

## Analyzing Political Cartoons ►

1. What does the woman in the cartoon symbolize?
2. What is the significance of her having her own “man-size” pay?
3. What point does the man’s speech make?
4. Examine both figures. What message is conveyed by the woman’s huge size and the man’s clothing?



## Critical Thinking

1. **Applying the Chapter Skill** What assumptions did employers and society as a whole make about the women who took new jobs during World War II? How were these like or unlike those that were made about “Rosie the Riveter”?
2. **Perceiving Cause-Effect Relationships** Why were there shortages of sugar, coffee, and tropical fruits during World War II?
3. **Drawing Conclusions** Why did Americans generally accept rationing, bond drives, and other government programs to involve them in the war effort?
4. **Predicting Consequences** How might the changes that the war brought for African Americans have affected the later civil rights movement?

## INTERNET ACTIVITY

### For your portfolio: CREATE A DIARY ENTRY

Access Prentice Hall’s *America: Pathways to the Present* site at [www.Pathways.phschool.com](http://www.Pathways.phschool.com) for the specific URLs to complete the activity. Additional resources and related Web sites are also available.

Read several interviews with women who experienced life on the home front in World War II. Create a fictional diary entry of a week in the life of one such woman. Choose a typical week or a week during which a major event happened. How did the war affect the lives of the people at home?

## ANALYZING DOCUMENTS ► INTERPRETING DATA

Turn to the map on page 732.

1. One of these statements about this map is *not* true. Which is it?  
(a) Every state in the South lost population in the wartime migration. (b) Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina lost the greatest percentage of their populations. (c) Every state in the industrial Northeast gained population in the African American migration.
2. Which statement best reflects the information shown on this map?  
(a) African Americans moved mainly to northern industrial areas. (b) Wartime job opportunities were available to African Americans throughout the United States. (c) West Coast war industries did not draw African Americans.
3. **Writing** In one paragraph, summarize the events shown by this map and what they meant for African Americans.

## Connecting to Today

**Essay Writing** Choose one of the groups whose wartime experiences are discussed in Section 4. Then research and write an essay about the changes that have taken place in that group’s position in American society in the 50-plus years since World War II.



## CHAPTER

# 26

# The Cold War

1945-1960



Ben Shahn

### CHAPTER FOCUS

**T**his chapter examines the post-World War II hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union that played out in large and small conflicts across the globe.



The *Why Study History?* page at the end of this chapter explores the connection between defense spending before and after the cold war.

### VIEWING HISTORY

Artist Ben Shahn's 1945 painting entitled *Reconstruction* portrays the rebuilding process after World War II. **Culture** What feelings does the artist seem to depict?



**1945**

Yalta Conference (February); UN founded (April); FDR dies, Truman becomes President (April); Potsdam Conference (July)

**1946**

Stalin predicts triumph of communism (February); Churchill gives iron curtain speech (March); Kennan article on containment (July)

**1947**

Truman Doctrine

**1945****1946****1947**

# 1 Origins of the Cold War

## SECTION PREVIEW

### Objectives

- 1 Explain why 1945 was a critical year in international relations and how it was followed by conflicting postwar goals.
- 2 Describe how the Soviet Union tightened its control over Eastern Europe.
- 3 Identify the iron curtain and how it led to containment policy and the Truman Doctrine.
- 4 **Key Terms** Define: satellite nation; iron curtain; cold war; containment; Truman Doctrine.

### Main Idea

At the end of World War II, conflicting goals for Europe led to growing hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union.

### Reading Strategy

**Arranging Events in Order** As you read, make a list of events that led to the development of the cold war. List the date of each event. Then, arrange them in chronological order.

**I** know you will not mind my being brutally frank when I tell you that I can personally handle Stalin," President Roosevelt told Winston Churchill during World War II. "He thinks he likes me better, and I hope he will continue to." By 1944, Roosevelt was so sure of Stalin's cooperation that he began calling the Soviet dictator "Uncle Joe."

A Roosevelt adviser later wrote that the President did not have "any real comprehension of the great gulf that separated [their] thinking." Churchill, however, clearly understood the situation. "Germany is finished," he told an adviser. "The real problem is Russia. I can't get the Americans to see it."

## 1945—A Critical Year

The wartime cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union was a temporary arrangement. The two nations had a history of bad feelings following the Russian Revolution. During the revolt, President Wilson had dispatched American troops to Russia to support anti-Communist resistance. The United States

did not recognize the legal existence of the Soviet government until 1933.

