2 aircraft

Discussion Questions

1. What purposes did Civil Defense serve during the Cold War era? Do you think it was successful? Why or why not?
2. Why did the Soviet launch of *Sputnik* strike such a great blow to American prestige?
3. Do you believe that CIA policies in Iran and Guatemala were justified? Why or why not?
4. Critique Eisenhower's handling of the U-2 incident. Do you believe he should have been more up front in explaining why the plane was in Soviet airspace? Explain.

Flexible Response

- Kennedy Administration policy
- Allowed for more options for dealing with Soviet threats
- U.S. would respond with similar force, not just with nuclear weapons



Kennedy takes the oath of office, January 1961

Bay of Pigs Invasion

- Unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Castro regime in Cuba
- Failed due to poor planning and lack of support of Cuban people
- Foreign policy defeat for Kennedy Administration



Berlin Crisis



The Berlin Wall

- Attempt to stop mass migration from East to West Berlin
- Construction began in August 1961
- East German forces ordered to shoot defectors
- Nearly 5000 successful escapes; nearly 200 killed

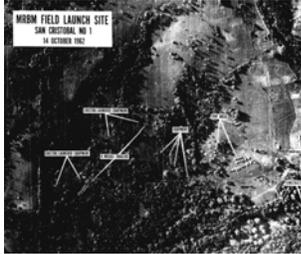
Kennedy at the Berlin Wall

- 1963 speech by JFK at the Berlin Wall
- Famous quote: *“Ich bin ein Berliner”*
- Kennedy’s speech set tone of defiance against Soviet oppression in Berlin



JFK speaks at the Berlin Wall

The Cuban Missile Crisis



Arrows indicate suspected Soviet missile installations

- Soviet missiles discovered in Cuba by U.S. reconnaissance flights
- Deemed an unacceptable threat to U.S. security
- JFK convened EXCOMM to develop plan for dealing with missiles

Why Missiles in Cuba?



Map showing the range of targets reachable by Soviet missiles in Cuba

- Bay of Pigs invasion
- Attempts by U.S. to remove Castro
- Placement of U.S. missiles in Turkey
- USSR lagged behind U.S. in number of missiles

Feeling Out the Soviets

- JFK met with Foreign Minister Gromyko
- Gromyko asserted that all Soviet aid to Cuba was defensive in nature
- Kennedy did not acknowledge missiles
- Gromyko probably did not know about missiles



Kennedy meets with Gromyko (third from left, on the couch)

Decision to Quarantine Cuba



EXCOMM meeting

- EXCOMM continued debating policy while JFK left for campaign trip
- Agreement made to suggest quarantine to JFK
- Kennedy feigned illness, returning to Washington to confer with EXCOMM

The Blockade Begins

- Kennedy went on TV to announce his decision
- Blockade took effect next morning
- Most Soviet ships approaching Cuba stopped; some turned back



Kennedy signs the document authorizing the blockade

Showdown at the UN



Ambassador Adlai Stevenson shows evidence of Soviet missiles in Cuba to the UN Security Council

- U.S. began to apply diplomatic pressure
- Ambassador Stevenson argued with his Soviet counterpart
- Stevenson presented photographic evidence to UN Security Council

The Crisis Ends

- Khrushchev sent letter to JFK setting terms for removing missiles
- Second letter much harsher
- JFK answered first letter and ignored second
- Secret deal made to remove U.S. missiles from Turkey
- The “hotline”



JFK's statement at the end of the crisis

Limited Test Ban Treaty



President Kennedy signs the Limited Test Ban Treaty

- Negotiations between U.S., UK, and USSR began in June 1963
- Allowed only underground nuclear testing
- JFK signed treaty in October
- Treaty signaled start of improved relations between the superpowers

Discussion Questions

1. In your view, which was the more successful policy: brinkmanship or flexible response? Explain.
2. If you were president in August 1961, what action would you have taken to stop the construction of the Berlin Wall? Explain.
3. Why did Kennedy decide not to take military action to remove the missiles from Cuba? Do you think this was the best decision? Why or why not?
4. Do you think the resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis decreased tensions between the U.S. and USSR? Why or why not?

The Vietnam War: Prelude

- “Domino theory”
- French surrendered control of Vietnam in 1953
- Vietnam partitioned into North, led by Ho Chi Minh, and South, headed by Ngo Dinh Diem
- Unification elections set for 1956 cancelled by South Vietnam and supported by the U.S.