As wartime allies, the Soviets disagreed bitterly with their American and British partners over battle tactics and postwar plans. As the end of the war approached, relations grew increasingly tense.

**Differences at Yalta** In February 1945, Roosevelt met with Stalin and Churchill at Yalta

*Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin, (left to right) met at Yalta to discuss postwar Europe.*







At its birth, the United Nations was hailed by President Harry Truman as “a victory against war itself.” In this photograph, Truman and representatives from other member nations look on as Secretary of State Edward Stettinius signs the UN charter in June 1945. **Government** Why do you think Congress agreed to United States membership in the United Nations, even though it had not supported the League of Nations?

to work out the future of Germany and Poland. They agreed on the division of Germany into American, British, French, and Soviet occupation zones. (Later, the American, French, British zones were combined to create West Germany. The Soviet zone became East Germany.) Roosevelt and Churchill rejected Stalin’s demand that Germany pay the Soviet Union \$10 billion in war damages.

Roosevelt pressed Stalin at Yalta to declare war on Japan. The atomic bomb had not yet been tested, and the President wanted Soviet help if an invasion of Japan became necessary.

Poland proved the most difficult issue to address at Yalta. The Red Army had occupied that country and supported the Communist-dominated government. Stalin opposed the return of Poland’s prewar government. Historically, Poland was an invasion route into Russia. The Polish government, Stalin insisted, must be sympathetic to Soviet security needs.

The meeting stalled until Stalin agreed on elections to let Poles choose their own type of government. Disputes over Poland would continue to strain American-Soviet relations.

**The United Nations** One item on which the leaders all agreed at Yalta was creation of the United Nations (UN), a new international peacekeeping organization. The League of

Nations, founded after World War I, had failed largely because the United States refused to join. This time, policymakers got congressional support for the UN.

In April 1945, delegates from 50 nations met in San Francisco to adopt a charter, or statement of principles, for the UN. The charter stated that members would try to settle their differences peacefully. It vowed to try to stop wars from starting and to end those that did break out.

All member nations belonged to the UN’s General Assembly. Representatives of 11 countries sat on a Security Council. The United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and China had permanent seats on the council and a veto over proposed policies.

### Truman Takes Command

Roosevelt never lived to see his dream of the United Nations fulfilled. On April 12, 1945, just two weeks before the UN’s first meeting, the President died while resting at Warm Springs, Georgia. Although he was in poor health and noticeably tired, his unexpected death shocked the nation. No one was more surprised than Vice President Harry S. Truman, who suddenly found himself President.

Few Vice Presidents have been less prepared to become President. While he had spent 10 years in Congress, Truman had been Vice President for just 83 days. Roosevelt had never involved him in major foreign policy discussions. Truman at first adopted FDR’s willingness to compromise with the Soviets. But before long his attitude hardened.

**The Potsdam Conference** Truman’s first meeting with Stalin came in July 1945 in the Berlin suburb of Potsdam. The Allies continued to debate the issues that had divided them at Yalta, including the future of Germany and of Poland. Stalin renewed his demand for war payments from Germany, and Truman insisted on the promised Polish elections.

At Potsdam, Truman got word that the atom bomb had been tested in New Mexico. Hoping to intimidate Stalin, Truman told him that America had a new weapon of extraordinary force. Stalin, who already knew of the



bomb from Soviet spies, simply nodded and said that he hoped it would be put to good use. Stalin's casual manner hid his concern over America's new strategic advantage.

## Conflicting Postwar Goals

Shortly after Truman took office he scolded Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov for the Soviet Union's failure to allow Polish elections. Molotov was offended by Truman's bluntness. "I have never been talked to like that in my life," Molotov protested. "Carry out your agreements and you won't get talked to like that," Truman snapped.

**The American View** Tensions over Poland illustrated American and Soviet leaders' differing views of the world. Americans had fought to bring democracy and economic opportunity to the conquered nations of Europe and Asia. The United States hoped to see these goals achieved in the postwar world. An economically strong and politically open world also served American interests by providing markets for its products.

**The Soviet View** After losing more than 20 million people during the war and suffering widespread destruction, the Soviet Union was determined to rebuild in ways that would pro-

tect its own interests. One way was to establish **satellite nations**, countries subject to Soviet domination, on the western borders of the Soviet Union. These governments would be friendly to Communist goals.

Stalin thus refused to cooperate with new agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, intended to help build strong, capitalist economies. Instead, he installed or supported totalitarian Communist governments in Eastern Europe.

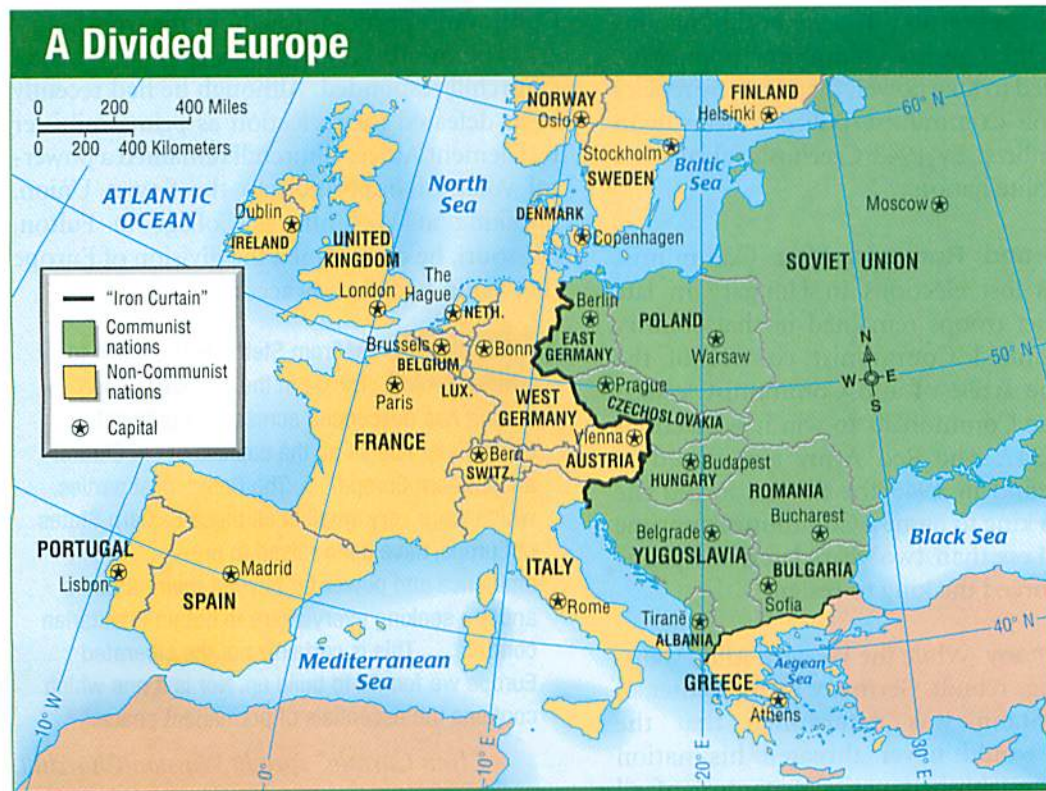
## Soviets Tighten Their Hold

The Soviet Union quickly gained control over Eastern European nations freed from the Nazis. The promised elections in Poland did not take place for nearly two years. Meanwhile, Poland's Soviet-installed government eliminated all political opposition.

**Albania and Bulgaria** In Albania, Communist guerrilla forces had driven out the Germans by 1944. When elections were held the following year, all anti-Communist leaders had been silenced. Soviet troops rolled into Bulgaria in 1944, and the Communists secured their hold on the country by 1948.

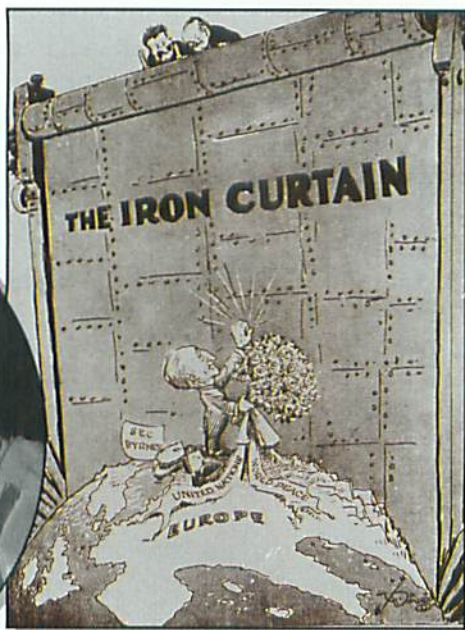
## Main Idea CONNECTIONS

*How did American and Soviet goals for postwar Europe differ?*



This map shows the nations controlled by Communist and non-Communist countries. After World War II, the Soviet Union was highly concerned about protecting its national security. **Location** How does this map illustrate the policy pursued by the Soviet Union to protect itself from its non-Communist rivals in Europe?