Vietnam: Early U.S. Involvement



Eisenhower and Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem

- Vietcong began attacks against Diem government
- Eisenhower took little action against Vietcong
- Kennedy followed same policy, but sent more money and military “advisers”
- Diem government overthrown in November 1963; Diem assassinated in coup

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

- LBJ also concerned about appearing soft on communism
- Gulf of Tonkin “incident” led to escalation of U.S. involvement
- Johnson pushed through resolution for protecting U.S. forces and interests



Protest Movements



Protestors demonstrate against the war in Vietnam

- Rise of the “New Left”
- SDS and FSM formed
- Protest movement grew on college campuses
- “Hawks” vs. “doves”

The Tet Offensive

- Major North Vietnamese/Vietcong offensive in 1968
- Timed to coincide with lunar New Year celebration
- Attacks unsuccessful militarily, but highly successful as propaganda



U.S. soldiers in the city of Hue during the Tet offensive

“Vietnamization” and Withdrawal



The Paris peace talks

- Nixon’s Vietnamization policy entailed removing U.S. troops as South Vietnamese began to fight
- 1973 Paris Accords ended direct U.S. military involvement
- North Vietnam took Saigon in 1975 and reunified Vietnam under a communist government

Realpolitik

- A German word meaning “political realism”
- Promoted by Henry Kissinger
- U.S. should conduct foreign policy based on practicality, not ideology
- Change in philosophy from communist containment



Henry Kissinger

Détente



President and Mrs. Nixon at the Great Wall of China, 1972

- “Thawing” of Cold War tensions during Nixon Administration
- Included visits by Nixon to China and USSR
- Several arms limitation treaties ratified during period
- Ford continued détente into his presidency

Discussion Questions

1. What made the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty an important step towards détente?
2. Why do you think it was important for JFK and LBJ to appear tough on communism? What impact did this have on the conduct of the Vietnam War?
3. Why do you think such a powerful protest movement arose against the Vietnam War?
4. How effective was the policy of détente in dealing with Cold War tensions in the 1970s? Explain.

The “Evil Empire”

- From a speech delivered by Reagan in 1983
- Described the supposed moral divide between U.S. and USSR
- Called the Cold War a struggle of “right and wrong and good and evil”



President Reagan gives his famous “evil empire” speech

Strategic Defense Initiative



An artist's rendition of how the SDI system would function

- Proposed by Reagan in 1983
- Nicknamed “Star Wars”
- Would provide a “space shield” against nuclear attack
- Shift away from mutually assured destruction
- System never fully deployed

Glasnost and Perestroika

- Policies initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev
- *Glasnost*: “openness” in addressing political issues
- *Perestroika*: “restructuring” of the Soviet economy



Gorbachev and Reagan meet informally at Camp David

Iran-Contrra Affair



Oliver North's arrest photo

- Dealt with sales of weapons to Iran to gain release of hostages held in Lebanon
- Money from the sales of weapons went to Nicaraguan *Contras*
- Oliver North and John Poindexter convicted on charges of obstructing justice; both later overturned

Fall of the Berlin Wall

- East German tourists fled to Austria through Hungary and Czechoslovakia
- Public demonstrations began in East Germany
- East Germany allowed passage to West Germany, including West Berlin



Dismantling the Berlin Wall, 1989

End of the Cold War



Bush and Gorbachev give a joint presentation at a summit in Helsinki, Finland in 1990

- Soviet economy stagnated; defense spending cut
- Bush and Gorbachev announced end to Cold War in 1989
- Communist Party lost political power in USSR
- USSR dissolved in December 1990

Discussion Questions

1. What impact do you think Reagan's "evil empire" speech had on U.S.-Soviet relations? Would you have recommended he give the speech? Explain.
2. Why was Reagan's vision for SDI considered a major shift in Cold War policy?
3. What did Gorbachev hope to achieve in instituting the policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*?
4. What made the fall of the Berlin Wall such a significant event of the Cold War era?

Cold War: Backwards Planning Activities

Enduring understandings:

The Cold War shaped much of American foreign policy in the post–World War II era
The Cold War was a period where the U.S. and USSR sought to stop or limit each other’s ambitions through propaganda or political means
Cold War conflicts were generally diplomatic in nature; however, U.S. forces fought “hot” wars in Korea and Vietnam
American presidents modified policies and responses to Soviet actions throughout the Cold War
Civil Defense calmed Americans’ jittery nerves with programs and policies that convinced many that a possible nuclear war was not only winnable, but survivable
The Cold War ended in the late 1980s and early 1990s as economic conditions forced political reforms in the Soviet Union and other Soviet Bloc nations

Essential questions:

What conditions and issues led to mistrust between the U.S. and USSR, thereby leading to the Cold War?
What methods did the U.S. use to attempt to stop the spread of communism in eastern Europe?
Why did the U.S. turn to military action to stop communist aggression in Korea and Vietnam?
Why did Americans respond in the manner they did to perceived internal threats, such as “blacklisting” and “McCarthyism”?
How did the Cuban Missile Crisis change the scope of the Cold War?
How did the Nixon and Ford Administrations approach the evolving nature of the Cold War in the late 1960s and 1970s?
What role did the Reagan and Bush Administrations play in the eventual end of the Cold War in the late 1980s?

Learning experiences and instruction:

Students will need to know...	Students will need to be able to...
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Causes of the Cold War 2. Major figures from the Cold War era, including political and military leaders 3. Basic philosophical and cultural differences between the U.S. and USSR 4. Major diplomatic conflicts of the Cold War 5. The impact of the Korean War and the Vietnam War on the Cold War 6. The impact of <i>realpolitik</i> and détente on the Cold War in the late 1960s through the mid 1970s 7. Factors and conditions that led to the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Read and interpret primary source documents from the Cold War 2. Make conclusions about various strategies and policies enacted to deal with the Cold War 3. Identify key persons associated with the Cold War, either in the area of diplomacy or the military 4. Recognize how the Cold War affected American life and culture 5. Recognize how American policies in regard to the Cold War were changed and modified during the second half of the 20th century 6. Understand how the Cold War affected the United States' position as a world leader

Teaching and learning activities that will equip students to demonstrate targeted understandings:

- Overview of essential questions and basic understandings
- Class discussion of subject matter questions in the Cold War presentation
- Teacher introduction of common terms and ideas in the essential questions and related projects
- Provide students with primary source materials from which they will complete the related projects in the unit
- Students conduct research in groups to be used later in individual and group projects
- Informal observation and coaching of students as they work in groups
- Evaluation and delivered feedback on projects and research reports
- Students create and present their unit projects
- Posttest made of multiple-choice questions covering the presentation, with one or more essential questions as essay questions

Project #1: What if CNN had been at Yalta?

Overview:

In this lesson, students collect information about the Yalta Conference and write a newscast about the events of the conference.

Objectives:

As a result of completing the lesson, students will:

- Understand the various viewpoints and concerns of the participants at Yalta
- Collect information about the conference, and make conclusions as to the decisions reached at the conference
- Speculate as to how the decisions at Yalta contributed to the start of the Cold War

Time required:

Four to five class periods

Materials:

Computers with Internet access, word-processing software, maps (optional), video camera (optional), a television for playback of news reports (optional)

Methodology:

Prior to starting the project, you may wish to discuss the Yalta Conference with the class, focusing on things such as the main participants, points of contention in discussions, chief concerns of each participant, and major decisions made during the conference. (You might have students view slides 4–5 of the PowerPoint.)

Ask students to speculate on the impact of live news coverage of national or international events, particularly as to how immediate coverage of news events shapes people's perception. Discuss with students specific instances in which they were "eyewitnesses to history" via live news coverage. (Many students may mention watching the events of September 11, 2001, on live television as they unfolded, or the coverage of the breakup of the space shuttle *Columbia* in 2003. In this discussion, teachers might relate their memories of the *Challenger* disaster, the attempted assassination of President Ronald Reagan, the resignation of President Richard Nixon, the first moon landing, or the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.)

Following the class discussion, begin to prepare students for the project. Some students will assume the roles of participants and aides attending the conference, while others will act as

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reporters covering the conference. The reporters write news stories related to Yalta, as well as interview the “Big Three”: President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Soviet Premier Josef Stalin, and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Using the suggested Web sites and other means of research, students record their information about the Big Three (or others) on the “Character Chart” in order to ask or answer interview questions.

Depending on the size of the class, you may wish to add additional roles to the project. Also attending the conference were Alexander Cadogan (British Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs), Frederick Leathers (British Minister for War Transport), Anthony Eden (British Foreign Secretary), Edward Stettinius, (U.S. Secretary of State), W. Averell Harriman (U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union), and V.M. Molotov (Soviet Foreign Minister). If these roles are used, students can do Web-based or traditional research in order to collect information on these participants.

Once students have completed the research phase of the project, have them begin writing the script for the newscast. Reporters and interviewees should collaborate as to what questions about the conference will be asked, as well as possible answers.

If suitable technology is available, you may elect to have students in the class act as videographers and technicians by actually filming and editing the newscast. If you don’t have access to advanced video technology, you may simply wish to have the newscast air “live” during the class period, taking into account the length of any particular interview or of the entire newscast.

Evaluation:

At the end of the newscast, evaluate student work using a suitable rubric. A sample rubric is included with this lesson, which you may either use or adapt to meet your individual circumstances.

Suggested web resources:

On the conference itself:

Avalon Project at Yale Law School: “The Yalta Conference”
(<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/yalta.htm>)

U.S. State Department page (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/wwii/93273.htm>)

“Big Three Confer,” a short film on the Big Three at Yalta (http://www.archive.org/details/1945-02-15_Big_Three_Confer)

President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s report to Congress—audio and transcript
(<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=16591>)

President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s report to Congress—transcript and newsreel
(<http://history.sandiego.edu/GEN/text/ww2/yaltareport.html>.)