Winston Churchill (left) is shown making the 1946 speech in which he introduced the idea of the iron curtain. In the cartoon (right), United States Secretary of State James Byrnes is portrayed as a determined suitor. *Foreign Relations* Whom is he courting? How does the cartoonist rate his chances of success?

**Czechoslovakia** The Czechs desperately tried to hold on to their democratic multiparty political system. The Communist candidate won 40 percent of the vote in free elections in 1946, but Communist repression in neighboring nations weakened the Czech Communists' popularity. They plotted to take power, therefore, by replacing all non-Communist police officers with party members. By 1948 Czechoslovakia was a Soviet satellite nation.

**Hungary and Romania** After Communist candidates lost elections in Hungary in late 1945, Soviet troops remained in that country and demanded Communist control of the police. The arrest of anti-Communist leaders allowed the Communists to win new elections held in 1947. The Red Army also stayed in Romania, and in 1945 the Soviets forced the Romanian king to name a Communist as prime minister. Less than two years later, the prime minister forced the king to resign.

**East Germany** While the Western Allies wanted a strong, rebuilt Germany at the center of Europe, Stalin was determined that the Germans would never threaten his nation again. He established national control of all

East German resources and installed a brutal totalitarian government there. In 1949, under the Communist government, the country became known as the German Democratic Republic.

**Finland and Yugoslavia** Two other countries managed to maintain a degree of independence from the Soviet Union. Finland signed a treaty of cooperation with the Soviets in 1948. The treaty required Finland to remain neutral in foreign affairs but allowed it to manage its domestic affairs. In Yugoslavia, Communists gained control in 1945 under the leadership of Josip Broz, better known as Tito. A fiercely independent dictator, Tito refused to take orders from Stalin, who unsuccessfully tried to topple him in 1948. For the next three decades Tito would pursue his own brand of communism relatively free from Soviet interference.

## The Iron Curtain

In a February 1946 speech, Stalin predicted the ultimate triumph of communism over capitalism. Yet he knew that it would be years before the Soviets were strong enough militarily to directly confront the United States.

In the meantime, Stalin called on Communists to spread their system by other means. He soon established Cominform, a Soviet agency intended to direct the activities of Communist parties throughout the world.

The month after Stalin's speech, Winston Churchill responded. Although he had recently been defeated for reelection as prime minister by Clement Attlee, Churchill remained a powerful voice of opposition to the Soviet Union. Speaking at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, he condemned the division of Europe that Stalin had already accomplished:

### KEY DOCUMENTS

“From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of . . . Central and Eastern Europe. . . . The Communist parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. . . . This is certainly not the Liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.”

—“Iron Curtain” speech, Winston Churchill,  
March 5, 1946



In his speech, Churchill called on Americans to help keep Stalin from closing the **iron curtain** of Communist domination and oppression around any more nations.

These two speeches set the tone for the **cold war**, the competition that developed between the United States and the Soviet Union for power and influence in the world. For nearly 50 years, until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the cold war was characterized by political and economic conflict and military tensions. The rivalry stopped just short of a “hot” war—a direct military engagement—between the two competing nations. However, United States military forces did engage in combat in other nations in efforts to defeat Soviet-supported uprisings and invasions.

## Containment

In a secret telegram to the State Department in early 1946, George Kennan, a top American diplomat stationed in Moscow, analyzed Soviet behavior and policy. Like Stalin, Kennan saw the Soviet Union’s weaknesses. Soon thereafter, he publicized his observations in an anonymous magazine article.

Soviet policies show “no real faith in the possibility of a permanently happy coexistence of the Socialist and capitalist worlds,” Kennan warned. The Soviets believed the triumph of communism was inevitable. Therefore, Kennan concluded:

### AMERICAN VOICES

“[The Soviet Union] cannot be easily defeated or discouraged by a single victory on the part of its opponents . . . but only by intelligent long-range policies . . . no less steady in their purpose . . . than those of the Soviet Union itself. In these circumstances, it is clear that the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.”

—American diplomat George Kennan, article in *Foreign Affairs magazine*, July 1947

From Kennan’s analysis, the policy of **containment** emerged. This policy recognized the possibility that Eastern Europe was already lost to communism. It called for the United States to resist Soviet attempts to form Communist governments elsewhere in the world.

## CAUSE AND EFFECT: The Cold War

### CAUSES

- United States and USSR clash over the postwar administration of Poland.
- USSR’s totalitarian government is increasingly at odds with Western ideals.
- Stalin pledges to ensure the survival of the Soviet system, while Churchill urges the West to oppose it.