BBC: “On This Day” page
(http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/february/7/newsid_3517000/3517236.stm)

Sources dealing with the participants:

Franklin D. Roosevelt:

Hoover Institution: “Roosevelt’s Failure at Yalta”
(<http://www.hoover.org/publications/digest/3010581.html>)

Politico: “Roosevelt Departs from Yalta”
(<http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0208/8371.html>)

American Presidency Project: “Joint Statement With Churchill and Stalin on the Yalta Conference” (<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=16587>)

Health Media Lab: “The Dying President”
(<http://www.healthmedialab.com/html/president/roosevelt.html>) includes various concerns and statistics about FDR’s health at the time of his fourth election and the Yalta Conference

PBS American Experience: “The Presidents”
(http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/presidents/32_f_roosevelt/tguide/index.html)

Winston Churchill:

The Churchill Centre home page
(<http://www.winstonchurchill.org/i4a/pages/index.cfm?pageid=1>)

PBS: “Churchill” (<http://www.pbs.org/churchill/>)

CNN: “Cold War” (<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/kbank/profiles/churchill/>)

Winston Churchill speeches and radio broadcasts—audio files
(http://www.archive.org/details/Winston_Churchill)

Josef Stalin:

BBC: “Historic Figures” (http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/stalin_joseph.shtml)

CNN: “Cold War” (<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/kbank/profiles/stalin/>)

PBS: “Red Files” (http://www.pbs.org/redfiles/bios/all_bio_joseph_stalin.htm)

Yalta Conference Newscast Character Chart

Character researched: (FDR, Churchill, Stalin, other, or reporter):

Information about the character	Information specific to the Yalta Conference	Conclusions about the person and the conference

Yalta Conference Newscast Rubric

Category	Excellent (15–10)	Good (9–5)	Fair (4–2)	Poor (1)	Student score
Research (conference participant)	Character chart completely filled out; student shows mastery of material	Most of chart filled out; student portrays character generally well	About half of chart filled out; student shows some understanding of character	Less than half of chart completed; student demonstrates lack of understanding of assigned character	
Research (reporter)	Character chart completely filled out; thoughtful questions developed	Most of chart filled out; questions generally complete and insightful	About half of chart completed; basic questions developed	Less than half of chart completed; few or no questions developed	
Speaking ability	Projects voice effectively; uses proper grammar and language in newscast	Generally projects voice effectively; usually uses proper grammar and language	Below average job of projecting voice; infrequently uses proper grammar and language	Does not project voice; poor grammar and language used	
Mastery of material	Remains in character; convincing throughout the newscast	Usually remains in character; somewhat convincing	Frequently slips out of character; rarely demonstrates knowledge of role	Little knowledge of character; not convincing to audience	
Other criteria as set by the teacher					
Cumulative score					

Project #2: EXCOMM and the Cuban Missile Crisis

Overview:

In this lesson, students research and role-play principal figures on the U.S. side of the Cuban Missile Crisis, looking for the best solution to the threat of Soviet-supplied offensive nuclear weapons in Cuba. Students investigate the positions that selected members of the Executive Committee of the National Security Council (EXCOMM) took, and then make classroom presentations explaining and supporting their view.

Objectives:

As a result of completing this lesson, students will:

- Recognize the implications of various suggestions for removing the missiles
- Understand how the decision-making process occurred during the crisis
- Make conclusions based on various points of view presented during the crisis

Time:

Four to five class periods

Materials:

Computers with Internet access (RealPlayer is required for some of the audio resources), and various print resources about the Kennedy Administration and the Cuban Missile Crisis (such as Robert F. Kennedy's book *Thirteen Days*) as well as other resources on the Kennedy years. In addition, documentary films on the crisis may be available.

Methodology:

Prior to beginning the lesson, make sure that students have some information on the Kennedy Administration's policy towards the communist government in Cuba—particularly the Bay of Pigs invasion—as well as the administration's various attempts to assassinate Cuban President Fidel Castro. Many of the suggested Web resources for this lesson have specific information about these issues.

You may also wish to give students some background information on the crisis itself. Again, several of the suggested Web resources for the lesson include such information. In addition, most textbooks describe the crisis, as do docudramas such as *Thirteen Days* or *The Missiles of October*.

Once students have the background information, you can move on to project development. Begin by either distributing the “National Security Alert” handout or by showing it to the class via an LCD or overhead projector.

Once students understand the procedure, assign individual (or teams of) students the roles of those persons directly involved in the EXCOMM deliberations. Depending on the number of students, you may wish to either cast the entire list of EXCOMM members and advisors, or edit it to better fit your class size.

EXCOMM members:

Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson
Secretary of State Dean Rusk
Secretary of the Treasury C. Douglas Dillon
Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara
Attorney General Robert Kennedy
National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy
CIA Director John McCone
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Maxwell D. Taylor (U.S. army)
Undersecretary of State George Ball
Ambassador to the USSR Llewellyn Thompson
Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatrick
Special Counsel to the President Theodore Sorensen

Advisors to EXCOMM (if needed):

Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson
Former Secretary of State Dean Atchison
CIA employee Arthur Lundahl (the director of the analysts who first found evidence of the missiles in U-2 surveillance photographs)

(Note: For students who do not have specific roles, you may wish to assign them to help research individual positions of EXCOMM members and advisors, or to gather historical background information about the crisis. In addition, you may elect to have the students work in groups, with each representing one member of the committee. Students would then develop a group policy statement based on their research.)

Once you’ve assigned roles, have students begin researching the different plans for removing the missiles; suggest that they not only investigate the views of their assigned EXCOMM member, but alternative viewpoints as well. Mention that this will allow them not only to analyze their own character’s viewpoint, but also to determine strengths and weaknesses of others’ arguments. As students find information available through the related Web resources, have them record it in the “EXCOMM Position Paper Organizer.”

Once students have completed their research, have them prepare a written policy statement summarizing their character's views. (You should distribute these to the other students or groups in advance of the actual EXCOMM meeting.)

Remind students that in determining foreign policy, rarely do one person's opinions wholly win out over those of other officials or advisors. Therefore, students should be prepared to revise their views to accommodate (to a certain extent) others in the group. Reassure students that their grade will be based not just on their persuasiveness, but also on their ability to rationally evaluate other points of view and incorporate them into their own proposal, if necessary.

After the groups have had sufficient time to analyze and discuss proposals, convene the EXCOMM meeting. In the actual meetings, the members sat around a large oval table; if you have access to similar furniture, you may wish to reproduce this arrangement, or you may simply ask the class to move their desks or chairs into a circle.

Have students conduct their discussion in a manner similar to the actual EXCOMM meetings, as revealed in the audio recordings or transcripts. Students will need to reach a consensus on a plan for the president to evaluate upon his return. (Note: In the course of their research, some students might have already learned what actions Kennedy took. In this case, you should remind students that a consensus doesn't necessarily imply complete agreement among the participants. At the time, some criticized Kennedy's decision as weak, while others saw it as an act of war.)

By the end of the session, the group should have decided on a plan of action that reflects the views of a majority of EXCOMM members. Since the recommendation will be formally presented to the President, the entire group should write it. (Alternately, you may wish to appoint one or more members of the EXCOMM as "secretaries" who actually write the finished proposal.)

As the meeting progresses, observe EXCOMM members as they interact, specifically their willingness and ability to work collaboratively to reach a consensus.

Evaluation:

After the EXCOMM meeting, evaluate student and group work (both oral and written) using a suitable rubric. You may either develop a rubric that addresses all facets of the project, or use the rubric provided in this lesson.

Related Web resources:

Foundation of American Scientists Intelligence Resource Program: "Cuba"
(<http://www.fas.org/irp/imint/cuba.htm>) contains transcripts of EXCOMM meetings as well as U-2 photographs and the contents of letters exchanged between Kennedy and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev.

History and Politics Out Loud: Cuban Missile Crisis (<http://www.hpol.org/jfk/cuban/>) includes recordings of EXCOMM meetings from throughout the duration of the crisis (RealPlayer is needed to play the files); a timeline is also provided.

National Security Archive: The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962—the 40th Anniversary (http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nsa/cuba_mis_cri/) contains audio files related to the crisis as well as photographic evidence and declassified documents. The site also includes a 2002 analysis of the crisis and of the film *Thirteen Days*.

Avalon Project at Yale Law School: Cuban Missile Crisis and Aftermath (<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/forrel/cuba/cubamenu.htm>) includes several pieces of correspondence between the principals in EXCOMM, as well as between Kennedy and Khrushchev.

John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum: Cuban Missile Crisis (<http://www.jfklibrary.org/Historical+Resources/JFK+in+History/Cuban+Missile+Crisis.htm>) provides multimedia resources, including photos and audio files.

John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum: The World on the Brink (http://www.jfklibrary.org/jfkl/cmc/cmc_calendar_map.html) includes text and multimedia resources.

CNN: Cuba 1959–1968 (<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/10/>) includes various records and multimedia relating to the crisis.

You may also wish to have students conduct their research online.

National Security Alert

October 1962: President John F. Kennedy has just been shown U-2 surveillance photos indicating the placement of Soviet offensive nuclear missiles in Cuba. Pointed toward the United States, they could strike nearly any location in the U.S. or Central America within minutes.