### THE COLD WAR

### EFFECTS

- United States adopts a policy to “contain” communism.
- Truman Doctrine offers U.S. aid to countries opposing communism.
- NATO and Warsaw Pact are formed.
- Fear of communism at home leads to a climate of suspicion in American culture.



**Interpreting Charts** The cold war affected life in the United States, as people began to fear communism within the nation. **Foreign Relations** What effect did the cold war have on United States foreign policy?

Critics saw containment as too moderate an approach to Soviet-American relations. They called for action to push the Communists out of Eastern Europe, Russia, and anywhere else. Kennan, however, argued that the Soviet system “bears within it the seeds of its own decay” and would eventually crumble. Thus, although containment remained controversial, it became the cornerstone of America’s cold war foreign policy.

## Main Idea CONNECTIONS

What was the policy of containment?

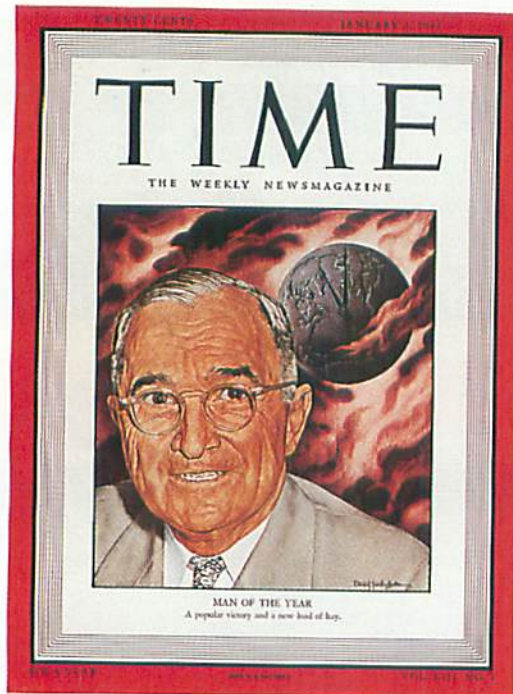
## The Truman Doctrine

President Truman soon had a chance to apply the policy of containment. Since 1945 the Soviet Union had been making threats against Turkey. Stalin wanted control of the Dardanelles, a narrow strait in Turkey that would give Soviet ports on the Black Sea access to the Mediterranean. In addition, a civil war had broken out in nearby Greece in the closing days of the war. There Communists fought to overthrow the government that had returned to power after the Axis invaders withdrew.

Still suffering from the economic devastation of WWII, Britain announced in February



President Truman was named Man of the Year by Time in 1949.



In March 1947, in a speech before a joint session of Congress, Truman called on the United States to take a leadership role. In a statement of principles known as the **Truman Doctrine**, he established another major policy that guided American actions in the cold war.

#### KEY DOCUMENTS

“Nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one. One way of life is based upon the will of the majority. . . . The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. . . . I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation [conquest] by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.”

—Truman Doctrine, speech by President Harry S. Truman to Congress, March 12, 1947

1947 that it could no longer afford to provide aid to Greece and Turkey. The British suggested that the United States take over responsibility for defending the region. Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson reported that at that moment Great Britain “handed the job of world leadership, with all its burdens and all its glory, to the United States.”

State Department officials developed a plan to provide American aid to Greece and Turkey. To head off congressional opposition, Acheson warned of grave dangers if the United States failed to act. “Only two great powers remain in the world,” he observed, “the United States and the Soviet Union.”

Responding to Truman’s plea, Congress approved \$400 million in aid for Greece and Turkey. In addition, the United States soon established military bases in both countries.

During the next four decades, the Truman Doctrine and the policy of containment continued to guide United States foreign policy. These principles would lead the United States into controversial involvements in “hot” and “cold” conflicts around the world.

## SECTION 1 REVIEW

### Comprehension

- Key Terms** Define: (a) satellite nation; (b) iron curtain; (c) cold war; (d) containment; (e) Truman Doctrine.
- Summarizing the Main Idea** How did post-war hostility develop between the United States and the Soviet Union?
- Organizing Information** Create a time line to show how the Soviets tightened their hold on Eastern Europe.

### Critical Thinking

- Analyzing Time Lines** Refer to the time line at the start of the section. Why was 1945 a crucial year in history?
- Drawing Conclusions** What effects do you think the Stalin and Churchill speeches of 1946 had on American public opinion?

### Writing Activity

- Writing an Expository Essay** How did the idea of containment and the Truman Doctrine affect cold war policy?