Kennedy realizes that the missiles pose an extremely serious threat to national security—they cannot be allowed to remain in Cuba. But which way offers the safest means for removing the missiles? Which plan will achieve this goal without causing the Soviet Union to respond against U.S. interests somewhere else in the world (such as West Berlin) or touching off World War III?

In this lesson, you will portray a member of or advisor to EXCOMM, the Executive Committee of the National Security Council. Taking the role of one of its principals, you will discuss and debate various solutions to the crisis that you will recommend to the president. Remember, President Kennedy can implement only one option, and it must be workable.

Prepare to argue your recommendation in the class EXCOMM meeting and to persuade the other members of the group to support your view. The president, currently in the Midwest campaigning for the 1962 congressional elections, expects a consensus decision when he returns. You can achieve this by collecting information, writing a position paper to share with other EXCOMM members, and attempting in the committee meeting to effectively communicate your point of view. Remember, other EXCOMM members will be trying to do the same, so you may find that you need to compromise on aspects of your position in order to get your main idea across.

EXCOMM Position Paper Organizer

EXCOMM member:	Position (recommendation for removing missiles):	Advantages:	Disadvantages:	Possible improvements to position:

EXCOMM Meeting Rubric

Category	Excellent (15–10)	Good (9–5)	Fair (4–2)	Poor (1)	Student score
Research	Organizer fully completed; evidence of significant research on own position as well as others	Organizer fully completed; evidence of research on own position as well as some others	Organizer generally completed; some evidence of research on own position as well as a few others	Organizer not submitted or mostly incomplete; research on own position or others not evident	
Mastery of viewpoint	Student/group highly believable as EXCOMM member; easily recalls position of historic figure	Student/group generally believable; recalls most of position of historic figure	Student/group basically believable; misses some significant points made by historic figure	Student/group not believable; missing many significant points made by historic figure	
Position paper	Highly persuasive; contains no grammatical errors	Generally persuasive; contains few grammatical errors	Basically persuasive; contains some grammatical errors	Not persuasive; contains many grammatical errors	
Speaking ability	Excellent job of making points; projects voice well	Good job of making points; projects voice well	Fair job of making points; projects voice fairly well	Poor job of making points; does not project voice or projects poorly	

Collaboration	Effectively recognizes other points of view; willing to adapt views to reach consensus	Frequently recognizes other points of view; mostly willing to adapt views to reach consensus	Occasionally recognizes other points of view; generally willing to adapt views to reach consensus	Rarely recognizes other points of view; does not attempt to reach consensus	
Other criteria as established by the teacher					
Project score					

Project #3: “Best of the Cold War Presidents”

Overview:

In this lesson, students evaluate the effectiveness of President Truman through George H.W. Bush in confronting problems of the Cold War. Students create a visual and graphical presentation in order to make a compelling case that their presidential subject is the “Best of the Cold War Presidents.”

Objectives:

As a result of completing this lesson, students will:

- Research the historic contributions and accomplishments of U.S. presidents during the Cold War era
- Make conclusions as to the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of those policies and accomplishments
- Effectively present their findings about these presidents

Time:

Three to five class periods

Materials:

Computers with Internet access, as well as software and hardware to play audio or video files; computer storage for audio or video files (e.g., hard drive, flash drive, CD burner); printer (optional); presentation software (optional), LCD projector (optional).

Methodology:

Introduce the lesson with a discussion regarding how historians frequently revise their assessments of U.S. presidents over time or in light of new events. You may wish to discuss how historians and the media viewed John F. Kennedy’s “New Frontier” in the period immediately following his assassination, compared to how more recent historical accounts of Kennedy assess his effectiveness as chief executive. Similarly, more-recent historical views of Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower have described both as far more effective and dynamic leaders than earlier works did. Even presidents such as John Adams have received a “historical makeover” in recent years.

Following the discussion, explain to the class that in groups they’ll be researching the policies and accomplishments of several presidents in an effort to determine who deserves the title of

“Best of the Cold War Presidents.” The groups will present their findings, which should include audio, video, or photographic evidence, in addition to the written component.

Assign each group one of the following presidents:

Harry S. Truman
Dwight Eisenhower
John F. Kennedy
Lyndon B. Johnson
Richard M. Nixon
Gerald R. Ford
Jimmy Carter
Ronald Reagan
George H.W. Bush

Once in their groups, have students begin their research with the lesson’s suggested Web resources, as well as their own independent research. Explain to the class that their presentation should not only include text, but also audio and/or video excerpts where appropriate. The accompanying ““Best of the Cold War Presidents’ Information Sheet” has space for student groups to include five separate events to back up their claim that their president deserves the title; however, you may wish to adapt the sheet to require students to include more or fewer events.

When students have completed research on their presidential subject, have them assemble their research materials into some sort of presentation. While presentation software (PowerPoint) is probably the best medium for this project, if such technology is unavailable you may instead elect to have students give oral presentations, using a computer and LCD projector to flesh out the video and/or audio component. You may also choose to have student groups print out relevant pictures and mount them on poster board for their presentations.

If you should decide to use presentation software, make students aware of whatever requirements you’ve set regarding the size of the presentation, number of pictures, sound files, etc. While you will likely make your own decisions as to these concerns, you may consult the sample requirements page found at <http://www.vcsc.k12.in.us/staff/mhutchison/thewar/project.htm>.

Allow students sufficient time to assemble their presentations. Stress the importance of historical accuracy; however, their presentations should also persuade the audience that their subject is the “Best of the Cold War Presidents.”

Evaluation:

Once groups have made their presentations, you should allow students to make the case to you and the other groups that their president deserves the title. At the conclusion of the project, evaluate students’ work according to the included sample rubric, or develop one of your own.

Suggested Web resources:

National Archives Presidential Libraries page (<http://www.archives.gov/presidential-libraries/visit/websites.html>) includes links to the libraries of all Cold War–era presidents.

C-SPAN’s Presidential Libraries: History Uncovered (<http://www.c-span.org/presidentiallibraries/>) includes video and audio files (RealPlayer required) for all the presidents included in the project, as well as background information from the staff of each presidential library.

CNN: “Cold War” (<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/>) includes several resources for the presidents included in this project, as well as for various events during the period, including the Berlin Crisis, Cuban Missile Crisis, and others. The related educators’ guide for the site is located at <http://turnerlearning.com/cnn/coldwar/index.html>.

Cold War Museum (<http://www.coldwar.org/index.html>)

Internet Modern History Source Book: “A Bipolar World” (<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook46.html>) has several resources on the Cold War, as well as on several “Cold Warriors.”

“Best of the Cold War Presidents” Information Sheet

President our group researched: _____

Event	Synopsis (what happened in this event)	Why this event is important	Significant actions or policies attributed to this president	Video or audio clips to use in the presentation (URLs)	Other information about this president or event

“Best of the Cold War Presidents” Presentation Rubric

Criteria	Level 1 (0–10 points)	Level 2 (11–20 points)	Level 3 (21–30 points)	Level 4 (31–40 points)	Group score
Research	Shows little evidence of research; information sheet incomplete or not submitted	Shows some evidence of research; information sheet generally complete	Shows clear evidence of research; information sheet completed	Shows evidence of considerable research; information sheet completed	
Clear expression of ideas	Communicates information as isolated pieces in random fashion	Communicates important information, but theme or overall structure unclear	Clearly communicates main idea, theme, and point of view	Clearly and effectively communicates main idea, theme, or point of view	
Presentation of point of view (persuasiveness)	Shows limited evidence of point of view; lacks persuasiveness	Point of view and persuasiveness apparent, but unclear at times	Demonstrates a clear point of view; persuasiveness apparent	Presents a strong, clear point of view using rich and persuasive details	
Effective use of colors and graphics	Colors and/or graphics unclear	Color and/or graphics not very relevant to theme	Color and/or graphics support theme	Colors and/or graphics make purpose of presentation obvious	
Effective use of text	Text minimally displayed; purpose unclear	Text clearly displayed but doesn't support theme or message	Text supports theme or message	Text delivers the theme or message with significant impact	

Use of audio and video resources	Resources missing or inappropriately used	Resources used; but do not support theme effectively	Resources used; generally support theme	Resources used; very effective in presenting theme or message	
Overall impact and creativity	Limited effort; visuals of inconsistent quality; limited innovation and appeal	Visuals and text clear, though their connection may not be obvious; shows no more than a hint of the unusual or innovative	Effort and thoughtful preparation clearly shown; innovation in visuals and text	Visuals and text make for an eye-catching design and powerful impact	
Overall project score					

Cold War: Multiple-Choice Quiz

1. Which of the following is NOT considered part of the fundamental definition of the Cold War?
 - a. Political tension
 - b. Dispute over German territory
 - c. Lack of armed conflict
 - d. Rivalry between the U.S. and USSR

2. Which of the following is NOT considered a reason for the growing mistrust between the United States and Soviet Union?
 - a. Economic differences
 - b. Ideological differences
 - c. Preexisting mutual suspicion
 - d. Pre-war alliance with Germany

3. Which of the following directly resulted from the Yalta Conference?
 - a. Creation of NATO
 - b. A system of bases that would protect against Axis attack
 - c. Stalin agreed to enter the war against Germany
 - d. Stalin agreed to enter the war against Japan

4. Who became president upon the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt?
 - a. Harry S. Truman
 - b. Dwight D. Eisenhower
 - c. John F. Kennedy
 - d. Lyndon B. Johnson

5. Which of the following was not an outcome of the Potsdam Conference?
 - a. The agreement to partition Germany was scrapped
 - b. The Allies agreed to prosecute war criminals
 - c. A new boundary line for Poland was set
 - d. Truman told Stalin about the successful test of the atomic bomb

6. Which of the following was not a “satellite nation” in the Soviet Bloc?
 - a. Albania
 - b. Bulgaria
 - c. Czechoslovakia
 - d. Italy

7. Who delivered the famous “Iron Curtain” speech?
- Harry Truman
 - Josef Stalin
 - Winston Churchill
 - Clement Atlee
8. Which of the following best describes “containment”?
- The United States should keep communism within its present borders
 - The United States should force communism back to its pre-1945 borders
 - The United States should not intervene in the advancement of communism
 - The United States should allow communism to only expand into two countries beyond its present borders
9. Which of the following was true about the Truman Doctrine?
- It dealt with Britain and France
 - Truman offered aid to any nation resisting communist aggression
 - Truman offered military assistance to any nation fighting the Chinese in the Korean War
 - Truman promised to divide Germany into four zones of occupation after the war
10. What did the Marshall Plan promise?
- Aid to European nations that wanted to rebuild after World War II
 - Military aid to Greece and Turkey
 - Aid to communist nations who tried to overthrow the government
 - Aid to Asian nations that had pledged to help Japan after the war
11. Why did the U.S. decide to airlift supplies to West Berlin?
- They did not want the Soviets to take over the city
 - Military action could have led to World War III
 - The air corridors remained open, while land routes had been closed
 - All of the above
12. The Berlin Airlift had the following impact on German citizens:
- They began to see the U.S. as allies with the Russians and could not be trusted
 - They began to demand their independence
 - They began to see the U.S. as friendly rather than hostile
 - They felt entitled to U.S. assistance in rebuilding their country after WWII

13. Which city became the capital of West Germany?

- a. Bonn
- b. Berlin
- c. Potsdam
- d. Munich

14. Western European nations and the U.S. formed a mutual-defense alliance called:

- a. The Warsaw Pact
- b. The Triple Alliance
- c. The Triple Entente
- d. NATO

15. Which leader did the U.S. back in the Chinese Civil War?

- a. Chiang Kai-shek
- b. Mao Zedong
- c. Sun Yat-sen
- d. Hirohito

16. Which of the following started the Korean War?

- a. China invaded Korea
- b. South Korea invaded North Korea
- c. North Korea invaded South Korea
- d. The United States invaded Korean air space

17. Who was UN Supreme Commander in the Korean War?

- a. Douglas MacArthur
- b. Dwight Eisenhower
- c. Alexander Haig
- d. William Westmoreland

18. Which of the following is NOT related to McCarthyism?

- a. It was a period of intense anti-communism in the late 1940s and early 1950s
- b. It was called a “second Red Scare”
- c. No evidence against those accused was ever made public
- d. McCarthy ran for president in 1956

19. Which U.S. secretary of state is associated with brinksmanship?
- Dean Rusk
 - Henry Kissinger
 - George C. Marshall
 - John Foster Dulles
20. Which of the following did NOT occur during the Cuban Missile Crisis?
- The United States blockaded Cuba
 - The United States used diplomacy to remove missiles already in Cuba
 - The United States threatened to destroy Soviet bases in Turkey
 - The United States took their case to the United Nations
21. What did President Lyndon B. Johnson use in order to escalate U.S. involvement in Vietnam?
- The United Nations charter
 - The NATO charter
 - The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
 - The Truman Doctrine
22. What was the name of Henry Kissinger's approach to foreign policy, in which a country's power and usefulness outweigh any philosophical or ideological differences?
- Realpolitik
 - Containment
 - Appeasement
 - Détente
23. The idea of détente can best be described as:
- A period of debate between the superpowers
 - A period of "thawing" of Cold War tensions
 - A period of heightening of Cold War tensions
 - The start of the Cold War
24. Which of the following was true about the Strategic Defense Initiative?
- It was proposed by Jimmy Carter
 - It was a departure from the doctrine of mutually assured destruction
 - It was implemented in 1992
 - It provided a way to force the Soviet Union to tear down the Berlin Wall
25. According to a joint announcement by President Bush and General Secretary Gorbachev, the Cold War "officially" ended in which year?
- 1992
 - 1987
 - 1989
 - 1996

Cold War: Multiple-Choice Quiz

Answer Key

1. B
2. D
3. D
4. A
5. A
6. D
7. C
8. A
9. B
10. A
11. D
12. C
13. A
14. D
15. A
16. C
17. A
18. D
19. D
20. C
21. C
22. A
23. B
24. B
25. C